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Our Day

A RECORD AND REVIEW

OF

CURRENT REFORM

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ASSOCIATE EDITORS

WITH THE COÖPERATION OF EMINENT SPECIALISTS IN
REFORM, AT HOME AND ABROAD

Via Lucis, Via Crucis

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OUR DAY:

A RECORD AND REVIEW OF CURRENT REFORM.

VOL. I.—JANUARY, 1888.—No. 1.

PROSPECTUS.

1. OUR DAY is designed to be a Monthly Record and Review of Current Reform. It will be conducted and owned by a syndicate of specialists in the discussion of leading reformatory movements, and will be independent of partisan, denominational, or political control.

2. As a Record, OUR DAY will form a comprehensive register of Criticism, Progress, and Reform, secular and religious, national and international. Its publication of documents of permanent value, and of impartial illustrations of expert opinion, is intended to be very full. It will present in outline a history of leading events, indicating the fact or the need of improvement in the fields of Politics, Industry, Education, Philanthropy, and Religion.

3. As a Review, OUR DAY will express the opinions of its editors, and will endeavor to represent advanced thought in the chief departments of Criticism and Progress.

4. The Boston Monday Lectures, delivered in February and March, each year, with their Preludes on Current Events, will be published regularly in OUR DAY. These Lectures and Preludes, which for several seasons have had a circulation of a million copies at home and abroad, will discuss, as they have done for the last twelve years, whatever is at once new, true, and strategic in the relations of Religion to Science, Philosophy, and Current Reform.

5. This periodical will defend Vital Orthodoxy as held by Evangelical Christendom at large, but will have no merely denominational aims. It will endeavor to foster a deep spiritual life as well as the most scholarly and progressive religious thought.

6. Mr. Joseph Cook, whose long experience in the Boston Monday Lectureship, and whose extensive travel as lecturer, in the United States and many foreign countries, have given him wide opportunities of observation and large personal acquaintance with leaders in theological, political, and philanthropic discussions, will be editor-in-chief of OUR DAY.

Miss Frances E. Willard, President of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union, an organization of more than two hundred thousand members, will have the general oversight of the department of OUR DAY relating to Temperance in its moral, educational, and political aspects, and also of all matter concerning the White Cross League movement, and allied topics.

Professor Edmund J. James, Ph. D., of the chair of Political and Social Science in the University of Pennsylvania, will contribute to the department relating to Labor Reform.

The Rev. G. F. Pentecost, D. D., who has had wide and most successful experience in evangelistic effort in Boston, New York, London, and many other cities, will assist in conducting the department relating to Church Work.

Mr. Anthony Comstock, Secretary of the New York Society for the Prevention of Vice, will have charge of the department relating to his specialty.

The Rev. Professor L. T. Townsend, D. D., of the Chair of Sacred Rhetoric and Practical Theology in the Boston University, and author of several works on Current Religious Thought and Revivals, will assist in conducting the department relating to Education, and also that including Book Reviews and Notices of the Literature of Reform.

Hon. Carroll D. Wright, Chief of the Massachusetts and of the National Bureau of Labor; Professor R. T. Ely, of Johns Hopkins University; Hon. John Eaton, Ph. D., LL. D., for many years National Commissioner of Education, and now President of Marietta College; Ex-President G. F. Magoun, of Iowa

College ; the Rev. Dr. Herrick Johnson, of Chicago ; the Rev. C. F. Thwing, of Minneapolis ; the Rev. Dr. Josiah Strong, of New York ; Hon. Neal Dow, of Portland ; J. Macdonald Oxley, of Ottawa ; Axel Gustafson and the Rev. Dr. Joseph Parker, of London, and many others will be contributors.

The Rev. C. S. Eby, the distinguished lecturer of Tokio, Japan, has consented to take charge of the department of news and discussion as to religious and educational progress in Asia.

Special assistants will be secured in India, Australia, Germany, France, and the British Islands.

Its correspondents and assistants, at home and abroad, will endeavor to give OUR DAY a cosmopolitan range in both the discussion and the discovery of news in its chosen field.

7. The numbers will appear near the middle of each month, beginning with January, 1888.

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SHALL UTAH BE MADE A MORMON STATE?

THINK of the horse-thieves of one of the Territories combining together and asking Congress to intrust to them hereafter the enforcement of the laws against horse-stealing. The request would be just as reasonable as the petition on the part of the polygamists of Utah that Congress will intrust to them hereafter the enforcement of the laws against the odious crime of polygamy, by giving them the privileges of Statehood.

While all Congressional legislation for Utah is largely a failure up to this date, since it leaves the local, civil control of an American Territory in the hands of a bitterly anti-American priesthood, still the vigorous enforcement of the laws during the past three years has made the Mormon leaders very uncomfortable. Perpetual hiding from the United States officers becomes at last monotonous and burdensome, and yet the priestly rebels are determined that they will not obey the laws to which all the other religious denominations in Utah render obedience, namely, the Baptists, Congregationalists, Episcopalians, Methodists, Presbyterians, and Catholics. They are determined to retain exclusive control of the political affairs of this grand Territory through their ecclesiastical power as a priesthood, since it is one of the main purposes of the Mormon Church organization, through its priesthood, to control the civil affairs of whatever community they live in.

To escape the necessity of perpetual hiding, and secure more thoroughly than ever the civil control of the Territory, a new and adroit scheme to make Utah a State was concocted. The plan was this: Let a Constitutional Convention be called, and let the Americans as well as the Mormons be invited to take part in it. Let a Constitution be adopted making polygamy a penitentiary offense (on paper), and then let Congress be asked to admit Utah into the Union on the strength of this anti-polygamy Constitution (which Mormons would allow to stand as a

dead letter from the very day it is adopted). This is the plan which the Mormon leaders are now seeking to put into execution. And there are worthy people in various parts of the country who say: Why not admit Utah as a State if it has an anti-polygamy Constitution and has also the requisite population?

Since those who put this inquiry have not sufficiently studied the Mormon question to understand thoroughly the real dangers which underlie the whole case, it seems necessary for those who are familiar with the subject, both by study and long residence in Utah, to let in the light upon this conspiracy so that the American people generally may see that this Territory is almost as poorly prepared to become a State in the Union as one of the Turkish provinces. The unanswerable objections to the Mormon scheme for the admission of Utah may be summarized under the following specifications:—

1. This movement to make Utah a State is solely and exclusively a *Mormon* movement. Or, to speak more accurately, it is exclusively a movement on the part of the priesthood to perpetuate and enlarge priestly control of the civil power of this Territory. The Mormon people, as such, have nothing more to do with this movement than simply to obey the dictates of the priesthood, in fact that is all they have to do with any movement. Nor have the Americans in Utah, who constitute fully one third of the population, had anything to do with this movement for Statehood, except to oppose it vigorously. The priestly leaders tried to inveigle the Americans here to coöperate with them in making Utah a State. The Territorial committees of the Republican and Democratic parties were invited to arrange for sending delegates to the Convention, last July, which framed the Constitution now before Congress. But this invitation of the priesthood was promptly declined by both parties, in a vigorous and spicy correspondence which has become historic, so that the movement to make Utah a State is purely a movement of the priesthood.

2. It is a thoroughly *dishonest* movement, intended to deceive both Congress and the American people. In what way? By pretending that polygamy has been abandoned, since the

new Constitution provides for punishing this offense by fine and imprisonment. The Mormon leaders now come before Congress and the American people, with an overdone smile on their anti-American faces, and say: "See! We have done the very thing you have been asking us to do. We have adopted an anti-polygamy Constitution. Pray, therefore, admit us into the Union and hereafter leave to us (who believe in polygamy) the duty of punishing those who practice it." And some worthy people, who are not familiar with the underlying facts say, Why not grant this request of the Mormons? For two very important reasons:—

(1.) Because this pretense that the Mormons have given up polygamy is thoroughly dishonest, and intended to deceive. These very leaders furnish the proof of their dishonesty over their own signatures. About two years and three months before the adoption of this pretended anti-polygamy constitution last July, there was appointed, at the annual conference of the Mormon Church in Logan, a committee of twenty-two from the priesthood, with John T. Caine, the present delegate to Congress, at their head. The special object of this committee was "to draft a series of resolutions and a protest to the President of the United States, and to the nation, in which the wrongs the people of this Territory have suffered and are still suffering from the tyrannical conduct of Federal officials should be set forth specifically and in detail." It may be well to state here that the grievous wrongs which the Federal officials were inflicting upon the poor Mormon people and their leaders consisted in the requirement that the Mormons should obey the same laws of Congress which the Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Methodists, and all other religious denominations in Utah are required to obey.

The committee of twenty-two proceeded to draw up the "Declaration of Grievances and Protest," and the document was duly ratified at a Mormon mass-meeting in the Tabernacle, in Salt Lake City, on May 2, 1885. John T. Caine presided and made the opening speech, urging the adoption of the "Declaration" he had helped prepare, as one of the committee of twenty-two. This "Declaration" was forwarded to the President and the members of Congress.

Now the fourth paragraph of that "Declaration and Protest," signed by John T. Caine and the other members of the committee, contains the following deliberate statements: "Among the principles of our religion is that of immediate revelation from God; *one of the doctrines so revealed is celestial or plural marriage*, for which, ostensibly, we are stigmatized and hated. *This is a vital part of our religion, the decisions of courts to the contrary, notwithstanding.* Even the Utah Commission concede this." This is quoted *verbatim*, although the original print is not in italics. Only two years and two months pass by, when the representatives of the same priestly organization which appointed the committee of twenty-two meet in Salt Lake City, in a Constitutional Convention, with the same John T. Caine as chairman, and several of the committee of twenty-two present as members of the convention, and proceed to adopt a constitution condemning polygamy as a penitentiary offense! And now they want Congress to admit them into the Union, and give to them hereafter the exclusive privilege, under State laws, of punishing their fellow polygamists. Now which one of their two contradictory positions do they wish the American people to accept as their honest position? Is it the position they take in their new constitution which condemns polygamy as worthy of fine and imprisonment in the penitentiary? Then it follows that they were guilty of wicked deception and blasphemy in the statement they made, in their "Declaration and Grievances," that polygamy is a revelation from God and a "vital part" of their religion. On the other hand, if they were honest in this statement, then their pretended abandonment of polygamy by the adoption of an anti-polygamy constitution is an impudent fraud and a grossly dishonest attempt to swindle the public. In either case, their own deliberate acts convict them of downright dishonesty and wicked deception. The leaders of the Mormons show by the prolonged treachery of their conduct that they cannot be trusted by the American people in affairs of government, and that there can be no civil peace or prosperity in Utah until Congress takes every vestige of civil power from the hands of men who are ready to engage in bare-faced trickery and swindling, in order, as a priesthood, to perpetuate their political control of the Territory.

(2.) The other reason why the Mormon request for Statehood should not be granted is because the anti-polygamy constitution is itself a most wretched fraud and sham, so far as polygamy goes. Here is the opening part of the section condemning polygamy:—

“Bigamy and polygamy being considered incompatible with a republican form of government, each of them is hereby forbidden and declared a misdemeanor.” The rest of the section goes on to prescribe the amount of fine and imprisonment to which any one shall be liable for this offense, and declares that no laws shall be passed to put this part of the constitution into operation.

It will be noticed that, in this constitution, polygamy is classed as a mere “misdemeanor,” while in the statutes of the States generally it is considered a felony and treated as one of the higher crimes.

Furthermore, under the laws of Congress now in force in Utah, no polygamist is allowed to vote or hold office, while the crime of continuing to live with two or more women as wives is now punished by fine and imprisonment. Under the new constitution, the latter offense is ignored altogether, and polygamists are allowed the same political privileges as those who are not. So that the constitution itself is simply a piece of unscrupulous trickery and deception. All the Americans in Utah know full well that the Mormon leaders have not the least intention of abandoning polygamy, and that if Utah became a State, under the present constitution, the latter would be a dead letter from the very outset so far as the punishment of polygamy is concerned. If the Mormons have any intention of giving up polygamy, they have a fine opportunity now, and have had ever since they adopted their constitution in July, of showing that they are honest in their proposed abandonment of the crime, namely, by coming forward and obeying the present laws of Congress against polygamy. They are not only resisting the enforcement of those laws in a body, and denouncing the judges and other officers for enforcing them, but if any Mormon stands up in court and in response to the judge's inquiry promises to obey the laws of the land hereafter in regard

to polygamy, the priesthood at once sets in motion such a series of ostracizing and boycotting measures, that only about half a dozen out of the more than three hundred who have been convicted have dared to promise obedience to the laws, and the rest have preferred to serve out their term in the penitentiary, and be received in the Tabernacle as martyrs after their term of imprisonment has expired.

3. But once more, this movement for Statehood is a thoroughly *anti-American* movement. The Mormons who are urging on the new scheme have already, by solemn oath, declared that their first allegiance in civil affairs is due not to the United States government but to the priesthood, and that in case of any conflict between the authority of the priesthood and the authority of the government they will hearken to the authority of the priesthood. And it is this innate disloyalty of the Mormon people generally, under the influence of the priesthood, and the determination of the people to obey the priesthood instead of the United States government, that have caused all the strife and turmoil in Utah. No other religious denomination here has the least difficulty with the government, simply because no other religious denomination, as such, undertakes to exercise ecclesiastical control in civil affairs and to put its authority in place of the government. But the Mormons, from the very first, have attempted to put the government of the priesthood in the place of the United States government and to carry on an independent government of their own. Now for such people, with such antecedents, and such anti-American purposes and tendencies, to ask Congress to organize them into a State is simply asking Congress to trample under foot the whole genius and spirit of our free American government and to establish in one of its great Territories, under State authority, that same system of priestly despotism and misrule which our forefathers crossed the Atlantic to get rid of. And men like George Ticknor Curtis, Senator Call and others, who are so lost to the obligations of American citizenship as to advocate the claims of such a band of anti-Americans to Statehood, ought to be held up to the public condemnation which their outrageous advocacy of an unrighteous cause justly deserves.

But the Mormon lobby in Washington will leave nothing undone to carry through this scheme of the priesthood to make Utah a State. The report is that the Mormon leaders have raised an immense fund by assessing the overburdened people; that they have rented an elegant house in Washington; that they have employed the hiring services of such aristocratic time-servers as George Ticknor Curtis and others of his ilk, and will do their utmost to make Utah a Mormon State, with polygamy fastened upon the country instead of upon the Territory. Surely every truly patriotic man in Congress will not only oppose this anti-American scheme of the Mormon priesthood to get out from under the authority of the government, but will help to keep Utah out of the Union so long as the Mormon people refuse to obey the present laws of Congress against polygamy, and the local control of the civil affairs of Utah remains, as now, in the hands of a priesthood that hates everything American, and teaches the people to insult the nation by putting the flag at half-mast, on Mormon public buildings, on the nation's birthday.

The general impression is that if the disaster of Statehood is averted, there will begin in this city, in the spring, such an era of growth and prosperity as has characterized Denver and Omaha the past five years. Three of the great trunk railway lines are pushing their roads toward this city from the East as fast as money and men can bring them. Eastern capitalists have already begun to make large investments here, and everything shows that this is shortly to be one of the most prosperous and thriving of the inland cities. It seems quite probable that within the next three years the Union and Central Pacific roads will have their junction here instead of in Ogden. The outlook for this city and for Utah was never brighter than now, if the Mormon scheme for Statehood can be defeated.

R. G. McNIECE.

Salt Lake City, December 28, 1887.

THE OUTLOOK FOR PROHIBITION.

THERE can be no doubt that the question of the prohibition and suppression of the liquor traffic is now attracting the earnest attention of the people of this country more generally than at any former time. It occupies so prominent a place in the public mind that politicians are compelled to consider it in arranging their plans for retaining or recovering the control of the government. The liquor trade is now organized as no other branch of business is, the purpose of this organization being to defend the trade against the rising indignation of the people.

The mischiefs coming from the liquor business are immeasurable and almost innumerable, touching the interests and even the life of the nation and the welfare and happiness of the people as no others do or can. The Supreme Court of the United States, in its recent decision of the brewery cases of Kansas, says : " We cannot ignore the fact, established by statistics accessible to every one, that the disorder, pauperism, and crime prevalent in the country are, in large measure, directly traceable to this evil." The annual loss, through the liquor traffic directly and indirectly, of the wages of labor and of the profits of legitimate industry, is more than fifteen hundred million dollars. The annihilation of that traffic would involve the saving of this enormous sum, which would go very far towards banishing poverty from the country, and in a few years would result in giving a good and comfortable homestead in fee to every industrious and prudent family in the nation.

In many parts of the country there is a great clamor against the insufficiency of the wages of labor, and a fierce demand that these shall be increased ; but everybody knows who is at all acquainted with the matter that, through the influence of the liquor traffic, any increase of wages, to whatever extent, would be an evil and not a good to a considerable number of wage-earners. All over the country, except in prohibitory States, coun-

ties, and towns, grog-shops are established by law, the invariable and inevitable effect of which is to tempt people to waste their wages there, to undermine their habits of industry, to disincline them to honest labor, and finally to render them incapable of it, and to turn them helpless out upon the world, beggars, tramps, vagabonds, thieves, burglars, incendiaries. That is only a part of the mischief which the government deliberately imposes upon the people through the system of license to the liquor traffic, which inflicts far more mischief upon society than all other sources of evil combined, while no good comes from it to the state or the people.

The working friends of temperance in this country are now of one mind as to the remedy for this great mischief, this great sin, shame, and crime, and that is, the prohibition, the annihilation, of the liquor traffic, from which all this mischief flows. To put temptation to intemperance out of the way, will go very far toward removing that great sin as a general and prevalent evil. A decided and resolute movement to this end was made in Maine in 1851 by the enactment of a law which overthrew the policy of license to the liquor traffic, at that time established everywhere in all civilized countries, and substituting for it the policy of prohibition of the manufacture, sale and keeping for sale of intoxicating beverages.

Since that time, and following the example of Maine, prohibition, either by local option or by direct enactment, has been adopted in many States of the Union, and in many localities in the Dominion of Canada and in the United Kingdom. The British House of Commons has thrice declared itself in favor of remitting to the people the right to say authoritatively whether licenses shall be granted in their localities, and this action of the legislature has been sustained by the popular vote in every town where a ballot upon the subject has been had. In Glasgow recently the question was submitted to the people: "Are you in favor of the prohibition of all licenses for the common sale of intoxicating liquors?" The affirmative vote was 57,704, and the negative vote was only 19,411, nearly three to one. In reply to the question, "Are you in favor of the people having the entire control of the liquor traffic?" 77,246 an-

swered yes, and 8,535 answered no, being more than nine to one in the affirmative. In Aberdeen 6,640 answered yes and 3,673 answered no to the first question, and 9,851 answered yes and 1,652 answered no to the second question.

The result of the voting on these questions in Edinburgh was much the same as it was in Glasgow, and in a great many smaller places in Scotland the vote showed even a larger majority for the affirmative. These significant inquiries have also been submitted to the people of a great many other towns and parishes, the result of the vote being that in every case a large majority was found to be for the affirmative: in no case was there a majority for the negative. In Burnley the affirmative vote was 8,366 and the negative vote was only 2,640. In Houghton-le-Spring the affirmative vote was eight times larger than the negative. In a great many other localities in England, the affirmative vote has been from twice larger to twenty-two times larger than the negative. This wonderful change in public opinion in the United Kingdom upon the liquor traffic has taken place since 1853; before that time there had been little or no public expression of it in that country.

The policy of prohibition has now been adopted in this country over a very large area. It exists in Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Rhode Island, Kansas, and Iowa, covering the whole territory. In Maine, Rhode Island, Kansas, and Iowa, the manufacture of intoxicating drinks is forbidden as well as the sale of them. In Maine, Rhode Island, and Kansas, prohibition has been put into the organic law by special vote of the people; and in Iowa there was a popular vote to the same end by a majority of 30,000, but it was declared by a majority of the Supreme Court of that State to be void, on a pitiful clerical error, as insignificant and irrelevant as would have been an error by the omission of a dot to an *i*, or a cross to a *t*. In a word, the court held that the clearly ascertained will of the people was to be defeated by a blunder of a clerk, which in no way cast a shadow of a doubt upon what the will of the people really was. The Supreme Court of Maine, in a similar case, declared unanimously that the clearly ascertained will of the people was not to be defeated by a technicality.

Prohibition exists also in a great many localities in Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, West Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Tennessee, Kentucky, Ohio, Illinois, Missouri, and in other States and Territories. The agitation against the liquor traffic has assumed very large proportions: it is earnest, active, and aggressive. The men and women engaged in it are actuated by a common purpose, that is, never to cease their endeavors until the nation shall be effectually saved from this dreadful scourge, which annually inflicts upon the people more mischief and misery than come from war, pestilence, and famine combined, those three great scourges of the human family.

Prohibition has now become a prominent factor in the politics of this country, in the nation as well as in the States and cities. It must be taken account of by the leaders of parties. Those who are "in" and those who are striving to get "in" (for there is no other question between them now) have to consider whether their chances will be better by defending the saloons against the popular clamor against them, or by defending the homes of the people against the infinite mischiefs of the grog-shops. At present the determination seems to have been made by the "leaders" to cast in their fortunes with the breweries, distilleries, and the rest of them in that company, and to win or lose on that policy. We shall see by the result whether the intelligence, education, culture, virtue, patriotism, and piety of the country can be led to uphold a policy which, if adopted, would inflict an infinite mischief upon the country.

NEAL DOW.

Portland, Me.

THE JESUIT AND THE PUBLIC SCHOOL.

ROMAN Catholicism is not, in our time, an unmitigated evil. The people of that communion observe in a measure the Sabbath law; they are taught the sanctity of marriage vows and respect for authority, for law and order. The church gives no countenance to anarchism in any of its forms.

There is, also, much in the history of the Roman Catholic Church, much in her services, much in the devotion of her adherents, which fills every thoughtful person with admiration. She builded the great cathedrals which are the wonder of the world. Every student of history must admit that she "organized crusades, civilized barbarians, liberated slaves, preserved learning, laws, and arts, subjected barons, converted and ruled the haughtiest kings, and has ever been sending forth her heroic and conquering fathers to the ends of the earth — *ad majorem Dei gloriam*." The great mass of the hospitals in every land are hers. The Sisters of Charity and of Mercy, who never hesitate to imperil health and life amidst all sorts of diseases, wear her garb and by her teachings are inspired to lead lives of devotion and suffering. These concessions frankly and cheerfully are made to the Roman Catholic Church. In some respects her record is grand and inspiring.

And further, if the Roman Catholic Church were in certain other matters truly Christian, were she less inclined to interfere with matters which are beyond her legitimate sphere, and were she less brutally intolerant towards those who honestly differ from her, the American citizen would have no occasion for alarm or hostility. Americans could do no better, perhaps, as patriotic citizens, than to rejoice in her prosperity and even enter her communion. Indeed, we may go a step farther, and say that if she were truly Christian in spirit and practice, were she a staunch friend of civil liberty, and a patron of general intelli-

gence, were her ministers and officers charitable, cultivated, and pure, and were she, in a word, what she claims to be, we might fearlessly intrust to her hands the government of the world. It would be as well governed as now, or better.

Against the *Holy* Catholic Church we utter not one disparaging word. Towards those in her communion who are imitating the life and spirit of Christ, we have nothing but the most fraternal feelings and greetings. No privileges that we as Protestants enjoy would we deny even the humblest member in that great church communion. Should occasion require we would defend the members of that church in their religious faith, worship, and legitimate work *to the death*.

Now, for many reasons we would like to stop at this point. But if we should it would be only a half truth that we have spoken; and a half truth is a lie. We must add, therefore, that the Roman Catholic Church has her bad, her thoroughly bad, indeed, her pernicious and detestable side, against which, unless there is a change of policy, the world some day will rise in arms, and will then avenge the wrongs that have been committed by her and others that are now threatened. It is strange that Romanism will not be content to mind its legitimate business, in the doing of which prosperity beyond question would be assured to it, and the benedictions of the world no longer would be withheld.

The steady and stealthy encroachments of Popery in political matters, and of late in educational affairs, we earnestly denounce; and the interferences in these and other matters by the ambitious, unscrupulous, and unsanctified horde of foreign and American Jesuits we detest more than we have language to express.

Before reaching the school question we may speak a few words in general as to these ecclesiastical intriguers.

In many respects they are a remarkable order of men. They dress in all garbs, speak all languages, know all customs, and are everywhere present, yet not always recognized. They are in South America, in Cuba, in the Canadas, in every state of Europe, in the Indies, in China, in Japan, in Africa, and on the islands of the sea, everywhere stealthily at work. They are de-

spotic in Spain, constitutional in England, bigots in Rome, idolaters in India ; they study Confucius in China, *and are Democrats in America*. They are Democrats here, because they share or expect to share the emoluments of Democratic victories. The dexterity with which they can make political somersaults is both amusing and astonishing. France, which has afforded the best of opportunities for this kind of accomplishments, having been successively monarchical, democratic, and consular, again monarchical, and now being republican, in her form of government, has found Papacy under her political leaders, the Jesuits, changing with every political change. Under Philip II., St. Louis, Louis XI., Charles VIII., Henry IV., Louis XIII., Louis XIV., who had each bowed before the papal power, the Jesuits were on the side of monarchy. In the republic of 1792 they were republicans. Under Napoleon they were monarchists ; and now again they are republicans. They are anything whereby they can the better control the people and the government. And their oath of allegiance to any country or to any government, as can easily be shown, is worth no more than the paper upon which it is written. These men accept papal infallibility and with it the ultramontane interpretation of the power of the Pope over the world ; they hold that if one offends the Pope one offends God. Their theory as stated by Dr. Orestes Brownson, a Roman Catholic, is this : —

“ No civil government, be it a monarchy, an aristocracy, a democracy, or any possible combination of any two or all of them, can be a wise, just, efficient, or durable government . . . without the Catholic Church ; and without the Papacy there is and can be no Catholic Church. . . . The state is only an inferior court, and is bound to receive the law from the supreme court ” (the Vatican).

The following quotation from the *Unum Sanctum* of Pius IX. is their political creed : —

“ The spiritual sword is to be used by the church, but the carnal sword for the church. The one in the hand of the priest, the other in the hands of kings and soldiers, but at the will and pleasure of the priest. It is right that the temporal sword and authority be subject to the spiritual power. . . .

Moreover, we declare, say, define, and pronounce that every human being should be subject to the Roman pontiff."

James Anthony Froude, under the heading, "What a Catholic Majority could do in America," shows clearly the political and educational intentions of Roman Catholicism when in the ascendancy: —

"We agree that the spiritual part of man ought to rule the material; the question is, where the spiritual part of man resides. The Protestant answers that it is in the individual conscience and reason; the Catholic says that it is in the church, and that it speaks through bishops and priests. Thus, every true Catholic is bound to think and act as his priest tells him, and a republic of true Catholics becomes a theocracy administered by the clergy. It is only as long as they are a small minority that they can be loyal subjects under such a Constitution as the American. As their numbers grow, they will assert their principles more and more. Give them the power, and the Constitution will be gone. A Catholic majority, under spiritual direction, will forbid liberty of worship, and will try to forbid liberty of conscience. It will control education; it will put the press under surveillance; it will punish opposition with excommunication, and excommunication will be attended with civil disabilities."

The United States are to-day the paradise of this most dangerous order in the papal church, the Jesuits. They have been and are excluded from some countries which are nominally Catholic; but here they have the same freedom as that of our most patriotic citizens. There are no positions from which they are excluded. There are no national movements with which they are not familiar. They seem to have eyes within and without. They are in our marts of business; they are in our army and navy; they are in our halls of legislation; they are upon our school committees, the most sacred office in this republic, and we do not know who they are. Priests and Jesuits in league are already assuming the government of our largest cities.

And it is freely talked — we do not know what foundation there is for the talk — that Puritan Boston has in its government

Roman Catholics who are Jesuitical lay workers, and who are sworn to carry out the commands of this ecclesiastical craft which is inimical to every civil government on earth. We should breathe easier if we thought these charges were untrue.

Under the leadership of this Jesuitical order the Roman Catholic Church will be found to side with one party, then with another, until each is so weakened that she can rule both.

She will join hands with infidels against Protestants, but having gained her object, she will consign both allies and foes to contempt or to flames.

She will make contracts and compacts, any number of them, but when she believes herself powerful enough to trample them under foot, if for her advantage, she will do so without hesitation or scruple.

We said a moment ago that the Jesuits were Democrats in the United States because of real or expected patronage in some form from the Democratic party. They hold the entire church membership in support of that party. But the day is coming when the Democratic party will feel that it has been a great fool, the chief of fools, in selling itself to Popery and the Jesuits. The day is coming when these Jesuits and the church which is under their tyrannical dictation and domination will no longer need the support of the Democratic party, or when they can make better terms with some other party. On that day these intolerant ecclesiastics with consummate and merciless coolness and dispatch will cut the throat of the unsuspecting and now triumphant democracy.

Without difficulty we can imagine, should a certain prominent Republican who shows much tenderness to Irishmen and papists, be the next Republican nominee for the presidency, as seems likely to be the case, that then the Democratic party, to no purpose, will plead and gasp for papal support, but will find her heel on its vitals. Possibly, though, a big auction sale of the papal vote to the highest bidder is in store for the republic at the next presidential election.

Why cannot the two great political parties in this country unite, or rather why cannot loyal citizens in all the different parties unite in unfurling this political banner: *There shall be*

no further compromise with these enemies of the Republic. Let nothing more be talked as to Democratic or Republican measures and victories until questions relating to the independence from ecclesiastical dictation of hundreds of thousands of our citizen-voters, and questions relating to the education of our future voters, are settled, and until it is known whether the American people or the Pope at Rome is to rule the United States of America.

Though the ultimate object in this paper is to show the character of the parochial school movement under Jesuitical management, yet we have deemed it necessary first of all, in this general way, to show what are the instincts and intents of these crafty ecclesiastics with whom the republic has to do. Enough has been said to justify the statement that to thoughtful minds it is well nigh appalling that these most pronounced, unscrupulous, and relentless enemies of Protestantism and of free institutions are taking in hand the education, or rather the training (it is not an education), of hundreds of thousands of our future citizen-voters.

L. T. TOWNSEND.

Boston University.

(Continued in next number.)

WOMAN AS PREACHER.

THE LETTER KILLETH.

THE First Congregational Church organized in New Jersey ordered its chorister "not to allow any females to sing in the choir because Paul had commanded women to keep silence in the churches." This is the only instance on record, so far as I know, of absolute fidelity to a literal exegesis concerning woman's relation to public worship. By the same rule of interpretation, Luther and Washington must have treasured up unto themselves wrath against the day of wrath when, in church and state, they severally proceeded to "resist the power," for it is declared (Rom. xiii.) that "whosoever resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God; and they that resist, shall receive to themselves damnation." This anathema is based upon the statement that "there is no power but of God; the powers that be are ordained of God," and hence follows the command, marvelously sweeping and conclusive, "Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers." A similar degree of reverence for the letter furnished the argument upon which excellent ecclesiastical authority claimed the divine origin of African slavery, for does not Paul say, in Ephesians vi. 5, "Servants, be obedient to them that are your masters according to the flesh, with fear and trembling, in singleness of your heart as unto Christ;" (and "bond-servants" is clearly the meaning as stated in the eighth verse.)

Side by side with the method of exegesis which would enforce this literal view, and promulgated by the same class of exegetes, is another which may be called the method of playing fast and loose, and which is thus illustrated:—

In the Sermon on the Mount (Matt. v.) there is a specific command not to strike back when one is struck; not to go to law; to give to him that asketh; not to turn away from him

that would borrow ; and to suffer people to be divorced for one cause only ; yet every one of these precepts coming from Christ himself is specifically and constantly violated by pastors and people, and without penalty. In the Gospel of John (xiii.) Christ explicitly states one of the duties of his disciples in the following language : " Ye call me Master, and Lord, and ye say well : for so I am. If I then your Lord and Master have washed your feet, ye ought also to wash one another's feet. For I have given you an example, that ye should do as I have done to you." But I know of only one small sect that is loyal to this command.

In 1 Corinthians vii. Paul sets forth a doctrine that, literally interpreted, certainly elevates celibacy above marriage and widowhood above re-marriage, but exegetical opinion does not coincide with the great Apostle, neither does the practice of the church, else not one of its adherents would be alive to state the fact ; nor have Protestant clergymen been known to manifest the least reluctance of conscience in performing the marriage ceremony in general, or in taking marriage vows upon themselves, nor has such reluctance become apparent when a widow was thereby involved in taking a second marriage vow.

In establishing the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, we know, beyond a peradventure, that Christ used unleavened bread. But while hundreds of disquisitions have been written to prove that he did *not* use unfermented wine, I have yet to learn of a Protestant exegete who prescribes it as our duty to furnish unleavened bread, or a pastor who provides it, and yet none dispute its presence at the table where the ordinance was instituted. Nevertheless, many of the same clergymen insist on fermented wine " lest we should disregard our Saviour's plain example and command, and put Him to an open shame."

In 1 Tim. ii. 9, Paul says : " I desire . . . that women adorn themselves in modest apparel, with shamefastness and sobriety ; not with braided hair, and gold or pearls or costly raiment ; " and adds, " Let a woman learn in quietness with all subjection. But I permit not a woman to teach, nor to have dominion over a man, but to be in quietness. For Adam was first formed, then Eve ; " etc. But our exegetes and pulpit expounders, while laying the

most solemn emphasis upon the last part of this command as an unchangeable rule of faith and practice for womankind in all ages and hemispheres, pass over the specific commands relative to braided hair, gold, pearls, and expensive attire, and have a thousand times preached to women who were violating every one of them, without uttering the slightest warning or reproof.

In Genesis the Lord says to Cain the elder brother, speaking to him of Abel, "Unto thee shall be his desire and thou shalt rule over him," but our exegetes do not find here divine authorization of an elder brother's supremacy, and yet they construe the same expression when the Lord speaks to Eve, as the assertion, for all time, of a woman's subjection to her husband; moreover, they do this in face of the explicit declaration that God said "Let *us* make man in *our* image, after *our* likeness: and let *them* have dominion . . . so God created man in his own image, in the image of God created He him; *male* and *female* created He *them*."

Take the sixth chapter of 1 Corinthians and note its explicit and reiterated commands to Christians never to go to law, beginning with Pauline vigor: "*Dare* any of you?" Where is the "sweet reasonableness" of gliding softly over these inspired mandates and urging those of the eleventh chapter in the same epistle as though they formed part of a creed for the subjection of women? My brethren, these things ought not so to be.

In presence of these multiplied instances and many others that might be named, what must a plain, Bible-reading member of the laity conclude? For my own part I long ago found in these two conflicting methods of exegesis, one of which strenuously insisted on a literal view, and the other played fast and loose with God's word according to personal predilection, a pointed illustration of the divine declaration that "it is not good for man to be alone." We need women commentators to bring out the women's side of the book; we need the stereoscopic view of truth in general which can only be had when woman's eye and man's together shall see the perspective of the Bible's full-orbed revelation.

I do not at all impugn the good intention of the good men who have been our exegetes, and I bow humbly in presence of

their scholarship, but while they turn their linguistic telescopes on truth, I may be allowed to make a correction for the "personal equation" in the results which they espy.

Study the foregoing illustrations, and find in them one more proof of that "humanness of the saints," which is a factor in all human results. Given, in heredity and environment, an established theory of the subjection of woman, and how easily one finds the same in Paul's epistles; given an appreciation of the pleasantness of wine, and how naturally one dwells upon the duty of its use at the communion, to the exclusion of special thought about the duty of retaining anything so tasteless as unleavened bread; given the charm that men find in "stylish" dress, carefully arranged hair, and beautiful jewelry, as shown in the attire of women, and it becomes perfectly natural that they should not censure these manifestations, but expatiate, instead, upon the more pleasing theory of woman's silence and subjection. Given the custom of being waited on, and slavery is readily seen to be of divine authority; given the unpleasantness of washing people's feet, and that hallowed ordinance speedily passes into innocuous desuetude; given the fathomless quantity of unconscious selfishness still regnant in good men, and the heavenly precepts of the Sermon on the Mount become "largely tintured with oriental imagery, and not to be taken in their severely literal sense;" given in the dominant sex the quenchless love of individual liberty, and Luther finds a way of interpreting in harmony with his purpose, texts which he cannot ignore, and Washington in face of those same texts is conscious that he does God's service; given the resistless force of attraction between man and woman, and Paul's special precepts about celibacy are powerless as the proverbial straw in presence of the imperious Niagara.

From all of which considerations the plain wayfaring woman cannot help concluding that exegesis, thus conducted, is one of the most time-serving and man-made of all sciences, and one of the most misleading of all arts. It has broken Christendom into sects that confuse and astound the heathen world, and to-day imposes the heaviest yoke now worn by woman upon the most faithful followers of Him who is her emancipator no less than humanity's Saviour. But as the world becomes more deeply

permeated by the principles of Christ's gospel, methods of exegesis are revised. The old texts stand there, just as before, but we interpret them less narrowly. Universal liberty of person and of opinion are now conceded to be Bible-precept principles; Onesimus and Canaan are no longer quoted as the slaveholder's main stay; the theory of unfermented wine as well as bread is accepted by our temperance people generally; the great Russian writer, Count Tolstoi, stands as the representative of a school that accepts the precepts of Christ's Sermon on the Mount with perfect literalness, and theologians not a few find in the Bible no warrant whatever for the subjection of woman in anything.

Exegesis is defined as being "especially the scientific interpretation of the Holy Scriptures." It is in no sense an inspired work, but grows in breadth and accuracy with the general growth of humanity. For instance, it seems to us almost incredible that St. Augustine "thought it his duty to guard especially the whole theory of the waters above the heavens," or that St. Ambrose declared that "the firmament is a solid vault, and the thunder is caused by the winds breaking through it," and taught that if the vault revolved this "water is just what is needed to lubricate and cool its axis." In like manner Tertullian and his disciples contended that lightning is identical with hell-fire, and adduced, in proof thereof, the sulphurous smell attending it. Scripture texts were made the basis of all this, and St. Augustine declared that "nothing is to be accepted save on the authority of Scripture, since greater is that authority than all the powers of the human mind."

Even in our own enlightened days, so great a scholar as Dean Alford, in his commentary on the New Testament, has the following addition to the "Curiosities of Literature" (1 Cor. xi. 5), which is here given to show the straits to which a learned exegete is reduced when prejudice and literalism meet in his mind to produce a cyclone of absurdities:—

"Woman if she uncovers herself (that is, unveils) in such an assembly dishonors her head, that is, *the man*, . . . by apparently casting off his headship, and if this be so, the Apostle proceeds, why not go farther and cut off her hair, which of itself is a token of this subjection? But if this be acknowledged to be shameful (it was a punishment of adulteresses), let the further decency of the additional covering be conceded likewise. Man is God's glory: He has put in him His Majesty, and he represents God on earth;

woman is *man's* glory ; taken from the *man*, shining not with light direct from God, but with light derived from man. . . . ' *For this cause,*' on account of what has just been said (in preceding verses), by which the subordination of woman has been proved, the woman ought to have power on her head (that is, *the sign of power or subjection* ; shown by the context to mean a veil). . . . The token of power indicates being *under* power, and such token is the covering. Because of the angels, that is, because in Christian assemblies the holy angels of God are present and delighting in the due order and subordination of the ranks of God's servants, and by a violation of that order we should be giving offense to them."

Now let any reasonable human being read this exegesis, and remember that two thirds of the graduates from our great system of public education are women ; that two thirds of the teachers in these schools are women ; that nearly three fourths of our church members are women ; that, through the modern Sunday-school, women have already become the theological teachers of the future church ; and that, *per contra*, out of about sixty thousand persons in our penitentiaries fifty-five thousand are men ; that whiskey, beer, and tobacco to the amount of fifteen millions of dollars' worth per year are consumed almost wholly by men ; and then see if the said reasonable human being will find much mental or spiritual pabulum in the said learned exegesis. A pinch of common sense forms an excellent ingredient in that complicated dish called Biblical interpretation, wherever it is set forth at the feast of reason, especially if it is expected at all to stimulate the flow of soul !

A reasonable exegesis could never so have stumbled. The modern impulse toward "real facts," which has already reconstructed the science of medicine, is already doing the same for the science of theology. In olden time the "quintessence of toads" was prescribed for the cure of cancer, a serpent's skin steeped in vinegar for toothache, and wrapping the patient in scarlet was the professional remedy for small-pox. Analogies not less grotesque prove that in the realm of exegesis the wildest fancies have in many instances usurped the throne of reason.

The devil's first argument with the Lord was based on a Scripture quotation, and in the meshes of a quotation he entangled Eve. But when a greater than Solomon was here he answered Satan's "it is written" by his divine "*Again* it is written," thus teaching us to compare Scripture with Scripture.

Perhaps the difficulties in the way of literalism may be best set forth in tabulated form, showing the Bible's "it is written again:" —

PAUL.	OTHER SCRIPTURES.	PAUL.
1 Tim. ii. 11. "But I permit not a woman to teach, nor to have dominion over a man, but to be in quietness." ¹	Judg. iv. 4, 5. "Now Deborah, a prophetess, the wife of Lapidoth, she judged Israel at that time. . . . And the children of Israel came up to her for judgment."	Gal. iii. 28. "There can be no male and female; for ye are all one man in Christ Jesus."
1 Cor. xiv. 34. "Let the women keep silence in the churches; for it is not permitted unto them to speak."	Joel ii. 28, 29. "And it shall come to pass afterward . . . that your . . . daughters shall prophesy, . . . and upon the handmaids will I pour out my spirit."	1 Cor. xi. 5. "But every woman praying or prophesying with her head unveiled dishonoreth her head."
1 Cor. xiv. 35. "It is shameful for a woman to speak in the church."	Luke ii. 36-38. "And there was one Anna, a prophetess, . . . which departed not from the temple, worshiping with fastings and supplications night and day. And coming up at that very hour she gave thanks unto God, and spake of Him to all them that were looking for the redemption of Jerusalem."	Phil. iv. 3. "I beseech thee also . . . help these women, for they labored with me also in the gospel."

¹ "I permit not a woman to teach," is a plain declaration. But women constitute more than half the Sunday-school workers of our day. The literalist proves too much by his argument. Perhaps he solaces himself by keeping all the offices in his own hands, for eye witnesses can testify that not in Sunday-school conventions only but in the great national conventions of public school teachers, where nine thousand women assemble and less than one thousand men, the latter, under the subjection theory, into which they were drilled from the beginning, proceed to distribute the positions of "honor and profit" almost wholly among themselves. These things would be grotesque to look upon if they were not so sad, and laughable if they did not in the minds of thoughtful women fatigue indignation and exhaust pity.

PAUL.	OTHER SCRIPTURES.	PAUL.
<p>1 Tim. ii. 11. "Let a woman learn in quietness with all subjection."</p>	<p>Acts xviii. 26. "Apollos . . . began to speak boldly in the synagogue. But when Priscilla and Aquila heard him they took him unto them, and expounded unto him the way of God more carefully." (This seems to have been the first theological school.)</p>	<p>Rom. xvi. 3, 4. "Salute Prisca and Aquila, my fellow-workers in Christ Jesus, . . . unto whom not only I give thanks, but also all the churches of the Gentiles."</p>
<p>1 Cor. xiv. 34, 35. "Let them be in subjection, as also saith the law. And if they would learn anything let them ask their own husbands at home."</p>	<p>Acts xxi. 9, 10. "Now this man (Philip the Evangelist) had four daughters, virgins, which did prophesy. And as we tarried there many days (i. e. Paul and his company)."</p>	<p>1 Cor. xi. 11. "Howbeit neither is the woman without the man, nor the man without the woman, in the Lord. For as the woman is of the man, so is the man also by the woman; but all things are of God."</p>
<p>1 Cor. xi. 3. "The head of every man is Christ; and the head of the woman is the man; and the head of Christ is God."</p> <p>Eph. v. 23. "For the husband is the head of the wife, as Christ also is head of the church."</p>	<p>John i. 1, 3. "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. All things were made by Him, and without Him was not anything made that hath been made."</p> <p>John xiv. 9. "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father."</p> <p>Col. ii. 9. "In Him dwelleth all the fulness of the God-head bodily."</p> <p>John x. 30. "I and the Father are one."</p>	<p>Rom. xvi. 1. "I commend unto you Phœbe our sister, who is a servant¹ of the church that is at Cenchræ." (The Epistle to the Romans was written from Corinth, and sent by Phœbe. The greatest of Epistles was carried from Corinth to Rome by a woman, a journey involving a sea-voyage, and a visit to a foreign country.)</p>

¹ The word "servant" is more justly translated deaconess or *ministra*. We

And yet, be it noted, the same theologians who would outlaw as unorthodox any one who did not believe Christ an equal member of that Trinity of which the Supreme Creator of the world is one (declaring Him to be "very God of very God," etc.), do not only preach but practise the heresy that woman is subordinate to man,¹ when Paul distinctly declares that her relation to man is the same as that of Christ to God.

Take the description of men's babbling, tumult, and confusion, as given in the fourteenth chapter of 1 Corinthians, and imagine that a woman's meeting had been therein described; would not the ages have rung with an exegesis harrowing to the soul of woman? But whoever heard this unseemly behavior of men referred to as the basis of the doctrine of man's subjection to woman, or as a binding rule of church discipline in reference to the conduct of the men in public worship?

Reasoning from the present customs of oriental countries, we must conclude that places of worship, in the age of the Apostles, were not built as they are with us, but that the women had a corner of their own, railed off by a close fence reaching above their heads. It was thus made difficult for them to hear, and in their eager, untutored state, wholly unaccustomed to public audiences, they "chattered" and asked questions. Upon this light foundation behold a doctrine built that would subject and silence two thirds of Christ's disciples in the free and intelligent English-speaking world!

As woman's prophesying (literally, "speaking forth") is plainly authorized, let us inquire what this word means. Alford, who certainly does not lean to our side of the question, says:

find that Pliny writes (A. D. 104) that he selected two females, "who were called ministræ, ministrresses," for torture, to extract information against Christians. Prophetesses is equivalent to preacheresses.

¹ Mosheim, in his *History of Christianity*, makes this statement: "Every church was composed of three constituent parts: First, teachers, who were also interested with the government of the community, according to the laws; second, ministers of *each sex*; and third, the multitude of the people." He also says: "The church had ever belonging to it, even from its very first rise, a class of ministers composed of persons of either sex, and who were termed deacons and deaconesses." The eminent commentator Lange says: "It is clear that the early church was formed quite as much upon the *household model* as upon that of the synagogue."

"The foretelling of future events was not the usual form which their inspiration took, but that of an exalted and superhuman teaching . . . the utterance of their own conscious intelligence informed by the Holy Spirit." "The prophets give utterance in glowing and exalted but intelligible language to those things which the Holy Spirit teaches them, and which have the power to instruct, comfort, encourage, rebuke, correct, stimulate their hearers."¹ But more convincing still are Paul's own definitions of the word, 1 Cor. xiv. 3: "He that prophesieth speaketh unto men to edification and exhortation and comfort;" verse 4: "He that prophesieth edifieth the church." And in view of the foregoing statements, and the explicit declaration of the Apostle as to the manner of dress of women when they prophesied, or preached, 1 Cor. xi. 5, there can be no doubt but that they *did* preach in the early church. But these points will hardly be emphasized as we could wish until women share equally in translating the sacred text. That they should do this is most desirable, and young women of linguistic talent ought to make a specialty of Hebrew and New Testament Greek, in the interest of their sex.² A returned missionary from China assures me that of four separate translations of the New Testament into Chinese, all change Paul's words, Phil. iv. 3, "I intreat thee, also, true yoke-fellow, help those women which labored with me in the gospel," into "help those true yoke-fellows," etc., leaving out the idea of women altogether. A leading (male) missionary was asked the reason of this, and he *naively* replied, "Oh, it would not do, with the ideas of the Chinese, to mention women in this connection." Who can tell what weight a similar motive may have had with translators of the New Testament in the early ages of the church?

¹ Grimm's *Lexicon*.

² Instruction is now given to women in the theological seminaries named below: Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio; Boston University, Boston, Mass.; Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill.; the Chautauqua School of Theology, Dean Wright, 38 Bromfield Street, Boston. Most Unitarian and Universalist schools of theology admit them also. The Society of Friends has no such institutions, but reports 350 women ministers who have all the privileges enjoyed by Quaker preachers who are men.

Why not insist upon the deliverance "which seemed good unto the *Holy Ghost* and to us to lay upon you (the Gentiles) no greater burden than these necessary things — to abstain from meats offered to idols and from things strangled and from blood?" We are Gentiles, but surely our consciences would not be wounded by eating meat set before an East India idol, partaking of a chicken that had had its neck twisted, or of a steak so "rare" that blood was palpably present therein. Indeed, ministers are famous for doing some of these very things!

The same writers who exhaust the resources of language to deride the dogma of apostolic succession, rigidly enforce that of the male priesthood, for which the Bible gives them just as little warrant. Their hierarchy is man-made from first to last. When Luther disavowed it the deed was done forever, but the tendency of man's mind, unchecked by woman's, to run riot in the realm of force, is seen in the rank ecclesiasticism of the very church which to-day bears Luther's name. The call of the Apostles (whose supreme authorization "whose soever sins ye remit they are remitted unto them, and whose soever sins ye retain they are retained," no Protestant minister claims to have received), was no clearer than that which came to the one hundred and twenty in the Pentecostal chamber, and in that number women were clearly and indisputably included.

The man who argues that, "Adam being first formed," woman should be in perpetual subjection to the one who, before she was created was warned against eating of the tree of knowledge; who sinned by her side, and was dismissed with her from Eden, should remember that this literalness of rendering makes it his personal duty, day by day, actually to "eat his bread in the sweat of his face." The argument is a two-edged sword, and cuts both ways.

Time would fail me to tell of Miriam, the first prophetess, and Deborah, the first judge; of Hannah, whose answered prayer brought Samuel to be the hope and stay of a dejected nation; of Esther, the deliverer of her people; of Judith, their avenger; of the gracious group of Marys that clustered around her who was blessed among women; of Elizabeth, and Anna; of Martha, and those "daughters of Jerusalem" who lamented

while men crucified the world's Redeemer; of Lois and Eunice, who trained Timothy for the ministerial office; of "Tryphena and Tryphosa and the beloved Persis." Suffice it to say that these all stand forth, the equal stewards with their brethren, of God's manifold grace.

There are thirty or forty passages in favor of woman's public work for Christ, and only two against it, and these not really so when rightly understood. But in the face of all these embodied arguments it is objected that Paul specifies (in 2 Timothy ii. 2) men only as his successors: "And the things that thou hast heard of me, the same commit thou to faithful *men*, who shall be able to teach others also." But the word translated "men" is the same as that in the text "God now commandeth *men* everywhere to repent," and even the literalists will admit that women are, of all people, "commanded to repent!" But here comes in again the "fast and loose" method of interpretation; for preachers almost never refer to the women of their audiences, but tell about "men," and what "a man" was and is and is to be. A most amusing instance of this one-eyed way of looking at an audience occurred in Georgia where I once attended a meeting in the "week of prayer," and the good (young) Presbyterian pastor, in an audience of perhaps half a dozen men and seventy or more women, kept saying "brethren." When rallied upon this afterward, by a white-ribbon lady of his parish, he very seriously answered, "Certainly, I said 'brethren' and if there had been no one present but women I should have said 'brethren' still. I was so instructed in the theological seminary and so I do." But it never occurred to this excellent young man, nor to his theological professors, that by parity of reasoning women should be included in every prerogative accorded to the "brethren" by the New Testament! Christ called no Gentile and no colored man, but this lack of a precedent has never been urged against either. In woman's case alone is it made to do duty, and we shall find later on that if He called anybody whatever, He called those belonging to the same class represented by his only earthly parent.

Much is made of the word "subjection" (in 1 Tim. ii. 11,

and 1 Pet. iii. 1). But it occurs in another place where all members of the church are meant, "Yea, all of you be subject one to another." That is, strive all to serve each other. The same word is in Eph. v. 21, and is applied to *men*: "Submitting yourselves one to another in the fear of God."

The New Testament has no record of a woman's meeting. That dreary institution is a witty invention of modern hierarchs. "They were all with one accord in one place" when Christ sent the promised Pentecost. A "female prayer-meeting" in those days was a species as unknown as "female religion" itself. Regenerate hearts are of the common gender, and under the original dispensation of the Master, so are the ministers of the regeneration. It is left for Fulton Street prayer-meeting, with its modern Sanhedrim, to quench the spirit and to despise prophesyings unless uttered in a bass voice. A learned pastor wrote as follows in a scholarly exegetical treatise, "We do sometimes find a man's head on a woman's shoulders, but it is a great misfortune to her." Such an utterance from a man of intelligence and kindness would be a distinct form of blasphemy were he not too much the victim of denaturalizing theories to intend it otherwise than as a friendly warning to women of intellectual power. For such a view reverses nature's order. Life sleeps in minerals, dreams in vegetables, wakes in animals, and speaks in man. If it be a misfortune to a woman to have unusual reasoning powers, then it is better to dream than wake; then a tadpole is better off than a thinker; a trilobite outranks both in the scale of being and of blessedness. All such utterances are boulders in the rushing stream of thought; relics of that reign of force which hastens to be gone; fossils that will be pointed at with incredulity by the manhood of the gospel age now at our doors.

If they would be consistent, all ministers who accept the evolution theory — and a majority of them seem to have done so — must admit that not only was woman made out of better material than man (which they doubtless will cheerfully grant!), but that, coming last in the order of creation, she stands highest of all.

In life's prime and pride men like to quote "Adam was first

formed, then Eve," but at the grave they are ready to declare that "man, born of woman, is of few days and full of trouble."

The whole subjection theory grows out of the one-sided interpretation of the Bible by men. God declares a fact that man in his lapsed estate will rule over woman; but God does not speak with approbation of this act, and the whole tenor of the Scriptures is to show that in Christ the world is to be restored to the original intent of its creation when "there shall be no more curse." Pushed to its logical conclusion, this literal theory of subjection proves too much, as it is illustrated by the passage, 1 Pet. v. 5: "Yea, all of you be subject one to another, and be clothed with humility." Eph. v. 21: "Submitting yourselves one to another in the fear of God."

A stream cannot rise higher than its source, and it is rank disloyalty to the race when any man asserts that the possession of unusual reasoning powers is a misfortune to a woman. As late as 1874, in the Sarah Smiley case, the Brooklyn Presbytery reaffirmed in the following language a decision of the General Assembly dating back to 1837: "This Presbytery, having been informed that a woman has preached in one of our churches,¹ on Sabbath, at a regular service, therefore, resolved: that the Presbytery feel constrained to enjoin upon our churches strict regard to the following deliverance of the General Assembly: 'meeting of pious women by themselves, for conversation and prayer, we entirely approve. But let not the inspired prohibition of the great Apostle, as found in his Epistles to the Corinthians and to Timothy, be violated. To teach and to exhort or to lead in prayer in public and promiscuous assemblies is clearly forbidden to women in the holy oracles.'"

A general and deep-seated peculiarity of human nature is illustrated in the foregoing "deliverance." The position in fact (never formulated of course by any ministerial association, and probably not realized by our honored brethren), is just this: Christian women are at liberty to work in any way that does not interfere with ecclesiastical prerogative, and does help to build up the interests of the church, financially or spiritually. It is a whimsical fact that men seem comparatively willing that women

¹ Rev. Dr. T. L. Cuyler's.

should enter any profession except their own. The lawyer is willing that they should be doctors, and the doctor thinks they may plead at the bar if they desire to do so, but each prefers to keep them out of his own professional garden plot. This is true of ministers with added emphasis, for here we have the pride of sex plus the pride of sacerdotalism. "Does a woman think to rank with *me*?" That is the first question, and the second is like unto it as to its animus: "Does a woman think she has a right to stand with *me* in the most sacred of all callings?" But if the purest should be called to purest ministries, then women, by men's own showing, outrank them in actual fitness for the pulpit, and the fact is that woman's holiness and wholesomeness of life, her clean hands and pure heart, specially authorize her to be a minister of God. So much for the negative side — the rebuttal argument. Now for the positive.

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(*To be continued.*)

THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE PULPIT AND THE PEW.

IT is not necessary to take the position of the foolish optimist or that of the despairing pessimist in order rightly to survey the field of Christian work, consider the state of religion, note the things that cause anxiety and alarm, and point out the path of duty to the church, as the church is represented both by the pulpit and the pew. If we look at the gains which the church in this country is making in her membership and in her social position and wealth, without comparison at all with other facts, there is abundant room for congratulation and an optimistic report; but if we compare the gains in church membership with the advancing tide of population, or even with the membership of the churches on the basis of which we calculate the per cent. of increase; or if we compare the rapidly increasing wealth of the church with the comparatively small amounts given to missionary enterprise at home and abroad; or if we compare the vast forces, social and otherwise, at our disposal with the masses of unreached and unchurched people all around us; or if we consider the average easygoing and contented spirit of the churches in respect of the active and vigorous and aggressive work demanded on every hand by the spiritual conditions of the world; or if we consider the amount of time and attention given to the pulpit discussion of "questions that do not profit" with the latent and open infidelity of the so-called educated classes and the growing antagonism of the working classes to the church; or if we note the uncertain sound from many orthodox pulpits on vital questions, and the drift of popular thought away from old-fashioned beliefs, founded on our good old English Bible; then I think there is considerable occasion for a thoughtful Christian, if not to experience anxiety and alarm, at least to "look alive" to the necessities of the present religious crisis, and take immediate measures to set the tide the other way, if it is ebb, or to increase the power of the flow if it is in any sense a flood tide with us now.

It will be safe at any rate to say or assume that there is need just now, if ever in our history, of a powerful and widespread revival of religion. By this is not meant any number of series of gospel meetings over the land and in the churches conducted by evangelists or pastors; but a mighty movement of the Spirit of God that shall stir men's hearts everywhere, and cause the eternal and substantial reality of unseen things to take precedence in our thoughts and plans over the seen and temporary interests which do now so absorb the world, both Christian and secular. We need a revival that will fill the sermons of our ministers with the breath of heaven, and cause the gospel so ably preached in many pulpits in "word only," to be preached "in power and in the Holy Ghost and in much assurance"; that will call back from careless and worldly living the great bulk of the church into a state of consecration and spiritual life and service; that will press truth with conviction upon the minds and consciences of the unconverted and compel them to consider Jesus Christ and the resurrection; that will change the church from a sort of social and religious organization for the fashionable and formal Sunday worship of the thousands who are buried in secularity for six days of the week, into a real and vitalized union for Christian work; an organization both for the culture of the Christian life and from which the word of truth shall be sounded forth into all the world; an organization that shall be able to grapple with and settle the great moral and social problems that threaten both society and the state, by the force and power of the testimony of the word of God, emphasized by the practical living and doing of the disciple of Christ. When the church of Christ, weak and feeble in outward forces, first plunged headlong into the heathen world from Jerusalem, it was armed and equipped with some such conception of her mission as this. Energized in every part and member of the mystic body by the Holy Ghost, it turned the world upside down. Yet there are more unconverted heathen in the world to-day than in the days of Paul; more ungodliness and superstition in New York and Boston, in Chicago and St. Louis, in Cincinnati and Philadelphia, than there were in Athens and Corinth, or even in Rome herself, in the days when

the great Apostle to the Gentiles visited those cities. It is true, on the other hand, that there is more, vastly more, godliness and spiritual power in these cities of ours than in those heathen cities of old even after the gospel came to them; but it is a question whether the spiritual force of the church to-day is as great in proportion to numbers and every point of advantage which she enjoys, when compared with the alienated populations about her, as it was when a handful of believers, worshipping here and there in the houses of the disciples, confronted the heathen cities. It is a question whether the power of the church is not in an inverse ratio to her numbers, wealth, social position, and abundance of instrumentalities. If these positions are true in any reasonable measure, then the question is why are they true and how may we reverse this state of things and put the church on its best footing and organize it for a more abundant conquest.

The first need of the church to-day, in both pulpit and pew, is an endowment of power from on high. That which characterized and energized the early disciples and made the infant church of Jesus Christ invincible was the mighty and manifest presence of the Holy Ghost sent down from heaven. There was a deep sense of personal insufficiency not only for service but even for thought with the first disciples; a constant sense of dependence upon the presence and power of the Holy Spirit, not only as an abiding Comforter but as a present anointing Power for service; and there was a constant recurrence to prayer and waiting upon God for a continuance of his presence and re-anointing and re-fillings by the Holy Ghost. We cannot read the Acts of the Apostles without being struck with the manifest presence and mighty agency of the Holy Spirit in all the work of the early church. "It seemed good to us and to the Holy Ghost," wrote the brethren from Jerusalem to those at Antioch, "The hand of the Lord was with us," reported the brethren in respect of their missionary work, "The Holy Ghost fell on them as on us at the beginning," said Peter in giving account of the conversion of Cornelius and his family. The Spirit of the Lord sent Philip down to the desert to preach to the solitary inquirer of the departing chariot; and when he

was through with that notable bit of personal work, "the Spirit caught away Philip and he was found at Azotus." The Holy Spirit in those days was not a name or a mere enthusiasm; He was a mighty Personal Presence, with whom the disciples took daily counsel, as with a present friend, and in whose fellowship they did all their work, and without whom they could do nothing. In those days instrumentalities were less conspicuous than power; in our days power is less manifest than instrumentalities. We increase our machinery in proportion as we fail of heavenly power. Therefore does the church of God drive heavily on her chariot wheels.

Nothing can or will take the place of the Holy Spirit in the work of God. There never was a great revival of religion but that this mighty power of God marked and characterized it. Brilliant ministry, profound preaching, elegant churches, artistic music, high social position, and any amount of wealth cannot produce a revival of religion or press the gospel into the hearts of men. This then is our first and greatest need. Every heart and thought of the church ought to be turned toward God for a great outpouring of the Holy Spirit. No consideration should turn us away from this "expected end." No theory should be allowed a place in our thought to persuade us that God has altered his method in this respect or that the Holy Ghost has changed his habit toward his people. He, like the other persons in the Godhead, is the "same yesterday, to-day, and forever;" and so long as the dispensation under which we live is unchanged the methods of the divine grace will be unchanged.

But the Holy Spirit moves along certain lines in connection with which He manifests his power. For instance, we note that the first manifestation of his presence and power was in connection with the assembling of the disciples with one accord in prayer and waiting upon God; not only for *one* outpouring, but for subsequent manifestations of his special presence (Acts ii. 1-4; iv. 23-31). It was under these circumstances that the disciples received power from on high. Then we notice that the circumstances under which the power of God wrought in the hearts of the unconverted people was that the disciples (notably Peter) preached *the word of God* to them and showed

them that Jesus, whom they had crucified, was none other than the Son of God, and that through his death and resurrection they might be saved. We conclude, therefore, that if we are to have a return of power to the church there must be a *rallying of his people to prayer and consecration, and a revival of Biblical preaching, in which Jesus and the resurrection shall be conspicuously presented in the word.* In other terms, the responsibility of the work of God among men rests jointly with the pulpit and the pew. Let us look for a little at these two things.

1. *The responsibility of the pulpit in respect of the preaching of God's word.* This is an age in which the very word of God is called in question, if not directly at least oftentimes indirectly, by some who suppose themselves sent to preach it. When Peter and Stephen and Paul preached they did not question whether Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy were the inspired and authoritative word of God any more than our Lord himself did when He referred to and quoted from them in his public and private ministry. They did not hesitate to use the Scriptures found in the Prophets and Psalms, and urge them upon the hearts and consciences of men as being the very words of God. The Holy Ghost honored his own word, when it was preached; and especially when it was used to give witness to Jesus and the resurrection, He sent it home with power to the hearts of men. There is great need of a revival of unquestioning confidence in the Scriptures of the Old Testament, and a fearless and bold use of them in our preaching. If a man has serious doubts as to whether the Scriptures are of God, *he had better leave the ministry or master his doubts.* It is true that a doubt is not necessarily an impeachment of faith, but it is such an assault upon it that unless it is repelled it will prevent the preacher from doing anything but defensive work, and even that will cease after a time. There should be a careful re-study of the great themes of apostolic preaching, especially as touching the Godhead of Christ, the expiatory sacrifice of Christ, the new birth, and the resurrection, with repentance and faith as the immediate duty of all men toward God and our Lord Jesus Christ. The modern liberalism of the

pulpit, with its shoal of human speculations, is such that the Holy Ghost cannot join himself to it. He can only work when the word of God is preached, and not where the opinions of men are substituted. Let us preach the word, and the Author of the word will join himself to it and make it quick and powerful. For this the pulpit is responsible. Whenever our pulpits shall ring again with the stern and gracious doctrines of God's word, stripped of speculative velvet, and separated from the chaff of "advanced thinking," then will the Holy Ghost be present again, and men will once more be found crying out, "Men and brethren what shall we do?" and the number of them that shall be added to the church will be by hundreds and thousands rather than by tens and scores. Let the revival begin here at the pulpit.

2. *The responsibility of the pew in respect of the worship and work of the church.* It does not take a minute examination of the condition and habits of the churches throughout the land to discover that but a fraction of the membership are really and vitally engaged in the spiritual work of the church. Whatever the *doctrine* of the church may be, the *practical habit* is that, instead of being a union of spiritual men and women for the worship and work of God, it has come to be regarded as a kind of religious machine to be taken care of and run by the *hired minister* and such "workers" as "have a taste for such things." When the Holy Ghost was first given in power to the church, "the disciples were all with one accord in one place." They were not scattered about Jerusalem attending every one to his personal interests. After the gathering of the first Pentecostal converts, "all that believed were *together*, and had all things common; and sold their possessions and goods, and parted them to all men, as every man had need. And they continued daily with one accord in the temple; and breaking bread from house to house, did eat their meat with gladness and singleness of heart, praising God, and having favor with all people. And the Lord added to the church daily such as should be saved." It seems to me that here we have the ideal condition and principle of church fellowship. The church in its work and worship is a matter that concerns and imposes

responsibility upon every member. It is a company of men and women banded together in the power of the Holy Ghost as a union for work and worship. It is a company of men and women who have said that nought that they have is their own, but have laid all on the altar to be divided and used according to the needs of the work and the brethren. Of course we are not to understand that the early church abandoned all business and home and social life and became a formal community, holding no property in individual right, and doing nothing day in and day out but praising and praying and preaching, and going from house to house eating the Lord's Supper. This statement in the Acts simply reveals the inward and underlying principles on which the church was gathered and organized. The work of God was the first and main concern of their lives. They held their property at the disposal of the Lord according as his cause had need; they held themselves ready at any time to assemble themselves together for special service; their private business and social obligations and inclinations were entirely in subordination to the higher claims of God, and were sanctified by them.

Now our contention is that this spirit and practice is not in the church to-day, that is, not to such an extent as to characterize it. There are individuals who illustrate this spirit and principle, and to them is due whatever of power and prosperity there is in the church. The mass of the church, however, do not consecrate their property; do not subordinate their private business and social inclinations to the higher claims of God and the church. Only a small proportion of the church assemble for prayer; only a few men give themselves with anything like consecration to the work of the Lord. The bulk of the men and the women are busy with their secular and social affairs, and leave the church and its spiritual prosperity and its work to the care of those who happen to like such labor. This is especially true of the higher classes, as they are called, and the wealthy and strong business men. Only here and there is there an exception to this rule. Special meetings and efforts of the pastor and his little company of workers are usually brought to nought by the comparative if not absolute indifference of the

bulk of his membership, who are too busy with their private business, too much occupied with social duties, or too indifferent to spiritual things to "come to the help of the Lord against the mighty."

Here, then, is the responsibility of pulpit and pew. Let the ministers be careful to preach the word of God, without mixture of chaff. Let the people who make up the church, both rich and poor, give themselves to prayer and praise, and consecrate themselves to God's work. Let all together wait upon the Lord for power from on high. This is no idle or pessimistic exhortation. I am persuaded that but comparatively few of God's people really understand the true condition of the church to-day, or realize the peril that confronts us. A hundred drifts of thought are diverting the attention of the pulpit from the simple business of preaching the word, and the mad rush after riches and the idle hunt after mere pleasure are sapping the best life of the church and diverting her energies from her true mission and work. Let the scholar do his work, we shall not complain; let the discussion incident to modern questions of criticism, and what not beside, concerning the canon of Scripture, go on, as it must go on, until they are settled, as they will be settled, in such a way as to vindicate the genuineness and authenticity of God's word; but, meantime, let the pulpit and the pew be faithful to their joint mission of heralding the gospel of Jesus Christ and doing his work according to all his commandments. Then we shall see the church in power again with God and the people.

GEORGE F. PENTECOST.

Mont Clair, New Jersey, January, 1888.

INDICTABLE ART.

BETWEEN morals and art there is no conflict until art becomes indictable from indecency, and then law interposes against this corrupting element in art. Law is at all times opposed to obscenity and indecency. Obscenity is a moral monster, a lurking foe, constantly ready to attack morals, especially those of the young. Whenever obscenity appears in the moral world, the work of death begins. It may come in the flowery rhyme of the poet; on the gilded wing of art; or by the more sober and sedate plodding of prose. It may be clothed with the filthy rags of coarse, brutal speech; or by the printed words of a ready writer, or it may appear at the magic touch of the artist's brush; but, coming in any guise, its breath is fetid, its tendency poisonous to morality, and its effect moral prostration and death.

Law stands as a health officer, and quarantines this evil tendency, while the courts supply a remedy. Justice draws the fangs, and renders this hydra-headed monster powerless.

A body of artists in New York city have, in a recent card published in all the papers in that city, entered a most astounding protest against what they may be said to regard as an "invasion of their rights" on the part of the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice. They demand the suppression of that society because its agent has, by due process of law, brought certain French photographs of lewd works of art into court for adjudication as to whether their tendency upon the morals of the young is not injurious and degrading. This action of these artists will be considered all the more surprising when the public learn that not one of them had the manliness to go to the office of the Society for the Suppression of Vice to ascertain what the facts were. Their judgment of the merits of the case, and their protest, will not be considered of much weight, inasmuch as not one of them has any knowledge of the facts. Their action, like the judgment of many other good citizens, is based

on newspaper misrepresentations (a word of three letters would express this more truthfully), and upon the mistaken view that "art is exempt from the provisions of law."

This is error. Morals stand first. Law is next in rank, as the defender of morality. "The police power of a State," says the Supreme Court of the United States, "in all matters affecting public morals and health cannot be abridged."

The common law of England, since 1726, the date of the first case of a man convicted under it and sentenced for selling an obscene book, has held that "what *tends* to corrupt public morals is indictable." This first case brought to judgment was entitled *King v. Curl*. The principles there laid down have been affirmed and re-affirmed by an unbroken chain of decisions ever since.

The full court of the Queen's Bench, in the great leading English case of *Queen v. Hicklin*, tried about the year 1867, said:—

"The law in *Curl's* case was established upon true principles. What *tends* to corrupt society was held to be punishable by indictment.

"The courts are guardians of the public morals, and therefore have jurisdiction in such cases. Hence it follows that an offense may be punishable if in its nature, and by its example, it tends to the corruption of morals although it be not committed in public." (L. R. 3 Q. B.)

All the American courts under common law and statutory enactments affirm the same principles. The same was held in Connecticut in 1806, in *Knowles v. State*, under an indictment for an obscene show. (3 Day's Conn.) Also in 1815 in Pennsylvania, where one Sharpless was tried and convicted for exhibiting an obscene painting, a work of art. This is one of the greatest American cases under the common law, and was affirmed and cited with approval in the Queen's Bench in England, in the case of *The Queen v. Saunders et al.*, who had been convicted in England for an indecent exhibition. The higher court in Pennsylvania, to whom the case of Sharpless came upon appeal, held,—

"Any offense which in its nature and by its example *tends* to the corruption of morals, as the exhibition of an obscene picture, is indictable at common law.

"A picture tends to excite lust as strongly as a writing, and the showing of a picture is as much a publication as the selling of a book." (2 Serg. & R. 91.)

Again, people, and good people, are ignorant of what in law is "obscene, lewd, and indecent."

Their ignorance leads to many difficulties, especially as most writers for the daily press seem to think that art is exempt from the restraints of law, and that obscenity must be some cheap publication containing gross words, or some lewd photograph taken from life where grossness is emphasized. Fortunately for morals these views are incorrect.

In the great leading case in England, above referred to, we find a sentence which may be truly said to be accepted in England and America as the test of obscenity, to wit:—

"Whether the tendency of the matters charged as obscenity is to deprave and corrupt the minds of persons open to such immoral influences, and into whose hands a publication of this sort may fall."

Then as though to emphasize and apply this test practically, the learned court added:—

"Now, with regard to this work, it is quite certain that it would suggest to the minds of the young, of either sex, or even to persons of more advanced years, thoughts of a most impure and libidinous character."

It will be observed how jealously the courts thus guard morals, as they use the words "*tends*," "*tendency*," and "*suggests*." It need not be an absolute injury. It is forbidden if its tendency is to corrupt the morals or deprave the minds of persons open to such evil tendencies.

After citing the foregoing test in the leading American case of *United States v. Bennett*, under the statute of the United States concerning the sending of obscene matter by mail, the United States Circuit Court for the Southern District of New York, said:—

"It is within the law if it would *suggest* impure or libidinous thoughts in the young or the inexperienced."

The highest courts of the State of New York, in the celebrated case of *People v. Muller*, convicted for selling nine different pho-

tographs, — copies of nine works of art, — unanimously affirmed his conviction, and said concerning the object of the law (sec. 317, Penal Code, New York) : —

“The object of the law was to protect *public morals*, especially of that class of the community whose character is not so completely formed as to be proof against the lewd effects of the pictures, photographs, and publications prohibited.” (32 Hun, 28.)

The courts have thus uniformly established a standard of morals, to which Art, Prose, and Poetry must bow, if their tendency is to obscenity or indecency. In other words, these are all restricted under the police power inherent in every government, in the interest of good morals.

Will thoughtful men and women censure this noble society for invoking these principles in the recent cases where lewd French art has come in contact with morals and been beaten back by law?

It will be interesting to consider in this connection what has been accomplished by this society by due process of law, and the applying of the foregoing principles, for the homes of this land.

Since January 1, 1887, there have been eighty-seven persons arrested, ninety-seven convicted, upon whom have been imposed penalties amounting to eighty-eight years, seven months, and twenty-five days imprisonment, and fines amounting to \$5,550. There have been seized twenty-seven obscene papers, one hundred and seven obscene books, seven hundred and ninety-two obscene figures, twenty thousand six hundred and forty-three obscene pictures, twenty-five thousand three hundred obscene circulars, songs, etc., fifty-six articles of indecent or immoral use, and two thousand nine hundred and eight negatives for making obscene photographs, about one half ton of lottery circulars, and a ton of gambling paraphernalia, etc. As a grand total, to date since 1872, they show one thousand two hundred and thirty-two persons arrested, seven hundred and thirteen convicted, upon whom were imposed penalties of two hundred and sixty-three years, seven months, and twenty-five days imprisonment, and eighty-four thousand eight hundred and sixty dollars, ninety-five cents fines, and more than forty-nine tons of matters seized.

In accomplishing this for the public, the chief agent of this

society has been followed with obloquy, ridicule, and abuse by many of the daily papers. The so-called Liberals, as represented by the repeal element of the American Secular Union, the new name for the old musty National Liberal League, have joined hands with ex-convicted dealers in obscenity, and with them plotted and schemed to overthrow the society, and particularly the agent of the society, who all these years has borne the brunt of the affray. These enemies have conspired to overthrow existing laws, and to secure adverse legislation. They have been met at every point and vanquished. Needed laws have been secured to protect public morals, and then sustained and vigorously enforced after being enacted. And yet at the end of fifteen years' service of hand-to-hand conflict with these "cancer planters," we find an empty treasury, a lax support, a questionable sympathy on the part of many good men and women, and abuse without stint from the daily press, and from our natural enemies, the foes to moral purity.

Let good men inquire as to the facts before condemning our methods, judgment, or discretion. Then, if we are right, sustain the cause of morality, by placing in the hands of this society weapons with which to fight the devil's allies. We are accused of lacking judgment. It is, however, a little significant of good judgment and care somewhere, by some one, that out of *ninety-nine* cases brought to trial since January 1, 1887, we have secured a judgment of conviction in *ninety-seven* cases.

Pure children or indictable French photographs, which shall it be?

ANTHONY COMSTOCK.

New York City.

THE NATIONAL DIVORCE REFORM LEAGUE.

THE work of this league is so connected that an account of it as a whole will be the most intelligible. The first steps to the organization of the league were taken at the close of one of the Monday lectures of 1880-81, when Mr. Cook was in Europe. Having given considerable time to the study of the subject, and having written much on it the previous four years, I was invited to speak on "Facts as to Divorce in New England." Rev. George A. Jackson, of Swampscott, Mass., probably earlier than any one else, had conceived the idea, in the summer of 1880, of some common bond for those who had begun, in Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Vermont, to work for better divorce laws. He, Rev. Dr. L. W. Bacon, and others, after some correspondence, called a meeting to consider the subject at the close of my lecture, January 24, 1881. The lecture treated of divorce as one of several evils touching the family, including particularly that of unchastity, at which the White Cross movement now aims, and the family was declared to be the real problem to be met. But the existing circumstances of our Connecticut friends, and other reasons, decided the gentlemen present to organize a New England League for Divorce Reform, and this phrase has been retained in the title of the league since it became national. But the constitution of the league says "Its object shall be to promote an improvement in public sentiment and legislation on the institution of the family, especially as affected by existing evils relating to marriage and divorce," and its constitution as a legal corporation makes the family even more prominent.

It was not, however, until the first of September, 1882, that I resigned my pastorate in Royalton, Vt., and began work in full as its corresponding secretary; for not till then could even a partial provision for financial support be made, and not until

the last year have the annual receipts equaled the annual expenses, and part of the debt still remains to be paid this year.

The league has been a Christian and catholic movement from the first. Its members and officers have included men of all Protestant faiths and also Catholics. Ex-President Woolsey and Bishop Paddock of Massachusetts have been its two presidents; eminent educators, clergymen, and lawyers have composed its executive committee. It has carefully shunned formulating a creed on divorce, kept clear of party cries and divisions, but sought all who would help towards a better condition of things. It has been shy of theories, and sought facts and proceeded carefully on their basis; but it has tried to study these and its whole work from as broad a knowledge of the history and science of law and social institutions as possible. Practical questions have been treated as such, and also in their broader historical and sociological relations. The work has accordingly taken four leading directions:—

1. The collection, and publication, as we could, of statistical and similar information concerning the family. The personal inquiries of the secretary and others and the slowly increasing official sources have done a good deal; and now, after four years' effort, Congress has lately enabled the work to be done for the whole country by the National Bureau of Labor. This work will be completed during the year, and will probably be one of the most important contributions ever made to the knowledge of our social problems. Important practical results will follow. We desired, and Congress gave liberty to, the Bureau of Labor to pursue this investigation in its own way and on the broadest principles; but our ideas of the scope of the inquiry were sought, and so far have been adopted.

The past year has brought a good degree of success to our plan to have an official report through our consuls to the department of State on the effect of the social morality of emigrants from Europe on our population. We proposed this nearly five years ago, gained the consent of the department, and by request submitted a series of inquiries to be made. After many delays, a portion of these were used, and the recent report on immigration followed. A compilation of this part of the report, with

large additions from original sources, was published in the "Independent" of October 20, 1887. Provisions on these matters would have been incorporated in one of the senate bills had the senator who introduced it felt confident of success in more than the simplest measures. We shall try to get more of the States to take up and carry on the collection of statistics which Congress has begun for them.

2. Wise legislation has been carefully sought. The league has nowhere tried to force legislation. It has had no ideal system of law to propose for general adoption. It has left the people of each State to solve their own problems of legislation after pointing to the need, giving information and making suggestions when sought or it was proper to do so. When asked to advise, it has recommended the removal of the most obvious abuses first, and the substitution of more carefully defined causes of divorce for the greatly abused discretionary clauses, and that such amendments of law be attempted as are most likely to commend themselves to legislation and are likely to bear the test of experience. In this way each State does its own work, local interest is awakened, and a series of valuable experiments in legislation are being made. The league has afforded a means of arousing and directing public opinion on legislation and been a means for the exchange of information.

As many as eight or nine different States have already shared in this reformatory legislation, covering eighteen or twenty distinct amendments to the marriage and divorce laws. In Maine the entire system was reconstructed, greatly reducing divorces. Arizona and Connecticut also repealed their notorious "omnibus" clauses. Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, and Vermont have restricted the re-marriage of divorced persons, and the two former States have made all divorces *nisi* or conditional for six months. Vermont, in 1884, and Michigan, the last year, have interposed a delay of six and four months respectively between the filing of the libel and the trial of the case. Pennsylvania has a radically new marriage law, and other States have improved both marriage and divorce laws and protected more carefully young girls.

The great problem of the conflicting laws of the United

States has been carefully studied. We early found so many wrong and imperfect opinions current upon this subject that we began four years ago the systematic and persistent movement for statistics, and for the knowledge which only such an investigation as Congress has ordered could give. Eminent men of all parties and views recognized this as the real place to begin, and the present administration, especially through frequent and efficient effort by the attorney general, has aided our purpose. The attention of the president has been called to the probable need of congressional action upon the marriage and divorce laws of the Territories and District of Columbia. When the results of the investigation are known, the national government and the state will probably be ready to take some important steps. Much light will be thrown on the problem concerning the need of uniform laws.

3. Educational work. This has included various branches of the general subject of the family, like marriage, divorce, unchastity, and children. The study of the family from the widest view has been greatly stimulated. Lectures have been given in a large number of the colleges, universities, law schools, and theological seminaries of the East, and in some instances in the West. Papers have been read before clubs and in public assemblies of the most representative character, and popular addresses given in the cities and some of the larger towns. A dozen articles have been contributed to reviews by the secretary and several by other writers. A large correspondence with those who have treated the subject has been carried on, including those in the highest official positions in the country, and students and teachers of every sort who have applied for suggestions or direction to the sources of information.

We have found the changes in divorce, and other matters affecting the family, so intimately connected with the history of the family as a social institution that we have directed attention to the study of social institutions historically and comparatively. We are confident that the training of our legislators, pastors, teachers, and reformers in this neglected field would not only furnish new reasons for the reform of our family laws, but would give these classes of minds a better

grasp of their own special work, and lead to a better care and use of the family itself. No one can fairly understand many of the social questions of the day until he has seen them in the light of that knowledge which the study of the social institutions behind them only can give. This part of our work is but slightly developed. But already some students have taken up the family in this country, or have gone to Europe to pursue it. Some lecturers and many pastors have sought direction and help of us. A course of lectures in Boston for this class and a correspondence school have been repeatedly suggested. These may in time be undertaken. The popular course of lectures of Mrs. Maria Upham Drake, given to women last winter, and this in Boston and vicinity, on the home and related subjects, grew out of lines of study pursued in correspondence with us.

4. The stimulation of more and better use of the family in social work. We have pointed out the fact that religious, educational, and philanthropic efforts are taking on and developing collective and representative types of activity out of proportion to those which develop the resources of the home in the domestic type, and that in certain phases of society, especially in back rural districts and among the poor in great cities, the home must be brought into larger use. The home department of the Sunday-school was invented to show what could be done in extending Sunday-school work beyond its present limits and in quickening the religious life of the family. Hundreds of these departments are already in successful operation all over the country, and young pastors especially are studying to see what they can do towards developing other work of the kind.

The possibility of a closer relation between home and the public school under a better comprehension of their common work, as something both desirable and practical, has been brought before some leading educators, and very likely something will be done at no very distant time to apply the principle there. Philanthropic work is looking more towards the home as the chief reconstructive institution in reformatory work. We have done something to direct attention to the need of tracing crime, vice, and poverty to their important sources in the bad

homes of the people, and to turn thought to the consequent need of a modification of some of the arguments and methods by which the temperance and other reforms have been advocated. The bearing of the family upon industrial and economic problems generally has been taken up. Some important investigations have been suggested and approved in high quarters. But important as these are to the wealth and industry of the country, they must wait until the public mind is better prepared for them.

The league, aiming at the preservation and development of the most fundamental and universal institution of society, tries to do thorough work as far as it can. It is necessarily slow working at the foundations, especially when popular sentiment inclines to meet subjects as they come up separately, and without much regard to the science of social order, and when crusades are more popular than digging for foundations and laying them. But there is an increasing demand for these better methods. It comes now faster than we can meet it with our present means.

This will serve as an introduction to a fair understanding of our work. Information will be given in this and other publications of future measures and their results.

S. W. DIKE.

Auburndale, Mass., January, 1888.

PROHIBITION WITHOUT COMPENSATION, CONSTITUTIONAL.

Full Text of the Decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the Kansas Prohibition Cases. December 5, 1887. Official copy, except sub-heads.

MR. JUSTICE HARLAN delivered the opinion of the court.

These cases involve an inquiry into the validity of certain statutes of Kansas relating to the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors. The first two are indictments charging Mugler, the plaintiff in error, in one case with having sold and in the other with having manufactured spirituous, vinous, malt, fermented, and other intoxicating liquors in Saline County, Kansas, without having the license or permit required by the statute. The defendant, having been found guilty, was fined in each case \$100 and ordered to be committed to the county jail until the fine was paid. Each judgment was affirmed by the Supreme Court of Kansas, and thereby it is contended the defendant was denied rights, privileges, and immunities guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States.

The third case — *Kansas v. Ziebold & Hagelin* — was commenced by petition filed in one of the courts of the State. The relief sought is : —

1. That the group of buildings in Atchison County, Kansas, constituting the brewery of the defendants, partners, as Ziebold & Hagelin, be adjudged a common nuisance, and the sheriff, or other proper officer, directed to shut up and abate the same.

2. That the defendants be enjoined from using, or permitting to be used, the said premises as a place where intoxicating liquors may be sold, bartered, or given away, or kept for barter, sale, or gift, otherwise than by authority of law.

INTERPRETATION OF THE FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT.

The defendants answered, denying the allegations of the petition and averring : —

1. That said buildings were erected by them prior to the adoption by the people of Kansas of the constitutional amendment prohibiting the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors for other than medicinal, scientific, and mechanical purposes, and before the passage of the prohibitory liquor statute of that state.

2. That they were erected for the purpose of manufacturing beer, and cannot be put to any other use, and if not so used they will be of little value.

3. That the statute under which said suit was brought is void under the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution of the United States.

Upon the petition and bond of the defendants, the cause was removed into the Circuit Court of the United States for the District of Kansas upon the ground that the suit was one arising under the Constitution of the United States. A motion to remand it to the state court was denied. The pleadings were recast so as to conform to the equity practice in the courts of the United States ; and, the cause having been heard upon bill and answer, the suit was dismissed. From that decree the State prosecutes an appeal.

KANSAS PROHIBITORY STATUTE.

By a statute of Kansas, approved March 3, 1868, it was made a misdemeanor, punishable by fine and imprisonment, for any one, directly or indirectly, to sell spirituous, vinous, fermented, or other intoxicating liquors without having a dramshop, tavern, or grocery license. It also enacted among other things that every place where intoxicating liquors were sold in violation of the statute should be taken, held, and deemed to be a common nuisance; and it was required that all rooms, taverns, eating-houses, bazaars, restaurants, groceries, coffee-houses, cellars, or other places of public resort where intoxicating liquors are sold in violation of law, should be abated as public nuisances. Gen. Stat. Kansas, 1868, ch. 35. But in 1880 the people of Kansas adopted a more stringent policy. On the 2d of November of that year they ratified an amendment to the state Constitution which declared that the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors should be forever prohibited in that state, except for medicinal, scientific, and mechanical purposes. In order to give effect to that amendment, the legislature repealed the act of 1868, and passed an act, approved February 19, 1881, to take effect May 1, 1881, entitled "An act to prohibit the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors except for medical, scientific, and mechanical purposes, and to regulate the manufacture and sale thereof for such excepted purposes."

Its first section provides : —

"That any person or persons who shall manufacture, sell, or barter any spirituous, malt, vinous, fermented, or other intoxicating liquors shall be guilty of a misdemeanor ; provided, however, that such liquors may be sold for medical, scientific, and mechanical purposes, as provided in this act."

The second section makes it unlawful for any person to sell or barter for either of such excepted purposes any malt, vinous, spirituous, fermented, or other intoxicating liquors without having procured a druggist's permit therefor, and prescribes the condition upon which such permit may be granted.

The third section relates to the giving by physicians of prescriptions for intoxicating liquors to be used by their patients, and the fourth to the sale of such liquors by druggists. The fifth section forbids any person from manufacturing, or assisting in the manufacture of, intoxicating liquors in the state, except for medicinal, scientific, and mechanical purposes, and makes provision for the granting of licenses to engage in the business of manufacturing liquors for such excepted purposes. The seventh section declares it to be a misdemeanor for any person not having the required permit to sell

or barter, directly or indirectly, spirituous, malt, vinous, fermented, or other intoxicating liquors; the punishment prescribed being for the first offense a fine of not less than \$100 nor more than \$500, or imprisonment in the county jail not less than twenty nor more than ninety days; for the second offense, a fine of not less than \$200 nor more than \$500, or imprisonment in the county jail not less than sixty days nor more than six months; and for every subsequent offense, a fine of not less than \$500 nor more than \$1,000, or imprisonment in the county jail not less than three months nor more than one year, or both such fine and imprisonment, in the discretion of the court.

The eighth section provides for similar fines and punishments against persons who manufacture, or aid, assist, or abet in the manufacture of any intoxicating liquors without having the required permit. The thirteenth section declares, among other things, all places where intoxicating liquors are manufactured, sold, bartered, or given away, or are kept for sale, barter, or use, in violation of the act, to be common nuisances; and provides that upon the judgment of any court having jurisdiction, finding such place to be a nuisance, the proper officer shall be directed to shut up and abate the same.

Under that statute the prosecutions against Mugler were instituted. It contains other sections in addition to those above referred to; but as they embody merely the details of the general scheme adopted by the State for the prohibition of the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors, except for the purposes specified, it is unnecessary to set them out. On the 7th of March, 1885, the legislature passed an act amendatory and supplementary to that of 1881. The thirteenth section of the former act, being the one upon which the suit against Ziebold & Hagelin is founded, will be given in full in a subsequent part of this opinion.

The facts necessary to a clear understanding of the questions common to these cases are the following: Mugler, and Ziebold & Hagelin were engaged in manufacturing beer at their respective establishments (constructed specially for that purpose) for several years prior to the adoption of the constitutional amendment of 1880. They continued in such business in defiance of the statute of 1881 without having the required permit. Nor did Mugler have a license or permit to sell beer. The single sale of which he was found guilty occurred in the State, and after May 1, 1881 — that is, after the act of February 19, 1881, took effect — and was of beer manufactured before its passage. The buildings and machinery constituting these breweries are of little value if not used for the purpose of manufacturing beer; that is to say, if the statutes are enforced against the defendants the value of their property will be very materially diminished. The general question in each case is whether the foregoing statutes of Kansas are in conflict with that clause of the Fourteenth Amendment which provides that "No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States, nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty or property, without due process of law."

PROHIBITORY LEGISLATION, CONSTITUTIONAL.

That legislation by a state prohibiting the manufacture within her limits of intoxicating liquors, to be sold there or bartered for general use as a beverage, does not necessarily infringe any right, privilege, or immunity secured by the Constitution of the United States, is made clear by the decisions of this court rendered before and since the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment. In the license cases (5 How. 504) the question was whether certain statutes of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire, relating to the sale of spirituous liquors, were repugnant to the Constitution of the United States.

In determining that question it became necessary to inquire whether there was any conflict between the exercise by Congress of its power to regulate commerce with foreign countries or among the several States and the exercise by a state of what are called police powers. Although the members of the court did not fully agree as to the grounds upon which the decision should be placed, they were unanimous in holding that the statutes then under examination were not inconsistent with the Constitution of the United States or with any act of Congress. Chief Justice Taney said: —

“If any state deems the retail and internal traffic in ardent spirits injurious to its citizens and calculated to produce idleness, vice, or debauchery, I see nothing in the Constitution of the United States to prevent it from regulating and restraining the traffic, or from prohibiting it altogether, if it thinks proper.”

Mr. Justice McLean, among other things, said: —

“A state regulates its domestic commerce, contracts, the transmission of estates, real and personal, and acts upon internal matters which relate to its moral and political welfare. Over these subjects the federal government has no power. The acknowledged police power of a state extends often to the destruction of property. A nuisance may be abated. Everything prejudicial to the health or morals of a city may be removed.”

Mr. Justice Woodbury observed: —

“How can they (the States) be sovereign within their respective spheres without power to regulate all their internal commerce, as well as police, and direct how, when, and where it shall be conducted in articles intimately connected either with public morals or the public safety or public prosperity?”

Justice Grier, in still more emphatic language, said: —

“The true question presented by these acts, and one which I am not disposed to evade, is whether the States have a right to prohibit the sale and consumption of an article of commerce which they believe to be pernicious in its effects, and the cause of disease, pauperism, and crime. Without attempting to define what are the peculiar subjects or limits of this power, it may safely be affirmed that every law for the restraint or punishment of crime, for the preservation of the public peace, health, and morals, must come within this category.

“It is not necessary, for the sake of justifying the state legislation now

under consideration, to array the appalling statistics of misery, pauperism, and crime which have their origin in the use or abuse of ardent spirits. The police power, which is exclusively in the states, is alone competent to the correction of these great evils, and all measures of restraint or prohibition necessary to effect the purpose are within the scope of that authority."

In *Bartemeyer v. Iowa*, 18 Wall. 129, it was said that, prior to the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment, state enactments regulating or prohibiting the traffic in intoxicating liquors raised no question under the Constitution of the United States, and that such legislation was left to the discretion of the respective States, subject to no other limitations than those imposed by their own constitutions, or by the general principles supposed to limit all legislative power. Referring to the contention that the right to sell intoxicating liquors was secured by the Fourteenth Amendment, the court said that, "so far as such a right exists, it is not one of the rights growing out of citizenship of the United States." In *Beer Company v. Massachusetts*, 97 U. S. 33, it was said that, "as a measure of police regulation, looking to the preservation of public morals, a state law prohibiting the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors is not repugnant to any clause of the Constitution of the United States."

Finally, in *Foster v. Kansas*, 112 U. S. 206, the court said that the question as to the constitutional power of a state to prohibit the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors was no longer an open one in this court. These cases rest upon the acknowledged right of the States of the Union to control their purely internal affairs, and in so doing to protect the health, morals, and safety of their people by regulations that do not interfere with the execution of the powers of the general government, or violate rights secured by the Constitution of the United States. The power to establish such regulations, as was said in *Gibbons v. Ogden*, 9 Wheat. 203, reaches everything within the territory of a state not surrendered to the national government.

LIMITATIONS OF THE RIGHT TO MANUFACTURE.

It is, however, contended that, although the state may prohibit the manufacture of intoxicating liquors for sale or barter within her limits for general use as a beverage, "no convention or legislature has the right, under our form of government, to prohibit any citizen from manufacturing for his own use, or for export or storage, any article of food or drink not endangering or affecting the rights of others." The argument made in support of the first branch of this proposition, briefly stated, is:—

That in the implied compact between the state and the citizen certain rights are reserved by the latter which are guaranteed by the constitutional provision protecting persons against being deprived of life, liberty, property, without due process of law, and with which the state cannot interfere; that among those rights is that of manufacturing for one's use either food or drink; that while, according to the doctrines of the commune, the state may control the tastes, appetites, habits, dress, food, and drink of the

people, our system of government, based upon the individuality and intelligence of the citizen, does not claim to control him, except as to his conduct to others, leaving him the sole judge as to all that only affects himself.

SOCIETY MAY PROTECT ITSELF.

It will be observed that the proposition and the argument made in support of it equally concede that the right to manufacture drink for one's personal use is subject to the condition that such manufacture does not endanger or affect the rights of others. If such manufacture does prejudicially affect the rights and interests of the community, it follows from the very premises stated that society has the power to protect itself by legislation against the injurious consequences of that business. As was said in *Munn v. Illinois*, 94 U. S. 124: "While power does not exist with the whole people to control rights that are purely and exclusively private, government may require each citizen to so conduct himself and so use his own property as not unnecessarily to injure another."

But by whom or by what authority is it to be determined whether the manufacture of particular articles of drink, either for general use or for the personal use of the maker, will injuriously affect the public? Power to determine such questions so as to bind all must exist somewhere, else society will be at the mercy of the few who, regarding only their own appetites or passions, may be willing to imperil the peace and security of the many, provided only they are permitted to do as they please. Under our system, that power is lodged with the legislative branch of the government. It belongs to that department to exert what are known as the police powers of the state, and to determine primarily what measures are appropriate or needful for the protection of the public morals, the public health, or the public safety.

It does not at all follow that every statute enacted ostensibly for the promotion of these ends is to be accepted as a legitimate exertion of the police powers of the State. There are, of necessity, limits beyond which legislation cannot rightfully go. While every possible presumption is to be indulged in favor of the validity of a statute (*Sinking Fund Cases*, 99 U. S. 718), the courts must obey the Constitution rather than the law-making department of government, and must, upon their own responsibility, determine whether in any particular case these limits have been passed.

"To what purpose," it was said in *Marbury v. Madison*, 1 Cr. 137-167, "are powers limited, and to what purpose is that limitation committed to writing, if these limits may at any time be passed by those intended to be restrained? The distinction between a government with limited and unlimited power is abolished if these limits do not confine the persons on whom they are imposed, and if acts prohibited and acts allowed are of equal obligation." The courts are not bound by mere forms, nor are they to be misled by mere pretenses. They are at liberty, indeed are under a solemn duty, to look at the substance of things whenever they enter upon the inquiry whether the legislature has transcended the limits of its authority.

If, therefore, a statute purporting to have been enacted to protect the public health, the public morals, or the public safety has no real or substantial relation to those objects, or is a palpable invasion of rights secured by the fundamental law, it is the duty of the courts to so adjudge, and thereby give effect to the Constitution."

THE KANSAS STATUTE JUSTIFIED.

Keeping in view these principles as governing the relations of the judicial and legislative departments of government with each other, it is difficult to perceive any ground for the judiciary to declare that the prohibition by Kansas of the manufacture or sale within her limits of intoxicating liquors, for general use there as a beverage, is not fairly adapted to the end of protecting the community against the evils which confessedly result from the excessive use of ardent spirits. There is no justification for holding that the state, under the guise merely of police regulations, is here aiming to deprive the citizen of his constitutional rights; for we cannot shut out of view the fact, within the knowledge of all, that the public health, the public morals, and the public safety may be endangered by the general use of intoxicating drinks; nor the fact, established by statistics accessible to every one, that the idleness, disorder, pauperism, and crime existing in the country are, in some degree at least, traceable to this evil. *If, therefore, a state deems the absolute prohibition of the manufacture and sale within her limits of intoxicating liquors for other than medical, scientific, and manufacturing purposes to be necessary to the peace and security of society, the courts cannot, without usurping legislative functions, override the will of the people as thus expressed by their chosen representatives.* They have nothing to do with the mere policy of legislation. Indeed, it is a fundamental principle in our institutions, indispensable to the preservation of public liberty, that one of the separate departments of government shall not usurp powers committed by the Constitution to another department; and so, if, in the judgment of the legislature, the manufacture of intoxicating liquors for the maker's own use as a beverage would tend to cripple, if it did not defeat, the effort to guard the community against the evils attending the excessive use of such liquors, it is not for the courts, upon their views as to what is best and safest for the community, to disregard the legislative determination of that question.

So far from such a regulation having no relation to the general end sought to be accomplished, *the entire scheme of prohibition, as embodied in the constitution and laws of Kansas, might fail if the right of each citizen to manufacture intoxicating liquors for his own use as a beverage were recognized.* Such a right does not inhere in citizenship, nor can it be said that government interferes with or impairs any one's constitutional rights of liberty or of property when it determines that the manufacture and sale of intoxicating drinks for general or individual use as a beverage are, or may become, hurtful to society, and constitute, therefore, a business in which no one may lawfully engage. Those rights are best secured, in our government, by the observance, upon the part of all, of such regulations as are established by competent authority to promote the com-

mon good. No one may rightfully do that which the law-making power, upon reasonable grounds, declares to be prejudicial to the general welfare. *This conclusion is unavoidable, unless the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution takes from the States of the Union those powers of police that were reserved at the time the original Constitution was adopted.*

But this court has declared, upon full consideration, in Barbier v. Connelly, 113 U. S. 31, that the Fourteenth Amendment had no such effect. After observing, among other things, that that amendment forbade the arbitrary deprivation of life or liberty, and the arbitrary spoliation of property, and secured equal protection to all under like circumstances, in respect as well to their personal and civil rights as to their acquisition and enjoyment of property, the court said :—

“But neither the amendment, — broad and comprehensive as it is, — nor any other amendment, was designed to interfere with the power of the state, sometimes termed its police power, to prescribe regulations to promote the health, peace, morals, education, and good order of the people, and to legislate so as to increase the industries of the state, develop its resources, and to add to its wealth and prosperity.”

Undoubtedly the state, when providing by legislation for the protection of the public health, the public morals, or the public safety, is subject to the paramount authority of the Constitution of the United States, and may not violate rights secured or guaranteed by that instrument, or interfere with the execution of the powers confided to the general government. *Henderson v. Mayor of New York, 92 U. S. 259 ; Railroad Company v. Husen, 95 id. 465 ; New Orleans Gaslight Company v. Louisiana Light Company, 115 id. 650 ; Walling v. Michigan, 116 id. 446 ; Yick Wo v. Hopkins, 118 id. 356 ; Morgan’s Steamship Company v. Louisiana Board of Health, id. 455.*

Upon this ground — if we do not misapprehend the position of defendants — it is contended that, as the primary and principal use of beer is as a beverage ; as their respective breweries were erected when it was lawful to engage in the manufacture of beer for every purpose ; as such establishments will become of no value as property, or, at least, will be materially diminished in value, if not employed in the manufacture of beer for every purpose, — the prohibition upon their being so employed is, in effect, a taking of property for public use without compensation, and depriving the citizen of his property without due process of law. In other words, although the state, in the exercise of her police powers, may lawfully prohibit the manufacture and sale, within her limits, of intoxicating liquors to be used as a beverage, legislation having that object in view cannot be enforced against those who, at the time, happen to own property the chief value of which consists in its fitness for such manufacturing purposes, unless compensation is first made for the diminution in the value of their property resulting from such prohibitory enactments.

This interpretation of the Fourteenth Amendment is inadmissible. It cannot be supposed that the States intended by adopting that amendment to impose restraint upon the exercise of their powers for the protection of the safety, health, or morals of the community.

THE OBLIGATION OF CONTRACTS.

In respect to contracts, the obligations of which are protected against hostile state legislation, this court in *Butchers' Union Company v. Crescent City Company*, 111 U. S. 751, said that the State could not, by any contract, limit the exercise of her power to the prejudice of the public health and the public morals.

So in *Stone v. Mississippi*, 101 U. S. 816, where the Constitution was invoked against the repeal, by the State, of a charter granted to a private corporation to conduct a lottery, and for which that corporation paid to the State a valuable consideration in money, the court said:—

“No legislature can bargain away the public health or the public morals. The people themselves cannot do it, much less their servants. . . . Government is organized with a view to their preservation, and cannot divest itself of the power to provide for them.”

Again, in *New Orleans Gas Company v. Louisiana Light Company*, 115 U. S. 650-672: “The constitutional prohibition upon state laws impairing the obligation of contracts does not restrict the power of the state to protect the public health, the public morals, or the public safety, as the one or the other may be involved in the execution of such contracts. Rights and privileges arising from contracts with a state are subject to regulations for the protection of the public health, the public morals, and the public safety in the same sense and to the same extent as are all contracts and all property, whether owned by natural persons or corporations.”

The principle that no person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, was embodied in substance in the constitutions of nearly all, if not all, of the States at the time of the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment; and it has never been regarded as incompatible with the principle, equally vital, because essential to the peace and safety of society, that all property in this country is held under the implied obligation that the owner's use of it shall not be injurious to the community. *Beer Company v. Massachusetts* 97 U. S. 32; *Commonwealth v. Alger*, 7 Cush. 53.

An illustration of this doctrine is afforded by *Patterson v. Kentucky*, 97 U. S. 501. The question there was as to the validity of a statute of Kentucky enacted in 1874, imposing a penalty upon any one selling, or offering for sale, oils and fluids, the product of coal, petroleum, or other bituminous substances, which would burn or ignite at a temperature below 130 degrees Fahrenheit. *Patterson*, having sold within that commonwealth a certain oil, for which letters-patent were issued in 1867, but which did not come up to the standard required by said statute, and having been indicted therefor, disputed the State's authority to prevent or obstruct the exercise of that right.

POLICE POWERS OF STATES.

This court upheld the legislation of Kentucky upon the ground that, while the State could not impair the exclusive right of the patentee or of

his assignee in the discovery described in the letters-patent, the tangible property, the fruit of the discovery, was not beyond control in the exercise of her police powers. It was said : —

“By the settled doctrines of this court, the police power extends at least to the protection of the lives, the health, and the property of the community against the injurious exercise by any citizen of his own rights. State legislation, strictly and legitimately for police purposes, does not in the sense of the Constitution necessarily intrench upon any authority which has been confided, expressly or by implication, to the national government. The Kentucky statute under examination manifestly belongs to that class of legislation. It is, in the best sense, a mere police regulation deemed essential to the protection of the lives and property of citizens.”

Referring to the numerous decisions of this court guarding the power of Congress to regulate commerce against encroachment, under the guise of state regulations, established for the purpose and with the effect of destroying or impairing rights secured by the Constitution, it was further said : —

“It has, nevertheless, with marked distinctness and uniformity, recognized the necessity, growing out of the fundamental conditions of civil society, of upholding state police regulations which were enacted in good faith, and had appropriate and direct connection with that protection to life, health, and property which each state owes to her citizens.”

See, also, *United States v. Dewitt*, 9 Wall, 41 ; *License Tax Cases*, 5 id. 462 ; *Pervear v. Commonwealth*, id. 475.

Another decision very much in point upon this branch of the case is *Fertilizing Company v. Hyde Park*, 97 U. S. 659, 667, also decided after the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment. The court there sustained the validity of an ordinance of the village of Hyde Park, in Cook County, Illinois, passed under legislative authority, forbidding any person from transporting through that village offal or other offensive or unwholesome matter, or from maintaining or carrying on an offensive or unwholesome business or establishment within its limits. The fertilizing company had, at large expense and under authority expressly conferred by its charter, located its works at a particular point in the county. Besides, the charter of the village at that time provided that it should not interfere with parties engaged, in transporting animal matter from Chicago, or from manufacturing it into a fertilizer or other chemical product. The enforcement of the ordinance in question operated to destroy the business of the company, and seriously to impair the value of its property.

As, however, its business had become a nuisance to the community in which it was conducted, producing discomfort and often sickness among large masses of people, the court maintained the authority of the village acting under legislative sanction, to protect the public health against such nuisance. It said : —

“We cannot doubt that the police power of the State was applicable and adequate to give an effectual remedy. That power belonged to the States when the Federal Constitution was adopted. They did not surrender it, and

they all have it now. It extends to the entire property and business within their local jurisdiction. Both are subject to it in all proper cases. It rests upon the fundamental principle that every one shall so use his own as not to wrong and injure another. To regulate and abate nuisances is one of its ordinary functions."

It is supposed by the defendants that the doctrine for which they contend is sustained by *Pumpelly v. Green Bay Company*, 13 Wall. 168, but in that view we do not concur. That was an action for the recovery of damages for the overflowing of the plaintiff's land by water, resulting from the construction of a dam across a river. The defense was that the dam constituted a part of the system adopted by the state for improving the navigation of Fox and Wisconsin Rivers; and it was contended that, as the damages of which the plaintiff complained were only the result of the improvement under legislative sanction of a navigable stream, he was not entitled to compensation from the State or its agents. The case therefore involved the question whether the overflowing of the plaintiff's land to such an extent that it became practically unfit to be used, was a taking of property within the meaning of the Constitution of Wisconsin, providing that "the property of no person shall be taken for public use without just compensation therefor."

This court said it would be a very curious and unsatisfactory result were it held that, —

"If the government refrains from the absolute conversion of real property to the uses of the public, it can destroy its value entirely; can inflict irreparable and permanent injury to any extent; can, in effect, subject it to total destruction without making any compensation, because, in the narrowest sense of that word, it is not *taken* for the public use. Such a construction would pervert the constitutional provision into a restriction upon the rights of the citizen, as those rights stood at the common law, instead of the government, and make it an authority for the invasion of private rights under the pretext of the public good, which had no warrant in the laws or practices of our ancestors."

These principles have no application to the case under consideration. The question in *Pumpelly v. Green Bay Company* arose under the State's power of eminent domain, while the question now before us arises under what are strictly the police powers of the state, exerted for the protection of the health, morals, and safety of the people.

That case, as this court said in *Transportation Company v. Chicago*, 99 U. S. 642, was an extreme qualification of the doctrine universally held, that "acts done in the proper exercise of governmental powers and not directly encroaching upon private property, though these consequences may impair its use," do not constitute a taking within the meaning of the constitutional provision, or entitle the owner of such property to compensation from the State or its agents, or give him any right of action. It was a case in which there was a "permanent flooding of private property," a "physical invasion of the real estate of the private owner, and a practical ouster of his

possession." His property was in effect required to be devoted to the use of the public, and consequently he was entitled to compensation.

As already stated, the present case must be governed by principles that do not involve the power of eminent domain, in the exercise of which property may not be taken for public use without compensation. A prohibition simply upon the use of property for purposes that are declared by valid legislation to be injurious to the health, morals, or safety of the community cannot in any just sense be deemed a taking or an appropriation of property for the public benefit. Such legislation does not disturb the owner in the control or use of his property for lawful purposes, nor restrict his right to dispose of it, but is only a declaration by the state that its use by any one for certain forbidden purposes is prejudicial to the public interests. Nor can legislation of that character come within the Fourteenth Amendment in any case, unless it is apparent that its real object is not to protect the community, or to promote the general well-being, but, under the guise of police regulations, to deprive the owner of his liberty and property without due process of law.

INJURY PREVENTIBLE, WITHOUT COMPENSATION.

The power which the States have of prohibiting such use by individuals of their property as will be prejudicial to the health, the morals, or the safety of the public is not, and consistently with the existence of organized society cannot be, burdened with the condition that the state must compensate such individual owners for pecuniary losses they sustain, by reason of their not being permitted by a noxious use of their property to inflict injury upon the community. The exercise of the police power by the destruction of property which is itself a public nuisance, or the prohibition of its use in a particular way whereby its value becomes depreciated, is very different from taking property for public use, or from depriving a person of his property without due process of law. In the one case a nuisance only is abated; in the other, unoffending property is taken away from an innocent owner.

It is true that, when the defendants in these cases purchased or erected their breweries the laws of the State did not forbid the manufacture of intoxicating liquors. But the State did not thereby give any assurance, or come under an obligation, that its legislation upon that subject would remain unchanged. Indeed, as was said in *Stone v. Mississippi*, 101 U. S., the supervision of the public health and the public morals is a governmental power, "continuing in its nature," and "to be dealt with as the special exigencies of the moment may require," and that "for this purpose the largest legislative discretion is allowed, and the discretion cannot be parted with any more than the power itself."

So in *Beer Company v. Massachusetts*, 97 U. S. 32: —

"If the public safety or the public morals require the discontinuance of any manufacture or traffic, the hand of the legislature cannot be stayed from providing for its discontinuance by any incidental inconvenience which individuals or corporations may suffer."

It now remains to consider certain questions relating particularly to the thirteenth section of the act of 1885. That section — which takes the place of section 13 of the act of 1881 — is as follows: —

“SECTION 13. All places where intoxicating liquors are manufactured, sold, bartered, or given away in violation of any of the provisions of this act, or where intoxicating liquors are kept for sale, barter, or delivery in violation of this act, are hereby declared to be common nuisances, and upon the judgment of any court having jurisdiction, finding such place to be a nuisance under this section, the sheriff, his deputy, or under-sheriff, or any constable of the proper county, or marshal of any city where the same is located, shall be directed to shut up and abate such place by taking possession thereof and destroying all intoxicating liquors found therein, together with all signs, screens, bars, bottles, glasses, and other property used in keeping and maintaining said nuisance; and the owner or keeper thereof shall, upon conviction, be adjudged guilty of maintaining a common nuisance, and shall be punished by a fine of not less than \$100, nor more than \$500, and by imprisonment in the county jail not less than thirty days nor more than ninety days. The attorney-general, county attorney, or any citizen of the county where such nuisance exists, or is kept, or is maintained, may maintain an action in the name of the State to abate and perpetually enjoin the same. The injunction shall be granted at the commencement of the action, and no bond shall be required. Any person violating the terms of any injunction granted in such proceeding shall be punished as for contempt, by a fine of not less than \$100 nor more than \$500, or by imprisonment in the county jail not less than thirty days nor more than six months, or by both such fine and imprisonment, in the discretion of the court.”

DUE PROCESS OF LAW.

It is contended by counsel, in the case of *Kansas v. Ziebold & Hagelin*, that the entire scheme of this section is an attempt to deprive persons who come within its provisions of their property and of their liberty without due process of law, especially when taken in connection with that clause of section 14 (amendatory of section 21 of the act of 1881) which provides that “in prosecutions under this act by indictment or otherwise . . . it shall not be necessary in the first instance for the State to prove that the party charged did not have a permit to sell intoxicating liquors for the excepted purposes.”

We are unable to perceive anything in these regulations inconsistent with the constitutional guarantees of liberty and property. The State having authority to prohibit the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors for other than medical, scientific, and mechanical purposes, we do not doubt her power to declare that any place kept and maintained for the illegal manufacture and sale of such liquors shall be deemed a common nuisance and be abated, and at the same time to provide for the indictment and trial of the offender. One is a proceeding against the property used for forbidden purposes, while the other is for the punishment of the offender.

It is said that by the thirteenth section of the act of 1885 the legislature,

finding a brewery within the State in actual operation, without notice, trial, or hearing, by the mere exercise of its arbitrary caprice, declares it to be a common nuisance, and then prescribes the consequences which are to follow inevitably by judicial mandate required by the statute, and involving and permitting the exercise of no judicial discretion or judgment; that, the brewery being found in operation, the court is not to determine whether it is a common nuisance, but, under the command of the statute, is to *find* it to be one; that it is not the liquor made, or the making of it, which is thus enacted to be a common nuisance, but the place itself, including all the property used in keeping and maintaining the common nuisance; that the judge, having thus signed, without inquiry and it may be contrary to the fact and against his own judgment, the edict of the legislature, the court is commanded to take possession by its officers of the place and shut it up; nor is all this destruction of property, by legislative edict, to be made as a forfeiture consequent upon conviction of any offense, but merely because the legislature so commands, and it is done by a court of equity without any previous conviction first had, or any trial known to the law.

This certainly is a formidable arraignment of the legislation of Kansas, and, if it were founded upon a just interpretation of her statutes, the court would have no difficulty in declaring that they could not be enforced without infringing the constitutional right of the citizen. But these statutes have no such scope, and are attended with no such results, as the defendants suppose. The court is not required to give effect to a legislative "decree" or "edict," unless every enactment by the law-making power of a state is to be so characterized.

It is not declared that every establishment is to be deemed a common nuisance because it may have been maintained, prior to the passage of the statute, as a place for manufacturing intoxicating liquors. The statute is prospective in its operation, — that is, it does not put the brand of a common nuisance upon any place, unless, after its passage, that place is kept and maintained for purposes declared by the legislature to be injurious to the community. Nor is the court required to adjudge any place to be a common nuisance simply because it is charged by the State to be such. It must first find it to be of that character — that is, must ascertain in some legal mode whether, since the statute was passed, the place in question has been, or is being, so used as to make it a common nuisance. Equally untenable is the proposition that proceedings in equity for the purposes indicated in the thirteenth section of the statute are inconsistent with due process of law.

PUBLIC NUISANCES.

"In regard to public nuisances," Mr. Justice Story says, "the jurisdiction of courts of equity seems to be of a very ancient date, and has been distinctly traced back to the reign of Queen Elizabeth. The jurisdiction is applicable not only to public nuisances, strictly so called, but also to pre-
 prestures upon public rights and property. . . . In case of public nuisances,

properly so called, an indictment lies to abate them and to punish the offenders. But an information also lies in equity to redress the grievance by way of injunction." 2 Story on Eq. §§ 921, 922.

The ground of this jurisdiction in cases of purpresture, as well as of public nuisances, is the ability of courts of equity to give a more speedy, effectual, and permanent remedy than can be had at law. They can not only prevent nuisances that are threatened, and before irreparable mischief ensues, but arrest or abate those in progress, and by perpetual injunction protect the public against them in the future; whereas courts of law can only reach existing nuisances, leaving future acts to be the subject of new prosecutions or proceedings.

This is a salutary jurisdiction, especially where a nuisance affects the health, morals, or safety of the community. Though not frequently exercised, the power undoubtedly exists in courts of equity thus to protect the public against injury. *District Attorney v. Lynn & Boston Railroad Company*, 16 Gray, 245; *Attorney-General v. N. J. Railroad*, 3 Green Ch. 139; *Attorney-General v. Tudor Ice Company*, 104 Mass. 244; *State v. Mayer*, 5 Porter (Ala.), 279, 294; *Hoole v. Attorney-General*, 22 Ala. 194; *Attorney-General v. Hunter*, 1 Dev. Eq. 13; *Attorney-General v. Forbes*, 2 Mylne & Craig, 123, 129, 133; *Attorney-General v. Great Northern Railway Company*, 1 Dr. & Sm. 161; *Eden on Injunctions*, 259; *Kerr on Injunctions* (2d ed.), 168.

As to the objection that the statute makes no provision for a jury trial in cases like this one, it is sufficient to say that such a mode of trial is not required in suits in equity brought to abate a public nuisance. The statutory direction that an injunction issue at the commencement of the action is not to be construed as dispensing with such preliminary proof as is necessary to authorize an injunction pending the suit. The court is not to issue an injunction simply because one is asked, or because the charge is made that a common nuisance is maintained in violation of law. The statute leaves the court at liberty to give effect to the principle that an injunction will not be granted to restrain a nuisance except upon clear and satisfactory evidence that one exists. Here the fact to be ascertained was, not whether a place kept and maintained for purposes forbidden by the statute was *per se* a nuisance, — that fact being conclusively determined by the statute itself, — but whether the place in question was so kept and maintained. If the proof upon that point is not full or sufficient, the court can refuse an injunction, or postpone action until the State first obtains the verdict of a jury in her favor.

In this case it cannot be denied that the defendants kept and maintained a place that is within the statutory definition of a common nuisance. Their petition for the removal of the cause from the state court, and their answer to the bill admitted every fact necessary to maintain this suit, if the statute under which it was brought was constitutional. Touching the provision that in prosecutions, by indictment or otherwise, the State need not, in the first instance, prove that the defendant has not the permit required by the stat-

ate, we may remark that if it has any application to a proceeding like this, it does not deprive him of the presumption that he is innocent of any violation of law. It is only a declaration that, when the state has proven that the place described is kept and maintained for the manufacture or sale of intoxicating liquors, — such manufacture or sale being unlawful except for specified purposes, and then only under a permit, — the prosecution need not prove a negative, — namely, that the defendant has not the required license or permit. If the defendant has such license or permit he can easily produce it, and thus overthrow the *prima facie* case established by the State.

A portion of the argument in behalf of the defendants is to the effect that the statutes of Kansas forbid the manufacture of intoxicating liquors to be exported or to be carried to other states, and upon that ground are repugnant to the clause of the Constitution of the United States giving Congress power to regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several States. We need only say upon this point that there is no intimation in the record that the beer which the respective defendants manufactured was intended to be carried out of the State or to foreign countries, and, without expressing an opinion as to whether such facts would have constituted a good defence, we observe that it will be time enough to decide a case of that character when it shall come before us.

For the reasons stated, we are of opinion that the judgments of the Supreme Court of Kansas have not denied to Mugler, the plaintiff in error, any right, privilege, or immunity secured to him by the Constitution of the United States, and its judgment in each case is accordingly affirmed.

We are also of opinion that the circuit court of the United States erred in dismissing the bill of the State against Ziebold & Hagelin. The decree in that case is reversed and the cause remanded, with directions to enter a decree granting to the State such relief as the Act of March 7, 1885, authorizes.

It is so ordered.

DISSENTING OPINION.

MR. JUSTICE FIELD delivered the following opinion :—

I concur in the judgment rendered by this court in the first two cases, those coming from the Supreme Court of Kansas. I dissent from the judgment in the last case, the one coming from the Circuit Court of the United States.

I agree to so much of the opinion as asserts that there is nothing in the Constitution or laws of the United States affecting the validity of the act of Kansas prohibiting the sale of intoxicating liquors manufactured in the State, except for the purposes mentioned. But I am not prepared to say that the State can prohibit the manufacture of such liquors within its limits if they are intended for exportation, or forbid their sale within its limits, under proper regulations for the protection of the health and morals of the people, if Congress has authorized their importation, though the act of Kansas is broad enough to include both such manufacture and sale. The right to import an

article of merchandise, recognized as such by the commercial world, — whether the right be given by act of Congress or by treaty with a foreign country, — would seem necessary to carry the right to sell the article when imported. In *Brown v. Maryland*, 12 Wheat. 447, Chief Justice Marshall, in delivering the opinion of this court, said as follows : “Sale is the object of importation, and is an essential ingredient of that intercourse of which importation constitutes a part. It is as essential an ingredient, as indispensable to the existence of the entire thing, then, as importation itself. It must be considered as a component part of the power to regulate commerce. Congress has a right, not only to authorize importation, but to authorize the importer to sell.”

If one state can forbid the sale within its limits of an imported article, so may all the States, each selecting a different article. There would then be little uniformity of regulations with respect to articles of foreign commerce imported into different States, and the same may be also said of regulations with respect to articles of interstate commerce. And we know it was one of the objects of the formation of the federal Constitution to secure uniformity of commercial regulations against discriminating state legislation. The construction of the commercial clause of the Constitution, upon which the License Cases in the 7th of Howard were decided, appears to me to have been substantially abandoned in later decisions. . . .

I do not agree to what is said with reference to the case from the United States Circuit Court. That was a suit in equity brought for the abatement of the brewery owned by the defendants. It is based upon clauses in the 13th section of the act of Kansas, which are as follows : —

“All places where intoxicating liquors are manufactured, sold, bartered, or given away in violation of any of the provisions of this act, or where intoxicating liquors are kept for sale, barter, or delivery in violation of this act, *are hereby declared to be common nuisances* ; and upon the judgment of any court having jurisdiction finding such place to be a nuisance under this section, the sheriff, his deputy, or under-sheriff, or any constable of the proper county, or marshal of any city where the same is located, shall be directed to shut up and abate such place by taking possession thereof and destroying all intoxicating liquors found therein, together with all signs, screens, bars, bottles, glasses, and other property used in keeping and maintaining said nuisance ; and the owner or keeper thereof shall, upon conviction, be adjudged guilty of maintaining a common nuisance, and shall be punished by a fine of not less than one hundred dollars nor more than five hundred dollars, and by imprisonment in the county jail not less than thirty days nor more than ninety days. The attorney-general, county attorney, or any citizen of the county where such nuisance exists, or is kept, or is maintained, may maintain an action in the name of the State to abate and perpetually enjoin the same. The injunction shall be granted at the commencement of the action, and no bond shall be required.”

By a previous section all malt, vinous, and fermented liquors are classed as intoxicating liquors, and their manufacture, barter, and sale are equally

prohibited. By the 13th section, as is well said by counsel, the legislature — finding a place where such liquors are sold, bartered, or given away, or kept for sale, barter, or delivery — in this case a brewery, where beer was manufactured and sold, which, up to the passage of the act, was a lawful industry — without notice or hearing of any kind, declares it to be a common nuisance ; and then prescribes what shall follow, upon a court having jurisdiction finding such place to be a nuisance. The court is not to determine whether the place is a common nuisance in fact, but is to find it to be so if it comes within the definition of the statute, and, having thus found it, the executive officers of the court are to be directed to shut up and abate the place by taking possession of it ; and, as though this were not sufficient security against the continuance of the business, they are to be required to destroy all the liquor found therein, and all other property used in keeping and maintaining the nuisance. It matters not whether they are of such a character as could be used in any other business, or be of value for any other purposes. No discretion is left in the judge or in the officer.

These clauses appear to me to deprive one who owns a brewery and manufactures beer for sale, like the defendants, of property without due process of law. The destruction to be ordered is not as a forfeiture upon conviction of any offense, but merely because the legislature has commanded the court so to direct. I cannot see upon what principle the legislature, after closing the brewery, and thus putting an end to its use in the future for manufacturing spirits, can order the destruction of the liquor already manufactured, which it admits by its legislation may be valuable for some purposes, and may be lawfully sold for those purposes ; nor can I see how the protection of the health and morals of the people of the State can require the destruction of property like bottles, glasses, and other utensils, after the liquor is emptied from them. They might then be used for harmless purposes. It has heretofore been supposed to be an established principle, that where there is a power to abate a nuisance, the abatement must be limited by its necessity, and no wanton or unnecessary injury can be committed to the property or rights of individuals. Thus, if the nuisance consists in the use to which a building is put, the remedy is to stop such use, not to tear down or to demolish the building itself. (*Babcock v. City of Buffalo*, 56 N. Y. 268 ; *Chenango Bridge Co. v. Page*, 83 N. Y. 189.) The decision of the court, as it seems to me, reverses this principle.

It is plain that great wrong will often be done to manufacturers of liquors, if legislation like that embodied in this 13th section can be upheld. The Supreme Court of Kansas admits that the legislature of the State, in destroying the values of such kinds of property, may have gone to the utmost verge of constitutional authority. In my opinion it has passed beyond that verge, and crossed the line which separates regulation from confiscation.

BOOK NOTICES.

OUTLINES OF AN INTERNATIONAL CODE. By DAVID DUDLEY FIELD. Second edition. New York: Baker, Voorhis & Co. London: Trübner & Co. 1876. Royal 8vo, pp. 712. \$6.00.

An eminent chancellor of England once remarked: "Mr. David Dudley Field, of New York, has done more for the reform of laws than any man living." Mr. John Bright said of Cyrus W. Field that he was a "modern Columbus, who by his ocean cable had moored the Old World at the side of the New." But if the suggestions which Mr. David Dudley Field has made in his celebrated "Outlines of an International Code" could be carried out, it would be found that he, too, has laid an electric wire binding together nations and ages in political or moral respects, and so deserves, perhaps more thoroughly than his brother, to be called a Columbus of our modern time.

In 1847 Mr. Field was appointed by the legislature of New York one of a commission to reform the legal practice of the State. The civil code which resulted from his labors has been adopted in great part by that State and by twenty-three States and Territories. A new judicature act in England had this code for its basis, as has also the legal practice of several of the English colonies, including India.

In 1857 Mr. David Dudley Field was appointed on a second commission by the State of New York to prepare a political, penal, and civil code, summarizing the statute and common law in force in that Commonwealth. New York has adopted the penal code which he drew up. Large numbers of the States of the Union have adopted the three codes in part. California and Dakota have enacted them in full.

In 1867 Mr. Field brought a plan before the British Association for the Advancement of Social Science for the preparation of a new code of international law. He secured the appointment of a committee of eminent men to engage in this work. As they were scattered through various countries of Europe so that correspondence with them involved tedious delays, he took the task upon himself, and in 1873, after six years' labor, presented to the Social Science Congress his "Outlines of an International Code." A second edition of this book was issued in 1876. The volume has attained a great fame in Europe, and has been translated into French, Italian, and Chinese. On the whole, we regard it as the most suggestive discussion of international reform that has ever been published in any language.

The visit of the British arbitration delegation, representing one third of the House of Commons, and asking Congress to unite with Parliament in making arbitration a remedy for war, leads us to commend this great work at this time to all whose attention may be drawn to methods of advancing

international reform. Mr. Field not only provides for a tribunal of arbitration, but also proposes that nations who are parties to the reformed code and violate its requirements shall be coerced to keep the peace. As marking the higher aims of many of the most advanced reformers of international law, we cite three of the most vital of the plans which Mr. Field ventures to recommend for adoption among advanced nations :—

“Every nation, party to this code, binds itself to unite in forming a Joint High Commission and a High Tribunal of Arbitration in the cases hereinbefore specified as proper for its action, and to submit to the decision of a High Tribunal of Arbitration constituted and proceeding in conformity to this code.

“If any party hereto shall begin a war in violation of the provisions of this code for the preservation of peace, the other parties bind themselves to resist the offending nation by force.

“A conference of representatives of the nations parties hereto shall be held every year, beginning on the first of January, at the capital of each in rotation, for the purpose of discussing the provisions of this code and their amendment, averting war, facilitating intercourse, and preserving peace.” (Pages 370, 371.)

Mr. Field's code provides for international patents and copyrights, postal money-orders, international bills of exchange, extradition, and the neutrality of inter-oceanic canals. It indorses the maritime union already formed between forty-six nations, on the basis of the declaration of Paris in 1856, as to the rights of ships at sea. It extends the principles of international law of the Christian type to the usages of war, and to both commercial and political intercourse of the stronger with the weaker nations.

We notice with peculiar interest that David Dudley Field, although now in his eighty-third year, was appointed recently, at a mass meeting at Chickering Hall, to represent his fellow citizens in urging upon Congress the proposal of the British arbitration delegation that a treaty should be formed between England and the United States submitting to arbitration any difficulties that cannot be settled by diplomacy.

FUTURE RETRIBUTION, viewed in the Light of Reason and Revelation. By C. A. Row, M. A., Prebendary of St. Paul's Cathedral. London: Wm. Isbister (Am. ed. New York, Thomas Whittaker). 1887. 8vo, pp. x., 420. \$2.50.

The most remarkable feature of this book is its evasive exegesis. Specimens of this fatal fault will be found on pages 210, 258, 265, 274, 276, 284. Its central contention is that eternal sin is inconsistent with the Scriptural declaration that a period will arrive when God shall be *all in all* (pp. 256, 387). This Biblical language, which scholarly commentators have generally understood to assert only the universality of the sovereignty of God the Father, is used to support the proposition that the incorrigibly wicked will suffer annihilation. Edward White's theory of Conditional Immortality is criticised, but a modification of it is combined with an equally unscriptural theory of future probation. The chief force of the book originates in its cool and apparently candid tone, and in its appeal to current misconceptions of the true doctrine of future retribution. The mischievousness of the

superficial exegesis in this volume will be increased by the real weight and merit of the author's well-known works on various branches of the historic evidences of Christianity.

"Canon Row's contention that God cannot ever be 'all in all,' unless a time comes when all evil agents shall either be converted or extinguished, hardly appears convincing. . . . This is an excellent book, which ought to be widely read." (C. C. Starbuck, in *Andover Review*, December, 1887.)

"The very words which denote the eternal existence of God and the eternal happiness of the saved are employed concerning the condition of the finally reprobate. It is easy to underrate, it is not easy to overrate, the importance of this awful fact. . . . The method employed in this volume . . . is altogether untrustworthy and perversely unreasonable as an instrument for the investigation of Christian doctrine." (*British and Foreign Evangelical Review*, October, 1887.)

IS THERE SALVATION AFTER DEATH? A Treatise on the Gospel of the Intermediate State. By E. D. MORRIS, D. D., LL. D., Lane Theological Seminary. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son. \$1.50.

We regard this as the best recent American discussion of the hypothesis of probation after death. The learning is fresh and ample, the style clear and finished, the tone everywhere candid and devout.

"The resolute refusal of the creeds of Christendom to own relationship with the theory of probation after death, or stretch their protecting wings over it, is surely a distinct and swift witness against its legitimacy and worth. . . . It has gained recognition in no creed of Christendom from the earliest ages down to our own time. . . . The symbolism of the Church, ancient and modern, Greek and Roman and Protestant, has arrayed itself distinctly and invariably against this opinion. . . . It is from Protestantism, and Protestantism in its most elevated and spiritual forms, that the dogma receives its most decisive condemnation. . . . The attempt to introduce this dogma into the accepted creeds of Christendom would require not only a reconstruction of these creeds at many vital points, but, in fact, an abandonment or extensive modification of some of their most essential doctrines, — a new theology thus growing into confessional form, not by the development and expansion of preceding confessions, but on their ruins, or through such revolutionary transmutations as would leave but little else than the fragments of the Old Faith." (Pages 153, 154.)

Professor Shedd, while commending Professor Morris's book in strong terms, incidentally expresses his own judgment on several questions now needing answers from expert opinion: —

"This treatise is the production of a professor of theology in one of the oldest and most influential seminaries of the Presbyterian Church. It indicates the type of doctrine and the tone of teaching that prevail there and in this Church generally. . . . The candor, judicial fairness, yet serious tone of living conviction and implicit confidence in divine revelation characteristic of it evince that the truth of God is still intrenched as profoundly as ever in the intellect and heart of his ministers and of those who are called to educate and train his ministers." (*Presbyterian Review* for January, 1888, pp. 159, 160.)

QUESTIONS TO SPECIALISTS.

REPLIES BY MISS WILLARD.

1. *Would the removal of the internal revenue tax on intoxicating liquors be a temperance measure?*

I have yet to hear an expression of dissent from a single temperance expert to the affirmative of this question. The underlying principle upon which the great reform proceeds is the utter, total, and irreversible *separation* of our government from the liquor trade.

A nation cannot, in the nature of things, receive revenue from and prohibit a branch of traffic at one and the same time. Our goal is PROHIBITION constitutional and statutory, for state and nation. Hence, as its most essential prerequisite, temperance people desire the removal of the tax which now renders the government a participant in the gains of the traffic. The non-expert temperance man, who drifts but does not row, has a hazy notion that the tax keeps men from drinking. Opposed to this is the fact that since the imposition (in more senses than one) of this tax the manufacture has increased in more rapid ratio than the population, and that it adds but seven eighths of a cent to the cost of a drink. The eleven hundred whiskey distillers and twenty-two hundred beer brewers of the nation are the prime producers of the drink pestilence, and government "of the people, for the people, and by the people," should separate itself utterly from them, as a point both of honor and of strategy, preparatory to dealing their mills of destruction a death-blow. The fact that without exception, so far as heard from, brewers and distillers desire the tax retained, proves them clearer-sighted than their enemies. They see a prohibition wave about a mile off and a mile high, and they know they cannot swim.

2. *Is high-license sentiment on the increase?*

No; its farcical pretensions have been so relentlessly exposed, the basis of expediency upon which it rests is so unworthy of reformers, and the results of experience with it are so condemnatory that outside the circle of politicians "for revenue only," and a few well-meaning men who either have not studied the question, or "are willing to let high license prove its harmful character" as a pretended temperance measure, almost no voices are now lifted in its behalf. High license was the Diana of an hour, but I can think of no temperance specialist who now has a good word for it, save one who shall be nameless. Its worst feature is that the income thus derived acts like moral chloroform upon the tax-payers; yokes Mammon as a wheel-horse to the car of King Alcohol; puts darkness for light and light for darkness; and so debauches public sentiment that men remember only the new side-

walks of the municipality, and forget that they are paid for by the demoralization of their own sons.

3. *What do prohibitionists think of the Supreme Court decision ?*

It grants us where to stand, which is the chief desire of those who handle levers, from Archimedes down. No power can now take away the strong foundations upon which the temple of national prohibition is sure to rise. This decision far more than offsets our losses in the four States that have this year, through fraud and folly, failed to vote for constitutional prohibition. No note of joy from the temperance ranks has more than offset the outcries of baffled rage from the ranks of the saloon. To have the constitutionality of prohibition unanimously affirmed by the Supreme Court was much ; to have the right of trial by jury declared forfeit in States that have made the liquor traffic a nuisance by law, as it is in fact, was more ; to have the right of private manufacture for personal use annulled in prohibition States was most of all, and silences the last objection to the removal of internal revenue taxation. At the present rate of progress we shall have national prohibition by 1900.

REPLIES BY DR. PENTECOST.

4. *What hindrance does the New Theology place in the way of the practical work of the evangelist in calling men to immediate repentance ?*

(1.) The New Theology, being a speculation and not a plain teaching of the Bible, confuses the minds of most inquirers (when the topic comes up, and it often does) and leads them off from the simple question: "What shall I do to be saved?" into a profitless discussion as to the probable possibilities of a probation after death.

(2.) The New Theology, being extra-Scriptural, breaks the force of the obvious teaching of the word of God. I find that those who have been "bitten" by the New Theology are not disposed to be content with the plain "Thus saith the Lord" of the Scripture, on the matter of sin and its punishment; and that "the learned men and scholars who teach this doctrine" (I use language which has been used in conversation with me) are put up as authority as against the obvious teaching of God's word.

(3.) This speculation tends to weaken the conviction of men on the subject of sin, the atonement of Christ, and the *immediate necessity of repentance*, by giving them a false hope concerning the future, which they are eager to accept. It increases by many fold the disposition of inquirers to procrastinate their decision to accept Christ as Saviour and Lord.

(4.) It is not only difficult but almost impossible to make the ordinary inquirer understand the distinction made between the case of and in favor of the heathen who has *never* heard of Christ, and the sinner at home who *has* ; or to break the force of the argument urged by many intelligent people who are inclined to accept the New Theology, that those who have but imperfectly understood the gospel, or who belong to the unchurched masses, are in the same case as the heathen, and that before the probation of any man is ended, it must be made perfectly clear that he has heard and under-

stood the gospel. This brings up the whole question of what the gospel is, and leads to endless discussions upon the disputed questions between evangelical and unevangelical doctrine; upon clear and misty views; and finally lands us in a fog of uncertainty upon the whole subject.

5. *What is your opinion of Mr. Spurgeon's withdrawal from the English Baptist Union?*

(1.) That it was dictated by Mr. Spurgeon's profound conviction that by remaining in the Union which recognized and gave fellowship to ministers who hold and teach doctrines that are subversive of "the truth as the truth is in Jesus," he was placing himself in the position of one who was "bidding Godspeed to a preacher of false doctrine," which is clearly forbidden by the word of God. (Gal. i. 8, 9; 2 John 10, 11.)

(2.) That, nevertheless, his action was hasty, and was not necessary even in view of the facts, since *his* membership in the Union did not indorse the false views of the brethren whom he objected to, seeing they are in a great minority and are not in any sense the exponents of the doctrinal view of the Union. There seems to have been a little lack of that charity and patience which instruct us to do all in our power to bear with those who are "weak in the faith" and endeavor to restore such by personal labor and instruction before finally parting with them. The presence of an individual member or a dozen such members in his own church who hold to false doctrine, or are, for the time being, living unchristian lives would not justify him in resigning his pastoral charge or any other member in withdrawing from its fellowship, so long as the church did not give these lapsed brethren its official sanction.

(3.) That his withdrawal has been the means of bringing about a larger and freer discussion of the whole question involved, which cannot but lead to the most desirable results, and the full and free treatment of all mooted questions.

(4.) I venture to express the hope that Mr. Spurgeon may see his way clear to return to the Union, and thus give back the strength of his great name, and his great ability, and love for the truth to those brethren who are standing for the truth in the face of the present drift, or as he calls it "down grade movement." It is no time for the strongest brakeman on the train to abandon the train when it has started down the grade, and much more when it has gained a dangerous headway. Mr. Spurgeon should have stayed and not only cried out "Down brakes," but cast the mighty weight of his great personality and faith against the "down grade" movement.

6. *How can religious journalism be improved in its treatment of revivals?*

By carefully and fully reporting them, both as to the doctrine and methods employed; and commending that which is sound and wise and criticising in the spirit of fear and fairness that which is callow, crude, extravagant and sensational both in the teaching and method.

By giving to all revival movements, whether under the direct conduct of pastors or the leadership of evangelists, that high place which revivals of religion have always occupied in the development of the best life of the

church, and in the aggressive preaching of the gospel. Whenever revivals cease in the church the church will cease.

7. *Does Dr. Storrs' letter of acceptance agree wholly with the substance and spirit of the vote of the Americal Board at Springfield?*

Dr. Storrs' letter, in my judgment, was intended by him to interpret what he understands to have been "the substance and spirit" of that vote. The first part of it clearly announces the *substance* of that vote and the last part illustrates the *spirit* of it from the most catholic and liberal point of view. Dr. Storrs ought not to be held responsible for the interpretations and inferences which some of his critics have been pleased to place upon and deduce from his utterances. I think his administration, in the spirit of his letter, will be eminently satisfactory to the large majority of the Board by whose votes he was called to the presidency.

REPLY BY MR. COOK.

8. *What are the prospects of Unitarian missions in Japan?*

Mr. Knapp, who was lately sent to Japan on a Unitarian "embassy," said in his farewell address in Boston, November 6, "My errand is not a mission to heathen. . . . It is conference, not conversion, at which I aim." A son of Fukuzawa, the eminent Japanese educator, read an address following Mr. Knapp, and closing with this extraordinary benediction: "May God, Buddha, and the eight million deities of Japan bless him." (Christian Register, November 17, 1887.) The crass irreverence of this reference in its conjunction of the Divine name with pagan deities shocked many hearers, but met with no rebuke, although Dr. Hale and President Eliot were on the platform. Even the Unitarian Review (December, 1887, p. 592) says only that no missionary was ever before sent abroad with "so comprehensive a benediction" as that pronounced on Mr. Knapp by young Fukuzawa. It is painfully evident that Unitarian missions conducted in the spirit of this keynote would be exceedingly injurious to Japan, and that their success would give to her population only a plentiful feast of east wind. A Unitarian journal of leading authority lately said that the most notorious infidel lecturer in the United States might be admitted to membership in a liberal Unitarian Church. Japan should remember the bright saying of Erasmus Darwin, grandfather of Charles Darwin: "Unitarianism is a feather-bed to catch a falling Christian" (Life of Darwin, Am. ed., vol. i. p. 513). The Land of the Rising Sun should keep in mind Coleridge's remark (Table Talk), "A Unitarian may be a Christian, but Unitarianism is not Christianity."

EDITORIAL NOTES.

OUR DAY is both a Record and a Review. It has been wisely said that an editor writing a leading article is only a man speaking to men; but that current events rightly emphasized by an editor are Providence speaking to men.

In the plan of OUR DAY it will be noticed:

That specialists in reform own the periodical;

That it is, therefore, independent of partisan, denominational, or political control;

That specialists in various reforms are the editors of the different departments;

That these various specialists are agreed with each other in general principles;

That they support distinctively evangelical views, and a theology at once vital and progressive, but have no merely denominational aims;

That they intend to give the periodical a cosmopolitan range, equal to its opportunity;

That it addresses itself especially to teachers, preachers, editors, politicians, students, authors, reformers, and in general to the educated classes;

That the periodical will have a close connection with both Platform and Pulpit, and will represent a combination of the Independent Platform with the Independent Press;

That one of its chief aims is to unite Evangelical Christianity with Practical Reform, to the advantage of both; and

That it intends to champion the cause of the people, and yet to be a Record and Review, not so much of public opinion, as of expert opinion, in the chief fields of Criticism and Progress.

God is great, and God is good, and every reform that does his will is his abode.

. . . Professor Drummond's visit to the United States has been a spiritual blessing to our colleges. He is widely read by students, and acquaintance with the genial, unassuming, devout, and brilliant man has not weakened reverence for the author. By no means every position taken in "Natural Law in the Spiritual World" is accepted by evangelical scholarly thought in the United States; but the author has won the esteem and admiration of our foremost circles of culture as well as of our most trusted leaders in the churches.

. . . The presidency of the Royal Society, Burlington House, London, is regarded as perhaps the most eminent scientific position within the gift of learned men. Professor Huxley's successor in this office is the Rev. Prof. G. G. Stokes, senior wrangler at Cambridge in 1841, and a man of the most earnest Christian convictions. He has lately lectured before the Victoria Institute of London on the harmony of religion and science. He was president of the British Association at the meeting at Exeter in 1869.

OUR DAY:

A RECORD AND REVIEW OF CURRENT REFORM.

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SOCIALISTS AND ANARCHISTS IN THE UNITED STATES.

It is but little more than ten years since the great railroad riots startled the whole country, by revealing at once the extent to which disaffection existed on the part of large numbers of laborers toward their employers, and the ease with which, under modern conditions, a few determined men can throw our whole transportation and industrial system into confusion. The trouble was not allayed until hundreds of thousands of dollars' worth of property had been destroyed, and scores of lives sacrificed. Almost from that time to the present, and especially within the last five years, one great strike after another has followed with increasing rapidity and extension, until it is now rather an exception to find a branch of industry in which they do not form a frequent incident of business. Wars and rumors of wars would fittingly sum up the industrial situation in the United States during much of the decade which has just closed.

The aggregate number of laborers involved in strikes from 1881 to 1886 amounted, according to the statements of reliable authorities, to over one million, and the estimated loss in wages aggregated over sixty million dollars; while the employers are thought to have lost half as much more, making in all more than ninety million dollars. When we consider that many of these strikes and corresponding lockouts were accompanied by open or apprehended violence, so that in some cases the mili-

tia had to be called out, and in all a large additional expense had to be incurred for extra policing, we can get a better idea of the cost of these movements. To carry through these strikes it became necessary for the laborers in many of them to resort to violence in order to prevent other laborers from taking their places. In enforcing the lockouts and discipline in their works it became necessary for the employers to resort to the black-list and other objectionable expedients, the only result of which would be to still further inflame the passions of both parties, and thus lead to new strikes and lockouts. There seems to be just now a lull in the conflict, but how far we are from having reached even an armistice, to say nothing of a permanent peace, appears plainly from the statistics of strikes. Bradstreet's records, in the issue of December 17, 1887, a list of strikes which had occurred during the month up to that date, involving over twenty-five hundred laborers, and mentions important trades in which strikes were expected soon. Since that date several important strikes have occurred, the most notable one being that on the Reading Railroad, which produced the most marked effects on the price of the necessities of life in one of our greatest cities.

Things have come to such a pass that laborers have formed unions, not only within the various trades, but also combined or amalgamated unions of the laborers in many different branches of industry. Two of these bodies aim at nothing less than the organization of laborers of all kinds into one grand order with practical power to control trade and industry in every direction. Not content with organizing for merely industrial purposes, they have adopted definite political platforms, and entered the political field in order to secure what they term their rights. They have gone so far as to nominate labor candidates for administrative positions like that of mayor of a city, and secured in the metropolis of the country such a large vote as to put one of the historical parties into a low third place. They have succeeded in some of the States in securing the passage of laws which they demanded, and not long ago we witnessed the remarkable scene of a Congressional Committee asking the representatives of one body what amendments to the Federal Constitution they would

like to see adopted. It has even been seriously proposed that a sort of second congress, whose members should be elected by the labor organizations, should sit in Washington and prepare bills for the consideration of the National Legislature.

All this must seem very extraordinary to an unprejudiced observer. In a country possessing popular government of the freest type ever seen in the world, where the ballot is extended to every man over twenty-one years of age, large numbers of the citizens have banded themselves together, applied the most opprobrious names to the authorized powers, and maintained that no matter what political party got control, they could not receive even bare justice from the constituted government, whether in its executive, legislative, or judicial departments. In a country where immense stretches of agricultural land lay untouched by the plowshare, and open to whomsoever would occupy and cultivate, thousands and thousands of citizens have joined the standards of a man who denounces private property in land as the vilest of robberies, and are willing to spend their time and money in furthering his ideas. In a country where wages have ruled at the highest rate of any of the civilized countries of large extent and population, where every man is free, in the eyes of the law at least, to follow out his own inclinations and ideas of profit, where the cost of necessities of life is, comparatively speaking, low, and where it is possible for most men to save something from their wages; where, in a word, all the conditions seem to have been realized which are necessary to make the workingman contented with his lot — in this land a series of labor disturbances has broken out and continued over a period of years, which in the opinion of competent judges has contributed very much to diminish the possible amount of wealth in the country, and to make uncertain in great degree the safety of industrial operations on a large scale. In a country where outside of a few great centres it is possible for the average laborer by industry and foresight to accumulate enough capital to buy a house and patch of ground, thousands of laborers will take part in riots which end in the destruction of large amounts of property and the loss of many lives. They will remain out of work months at a time through their own initiative, incur all

the losses which flow from a sacrifice of wages, and endure privation and suffering for the necessities of life. They will join associations which, though they may not have unlawful ends, strive to reach them by unlawful means. They will appropriate thousands and hundreds of thousands out of their earnings in order to support fellow laborers in idleness who have engaged in a contest with their employers. In a land where, in the eyes of the law at least, nothing is known of classes, where absolute industrial, social, and political equality is a fundamental maxim of the state, where every one may become rich or great or wise and stand on his own merits ; where the son of the poorest and most illiterate father may become chief magistrate of the nation, with more than regal power, where the poorest child of poverty may become the richest man in the country, large numbers of the citizens combine together, speak of themselves as a class with special class interests opposed to those of other classes in the community, regard themselves as oppressed and downtrodden, and think it is necessary to enter upon an active agitation as a class in order to secure their interests or even to insure fair play, which is all they pretend to claim.

Now such a state of things, which may be briefly described as industrial war, forms the natural soil out of which such weeds as socialism and anarchism spring, no matter how much either or both parties to the conflict may be opposed in sentiment to such results.

Surely such conditions call for explanation, and, if possible, for remedial measures. Even on the simplest supposition, which many superficial observers adopt for lack of a better one, that these laborers are all fools or knaves, that they are entirely mistaken in the facts in the case, that they have no cause for complaints, and that the organizations are chiefly composed of people who are trying to get a dishonest living at the expense of other classes in society — even on this supposition we must still explain how it comes that in such a heaven-blessed country as our own there should be so many thousands of the rank and file of our active laboring population who have sunk so low as to be hopeless fools or unconscionable knaves. Even if this be the true explanation, the phenomenon is none the less a dan-

gerous symptom, since there is no guarantee that more and more of the laborers may not, under existing conditions, become fools and knaves of the same type, until our society will have become so rotten that it will collapse of its own weight. If, on the contrary, it be really true that there is some or much truth in the representations of these people, then, of course, it is a case worthy of very careful examination, and in the investigation of such a problem we certainly need all the care, patience, industry, and fair-mindedness which we can muster.

It will be the effort of OUR DAY to probe this question to the very bottom. The laborers or workingmen have made serious charges against the existing *régime* in our government, society, and industry. They have also made proposals for reforming what they consider to be abuses. The employing classes have denied the truth of these charges, or have brought counter charges, and propose either to leave matters as they are now or to introduce different changes from those suggested by the laboring men. The public must approve one of these views or the other, or advance propositions of its own, or, indeed, let matters drift with no attempt at intelligent comprehension or control.

The so-called Labor Party has a definitely expressed programme of reform, though many laborers do not agree with its schemes in detail. Their leaders talk as if the laborers, as such, were the only persons qualified to judge of what measures are practicable or desirable. In this notion they are supported by many well-meaning philanthropists, who seem to think that a sober judgment in political affairs must be associated with a spade or plane.

This idea is of course a thoroughly false one. It is true that many laboring men have sound judgment in many political and economic affairs; but there is nothing in the life of a laboring man, as such, which tends to make him qualified to give advice on such topics. The labor problem is one of the most complicated of all economic and social issues. The man who would solve it, or even contribute materially to its solution, needs to be thoroughly acquainted with economic history, to have a vigorous grasp of economic principles, to be a master in economic reasoning. He should be a profound student of politics, should

have a keen insight into human nature in general, and into that particular human nature which prevails in the country and time of his problems, and should have the time and ability to undertake extensive political and economic investigations. Above all, he should have an open mind ready to hear the evidence on all sides, and a calm impartiality to give each element its due weight. In a word, statesmanship, scholarship, and fair-mindedness must be the necessary qualities of such a man. But statesmanship and scholarship are not qualities which a life of long-continued manual labor is calculated to develop; nor is a man supposed to be especially inclined to fair-mindedness when he is smarting under the sense of a real or imagined wrong.

On the other hand, we must admit that the average employer, though we should expect better things of him, is in all matters which pertain to his business almost, if not quite, as narrow-minded and obstinate as the laborer in his mills. The feeling that he has a right to do what he pleases with his own, that he must be allowed to run his business as he chooses, makes him quick to resent anything which seems to him like interference, and tends to close his eyes to the legitimate demands of his workmen. He thinks every laborer can leave his employ as soon as he finds something which suits him better, and with that privilege he should be contented.

It is the public which must finally settle the matter. The employer and laborer are not the only sufferers, and sometimes not even the chief sufferers, by an industrial conflict. The great public—the third and often forgotten party—suffers oftentimes more than either of the principals; and as both sides must ultimately appeal to the community in general for protection in their rights, it is they who must finally settle the controversy. It is for them to decide which of the disputants is right, or whether both or neither, or finally whether the conflict arises necessarily from a set of conditions which should and must be changed before a permanent peace can be established. The case is somewhat complicated by the fact that the public is itself composed partly of these very employers and laborers, who will certainly strive to the extent of their ability to bring about a decision in their own favor. The jury is thus made up in part of interested

persons, and it is to that extent difficult to secure an impartial verdict. All the more necessary is it for society to further in every way possible an objective, careful, patient study of the problem by all its members who will undertake such work, since it is only as the result of such effort that we may hope to elaborate measures which will commend themselves to every fair-minded and impartial person, and will therefore be accepted.

We must not forget, however, that in this work the laboring man must have a prominent share. His evidence must be carefully heard. He thinks he has a grievance, and no one can set it forth half as well as he himself. The mere statement of his grievance, moreover, will oftentimes reveal to himself the hollow basis on which it rests, and the attempt to put into a practicable shape his propositions for reform will oftentimes convince him of their utter impracticability. At any rate, since his own feeling and his way of looking at things are decisive elements in the problem, we can arrive at a knowledge of his opinions in no other way so surely as by letting him discuss the subject from his own point of view. We must admit another thing, too, and that is, that many of the laboring men have become careful students of economics,—in many a case far surpassing in knowledge and acumen their employers, who too often get no time from their business for such studies, and who prefer to spend their leisure in fox-hunting, yachting, or horse-racing. Such laborers are entitled to be heard not merely as laborers, but as economic students, who have seen industrial life from quite a different point of view from that of the average employer or economist.

There is a final reason why the laborer must be heard, and that is, that if we are ever going to have peace we must persuade him that peace is the best thing. The time is rapidly passing away, thank Heaven! when society can quietly settle down into peace and security while it is full of rank abuse. The Irish troubles are demonstrating on a great scale the utter impossibility, nowadays, of peace in a civilized society so long as any large fraction of it is dissatisfied—no matter how unreasonably—with existing conditions. Society must make life tolerable to everybody, or nearly everybody, within its limits, if it would grow and prosper. Personal slavery has become impossible; in-

dustrial slavery, whether of employers or laborers, must go the same road. The laborers — at least, the great majority of them — must be satisfied with their condition before peace can come to stay; and if we would satisfy them, we must, first of all, understand them and their case.

Within the space remaining to us in this article we can, of course, do but little more than indicate some of the most striking aspects of the subject, leaving their elaboration for subsequent occasions. When we look at the field of labor broadly, we cannot fail to be struck by the bitterness which seems to prevail very generally between employer and workmen. If we can fully account for this we shall have explained to a large extent existing conditions. Like all struggles between classes in which rights, duties, and privileges are implied, this one also involves a large subjective element. The so-called labor problem is at bottom one of sentiment or feeling; and unless this fact be kept fully in mind, there will be great danger of missing entirely the key to its solution. Much of this feeling arises from actual and flagrant abuses in our industrial system, and will not, and ought not to, subside until the provoking causes are removed. Much of it, however, is based upon a misapprehension of the actual or possible, and may be changed by a reasonable presentation of facts. The suffering of individuals or classes does not all of it arise from the acts of other wicked, ambitious, or careless individuals. It comes in great part from causes beyond the immediate control of society, and oftentimes from the suffering individuals themselves. A clear explanation of this circumstance will do much to allay irritation, unless it be done, as it often is, with such ungraciousness and with such a clear determination to exclude all but these elements from consideration as to produce a strong feeling of resentment in the breasts of those to whom it is addressed.

When we look about us in society for the causes of this bitterness which has produced such marked results in our industrial system, we shall be struck by the number of contributing circumstances. The first and most patent one is the sorrowful fact of widespread suffering in large classes of our population. The history of our charitable organizations and systems of poor

relief furnishes ample evidence of a sad state of affairs, though it gives little indication of its causes or remedies. A recent incident which occurred in Philadelphia — that city of charities — may serve as a typical example. A woman had lost her husband, and was left with two children to provide for. They got along well enough until the mother was taken sick, when things went from bad to worse. The case was reported to a charity society, which sent a committee to investigate the circumstances. As the committee entered the house, some neighbors, nearly as poor as the woman herself, were taking little things to the patient. The committee reported that it was not a case requiring assistance. Three days later the woman and one child were found dead in their rooms by the agent who came to collect the rent. A *post mortem* showed that both had died of actual starvation. It may be readily comprehended that such events make a deep impression on the minds and hearts of those who live most closely to them, for they recognize full well that they themselves are removed by but a very slight margin from a similar fate. But such things would not of themselves produce such an expression of deep discontent as is now manifest among the working people unless they were much more common than they really are in our society; for such misery is no new thing under the sun. It has always existed; and, if anything, there is less of it to-day than ever before.

Another circumstance which contributes to this bitterness is the low average wage of a large class of laborers who manage by hook or crook to keep themselves out of the poor-house and above the starvation point. It is only necessary to refer to the pay of sewing women and girls and of the lowest form of unskilled labor among the men. To this latter class belongs a large percentage of the adult male laborers of our cities. There is unfortunately no need of going into any detailed system of statistics. If we take the wage of the unskilled laborer at \$1.50 per day and multiply it by three hundred — the highest number of working days in the year, — we shall get \$450 as the yearly income. If we assume a family of five persons, this sum will allow \$90 per year, \$1.72 per week, 25 cents per day for each person, out of which food, clothing, rent, books, amuse-

ments, etc., must come. One can easily calculate what must be the quality of the necessities of life or the quantity of luxuries which such a sum will purchase in any city or even any large village. When we consider that it is rather the exception than the rule for such laborers to get employment for three hundred days in the year, we can get a still clearer idea of the conditions under which these people must live. It means, of course, that the number of the family must be diminished, or, what amounts to the same thing from this point of view, that the mother and older children must contribute to the support of the family. The effect of this on the family life, upon its possibilities of enjoyment or of improvement, can be imagined by presenting to ourselves our own homes practically devoid of wife and mother. It is not to be supposed that laboring men do not feel keenly the privations which such conditions impose, and it would hardly be natural if their sentiments on many questions were not affected by this feeling. Now this class is a numerous one in our society, and is the very one which for the first time in history is striving systematically to improve its relative condition. Its members are not far removed in time or space from the rank of paupers. An accident, a sickness, may reduce them immediately to the mercies of their friends or the public. It is, of course, not very soothing to the feelings of this class to reply to the complaints which they are now beginning to make: "Your work is not worth any more. You are really getting too much as it is. Some one must do the rough, unskilled work of society and there is no one so well fitted for this as you. The bright and pushing ones among you who have sense enough to reflect upon the unhappy lot of their fellows had better devote their attention to get out of this class as soon as possible, and put themselves where, in common with the rest of society, they can exploit the labor of their former associates." And yet this is in essence the usual advice given in reply to any expressions of dissatisfaction.

The mere fact, however, of the low wages of this class would not suffice to explain the growing agitation of the social question by the laborers. For, low as they are, they are higher than in any other civilized country, and probably higher than they ever were at any other period of civilization. The wages, how-

ever, of another large class of laborers immediately above the lowest paid class are not high enough to enable them to share to any great extent in the luxury which even small incomes secure to those who can receive them. Two dollars and a half per day is perhaps a high average return for so-called skilled labor in the community at large. But \$2.50 per day means only \$750 per year where the working days of the year amount to 300, and although \$750 per year is much more than \$450, it is far from securing any very great degree of comfort. It is much beyond the income of the average laborer in the community, and yet it will not purchase the means of protracting what one would call an enjoyable existence. Strikes, accidents, sickness, etc., act to diminish the income based on this rate of wages, and to that extent tend to make the laborer discontented. But even these two causes — misery and low wages — even when the latter extends to the majority of the laborers, would not produce the effects which are so visible in the industries about us; for they exist in other countries and have existed in all time past without stirring up any such excitement.

Another powerful contributing cause is the existence of large numbers of wealthy people in the community whose scale of expenditure is much beyond that of the most prosperous of the so-called laboring class. This class of people is rapidly increasing, and consists to a large extent of the employers of the laborers who have made their fortunes on products which these very laborers have assisted in producing. It is undoubtedly just here that we are to seek for one of the most potent causes of the present discontent. It is bitter enough to have to toil from early till late, to have to send wife into the factory and children into the streets, in order to make ends meet. But this fact of severe labor would not of itself cause this feeling of bitterness; for labor has been the lot of man since Adam. But laborers see about them a class of people who to all appearances do none of these things, who call themselves the upper classes, who talk about the lower classes, the working people, etc., as if they belonged to a different order of beings, and look upon them as necessary ministers to their wants. But even all these things taken together would not be sufficient to cause such widespread dis-

content and bitterness. For they have all existed from the beginning of the world without producing such effects. But there exists still another element which is of decisive importance, and that is the change in the laborer himself. In all previous history the laborer has been kept strictly to his place either by force or custom. He has been either a slave or serf, and as such kept bound to one sphere of action. In later times, after passing from the condition of serfdom in one or another of its forms, he has still been taught to regard himself as of a lower type, with entirely different nature, appetites, and desires from the ordinary run of mortals. He was ignorant and gladly bent his body, if his superiors did but carelessly nod upon him. The average laborer knew nothing of the luxury of the rich and great, or, if he had heard of it, he was taught to believe that it was not for him, and he felt no incongruity between his conditions and his wants.

In this country, on the contrary, and in this generation especially, we have followed a very different policy. We have abolished every form of serfdom or political inferiority, and placed all men, in theory at least, on an equality before the law. We have boldly announced that all men are born free and equal, and have left no stone unturned to make the workingman feel his dignity. We have gone even farther. We have taught him to read and write. We have tried to create a public sentiment which would force every man to acquire the elements of an education or to feel himself despised by all his fellow-citizens. We have tried to teach him to think upon his own condition. We have gone still farther. We are publishing innumerable newspapers, which with patience and energy carefully collate every case of misery and print a full description of it with all the harrowing details. They collect all possible information as to the low wages received by many classes of laborers and the high cost of provisions and rent. Side by side with this they print with equal details the extravagance of wealthy men, women and children, describe the enormous sums which are squandered in gluttony and carousing, which are invested in great palaces, in yachts, in horses, and other forms of amusement — by every means in their power try to bring home to the consciousness of their readers some notion of all the grandeur

and magnificence of wealth. The feeling of contrast between what is possible to him and to his employer is thus aroused or intensified and tends to produce deep discontent in the mind of the laborer.

In a word, we have finally succeeded in attaining what we have always set before us as one of the highest objects of our political system, namely, the development of a comparatively intelligent and well-to-do laboring class. We must thus for the first time meet the question, What will this class do, now that it has finally begun to think? We have succeeded by our system of education, by the examples which are set before him, by the policy of our newspapers, in inspiring the laborer with a desire to share more largely in the material benefits of an advancing civilization, without, however, securing to him a corresponding possibility of doing so under the action of our industrial system. His wants outrun his means of gratifying them. As he wakes slowly from this long sleep of the ages, and becomes more and more fully conscious of his desires, he begins to examine society about him. He compares his own condition with that of others, his own share of the product with that of his employer. He notes the misery which everywhere abounds, he sees the luxury which flaunts itself in his face. He reflects upon the unequal distribution of wealth, which forces itself more and more distinctly upon his mind. The first result of this observation is the conviction that somebody is keeping him out of his just rights. A deep-seated feeling of bitterness and discontent is the natural outcome strengthened by every failure in the attempts which he blindly makes to bring about a different state of things. How far this feeling is justified by the actual facts of our social and industrial system will form the subject of later discussions in OUR DAY.

In conclusion, it only remains to emphasize the fact that socialism and anarchism have their tap roots struck deep into this fruitful soil of discontent. Whatever it is which causes this, is the cause or at least an indispensable condition of anarchism and socialism. All the Mosts, Parsons, or Avelings in the world can make no impression on the American workingman if the conditions of his life are such as to make him contented with his lot. But if, from whatever reasons, they become such as

to cause and perpetuate discontent and bitterness, then socialism and anarchism will spring up naturally — like indigenous plants — whether he ever hears or even hears of, such advocates as we have just mentioned. It is the practical not the theoretical anarchist whom we have to fear. It is the men whose acts and words produce the discontent and bitterness, and not the men who try to turn this bitterness to account, who are the dangerous elements in our society. The latter have no chance for an existence or livelihood except as the former make it for them. Such men as Jacob Sharp are much more terrible anarchists than Johann Most. Those newspapers which never fail to utter words of contempt for every effort of the workingmen to better their condition, while passing over with the merest mention the flagrant outrages perpetrated on society by the wealthy and lucky scoundrels, are far more to be feared than the *Freiheit*; for, while, on the one hand, they stir up the hatred of the laborers by their bitter words, they are furthering, on the other, the very things which tend to make his condition more intolerable.

It will be seen, as we have already said, that sentiment is at the bottom of much of the trouble. But it is for sentiment that men have turned and overturned kings, governments, and even societies, and for sentiment they will undoubtedly continue to pour out their blood and sacrifice all that they hold most dear. It is the duty of intelligent citizens of all classes to try to give society such a constitution that there will be no large class of malcontents in it, and to do this we must have regard to sentiment, endeavoring to change it where it threatens danger, by renewing exciting causes or inducing a new and healthier sentiment by education, intellectual, moral, and religious.

It is the growing intelligence of the laborer which makes him discontented with existing conditions; it is his bettered economic position that enables him to take up and carry on a conflict for the furtherance of his interest. Over these two circumstances — increasing intelligence and growing wealth — we have every reason to rejoice. Whether the conflict which is upon us will result in good or not, depends entirely on the attitude and action of society in general as distinguished from the two parties most immediately concerned.

EDMUND J. JAMES.

University of Pennsylvania, December 25, 1887.

FREE TRADE AND TARIFF REFORM.

FOUR CONTRASTED DOCUMENTS.

I. PRESIDENT CLEVELAND'S MESSAGE, WASHINGTON DECEMBER 8.

To the Congress of the United States : —

You are confronted at the threshold of your legislative duties with a condition of the national finances which imperatively demands immediate and careful consideration.

The amount of money annually exacted, through the operation of present laws, from the industries and necessities of the people largely exceeds the sum necessary to meet the expenses of the government. When we consider that the theory of our institutions guarantees to every citizen the full enjoyment of all the fruits of his industry and enterprise, with only such deduction as may be his share towards the careful and economical maintenance of the government which protects him, it is plain that the exaction of more than this is indefensible extortion and a culpable betrayal of American fairness and justice. This wrong, inflicted upon those who bear the burden of national taxation, like other wrongs, multiplies a brood of evil consequences. The public treasury, which should only exist as a conduit, conveying the people's tribute to its legitimate objects of expenditure, becomes a hoarding place for money needlessly withdrawn from trade and the people's use, thus crippling our national energies, suspending our country's development, preventing investment in productive enterprise, threatening financial disturbance, and inviting schemes of plunder. This condition of our treasury is not new, and it has more than once of late been submitted to the people's representatives in the Congress, who alone apply a remedy, and the situation still continues, with aggravated incidents, more than ever presaging financial convulsion and wide-spread disaster. It will not do to neglect this situation because its dangers are not now palpably imminent and apparent. They exist none the less certainly, and await the unforeseen and unexpected occasion when suddenly they will be precipitated upon us.

GROWTH OF THE SURPLUS IN THE TREASURY.

On the thirtieth day of June, 1885, the excess of revenues over public expenditures, after complying with the annual requirement of the sinking fund act, was \$17,859,735.84, during the year ended June 30, 1886, such excess amounted to \$49,405,545.20, and during the year ended June 30, 1887, it reached the sum of \$55,567,849.54.

The annual contributions to the sinking fund, during the three years above

specified, amounting in the aggregate to \$138,058,320.94, and deducted from the surplus as stated, were made by calling in for that purpose outstanding three per cent. bonds of the government. During the six months prior to June 30, 1887, the surplus revenue had grown so large by repeated accumulations, and it was feared the withdrawal of this great sum of money needed by the people would so affect the business of the country, that the sum of \$79,864,100 of such surplus was applied to the payment of the principal and interest of the 3 per cent. bonds still outstanding and which were then payable at the option of the government. The precarious condition of financial affairs among the people still needing relief, immediately after the thirtieth day of June, 1887, the remainder of the 3 per cent. bonds then outstanding, amounting with principal and interest to the sum of \$18,877,500, were called in and applied to the sinking fund contribution for the current fiscal year. Notwithstanding these operations of the treasury department, representations of distress in business circles not only continued, but increased, and absolute peril seemed at hand. In these circumstances the contribution to the sinking fund for the current fiscal year was at once completed by the expenditure of \$27,684,283.55 in the purchase of government bonds not yet due, bearing 4 and $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. interest, the premium thereon averaging about 24 per cent. for the former and 8 per cent. for the latter. In addition to this, the interest accruing during the current year upon other outstanding bonded indebtedness of the government was to some extent anticipated, and banks selected as depositories of public money were permitted to somewhat increase their deposits.

While the expedients thus employed to release to the people the money lying idle in the treasury served to avert immediate danger, our surplus revenues have continued to accumulate, the excess for the present year amounting, on the first day of December, to \$55,258,701.19, and estimated to reach the sum of \$113,000,000 on the 30th of June next, at which date it is expected that this sum, added to prior accumulations, will swell the surplus in the treasury to \$140,000,000.

There seems to be no assurance that, with such a withdrawal from use of the people's circulating medium, our business community may not in the near future be subjected to the same distress which was quite lately produced from the same cause; and while the functions of our national treasury should be few and simple, and while its best condition would be reached, I believe, by its entire disconnection with private business interest, yet when by a perversion of its purposes it idly holds money uselessly subtracted from the channels of trade, there seems to be reason for the claim that some legitimate means should be devised by the government to restore, in an emergency, without waste or extravagance, such money to its place among the people.

If such an emergency arises there now exist no clear and undoubted executive power of relief. Heretofore the redemption of 3 per cent. bonds which were payable at the option of the government has afforded a means for the disbursement of the excess of our revenues; but these bonds have all been retired, and there are no bonds outstanding, the payment of which we

have the right to insist upon. The contribution to the sinking fund which furnishes the occasion for expenditure in the purchase of bonds has been already made for the current year, so that there is no outlet in that direction.

BUYING BONDS.

In the present state of legislation, the only pretense of any existing executive power to restore, at this time, any part of our surplus revenues to the people by its expenditure, consists in the supposition that the secretary of the treasury may enter the market and purchase the bonds of the government, not yet due, at a rate of premium to be agreed upon. The only provision of law from which such a power could be derived is found in an appropriation bill passed a number of years ago; and it is subject to the suspicion that it was intended as temporary and limited in its application, instead of conferring a continuing discretion and authority.

No condition ought to exist which would justify the grant of power to a single official upon his judgment of its necessity to withhold from or release to the business of the people in an unusual manner money held in the treasury, and thus affect at his will the financial situation of the country; and if it is deemed wise to lodge in the secretary of the treasury the authority in the present juncture to purchase bonds, it should be plainly vested and provided as far as possible with such check and limitations as will define this official's right and discretion, and at the same time relieve him from undue responsibility.

In considering the question of purchasing bonds as a means of restoring to circulation the money accumulating in the treasury, it should be borne in mind that premiums must, of course, be paid upon such purchase, that there may be a large part of these bonds held as investments which cannot be purchased at any price, and that combinations among holders who are willing to sell may unreasonably enhance the cost of such bonds to the government.

REFUNDING DEBT.

It has been suggested that the present bonded debt might be refunded at a less rate of interest and the difference between the old and new security paid in cash, thus finding use for the surplus in the treasury. The success of this plan, it is apparent, must depend upon the volition of the holders of the present bonds, and it is not entirely certain that the inducement which must be offered them would result in more financial benefit for the government than the purchase of bonds, while the latter proposition would reduce the principal of the debt by actual payment instead of expending it.

The proposition to deposit the money held by the government in banks throughout the country for use by the people is, it seems to me, exceedingly objectionable in principle, as establishing too close a relationship between the operations of the government treasury and the business of the country, and too extensive a commingling of their moneys, thus fostering an unnatural reliance in private business upon public funds. If this scheme should be adopted it should only be done as a temporary expedient to meet an urgent neces-

sity. Legislative and executive effort should generally be in the opposite direction, and should have a tendency to divorce as much and as fast as can safely be done the treasury department from private enterprise. Of course it is not expected that unnecessary and extravagant appropriations will be made for the purpose of averting the accumulation of an excess of revenue. Such expenditure, beside the demoralization of all just conceptions of public duty which it entails, stimulates a habit of reckless improvidence not in the least consistent with the mission of our people or the high and beneficent purposes of our government. I have deemed it my duty to thus bring to the knowledge of my countrymen, as well as to the attention of their representatives charged with the responsibility of legislative relief, the gravity of our financial situation. The failure of the Congress heretofore to provide against the dangers which it was quite evident the very nature of the difficulty must necessarily produce, caused a condition of financial distress and apprehension since your last adjournment which taxed to the utmost all the authority and expedients within executive control, and these appear now to be exhausted. If disaster results from the continued action of Congress, the responsibility must rest where it belongs.

A SURPLUS FRAUGHT WITH DANGER.

Though the situation thus far considered is fraught with danger which should be fully realized, and though it presents features of wrong to the people as well as peril to the country, it is but a result growing out of a perfectly palpable and apparent cause, constantly reproducing the same alarming circumstances — a congested national treasury and a depleted monetary condition in the business of the country. It need hardly be stated that, while the present situation demands a remedy, we can only be saved from a like predicament in the future by the removal of its cause.

Our scheme of taxation, by means of which this needless surplus is taken from the people and put into the public treasury, consists of a tariff or duty levied upon importations from abroad and internal revenue taxes levied upon the consumption of tobacco and spirituous and malt liquors. It must be conceded that none of the things subjected to internal revenue taxation are, strictly speaking, necessities ; there appears to be no just complaint of this taxation by the consumers of these articles, and there seems to be nothing so well able to bear the burden without hardships to any portion of the people. But our present tariff laws, the vicious, inequitable, and illogical source of unnecessary taxation, ought to be at once revised and amended. These laws, as their primary and plain effect, raise the price to consumers of all articles imported and subject to duty by precisely the sum paid for such duties. Thus the amount of the duty measures the tax paid by those who purchase for use these imported articles. Many of these things, however, are raised or manufactured in our own country, and the duties now levied upon foreign goods and products are called protection to these home manufactures, because they render it possible for those of our people who are manufacturers to make these taxed articles and sell them for a price

equal to that demanded for the imported goods that have paid customs duty — so it happens that while comparatively a few use the imported articles, millions of our people who never use and never saw any of the foreign products, purchase and use things of the same kind made in this country, and pay therefor nearly or quite the same enhanced price which the duty adds to the imported articles. Those who buy imports pay the duty charged thereon into the public treasury, but the great majority of our citizens, who buy domestic articles of the same class, pay a sum at least approximately equal to this duty to the home manufacturer. This reference to the operation of our tariff laws is not made by way of instruction, but in order that we may be constantly reminded of the manner in which they impose a burden upon those who consume domestic products as well as those who consume imported articles, and thus create a tax upon all our people.

READJUSTMENT OF THE TARIFF.

It is not proposed to entirely relieve the country of this taxation. It must be extensively continued as the source of the government's income, and in the readjustment of our tariff the interests of American labor engaged in manufacture should be carefully considered, as well as the preservation of our manufacturers. It may be called protection or by any other name, but relief from the hardships and dangers of our present tariff laws should be devised with especial precaution against imperiling the existence of our manufacturing interests. But this existence should not mean a condition which, without regard to the public welfare or a national exigency, must always insure the realization of immense profits instead of moderately profitable returns. As the volume and diversity of our national activities increase, new recruits are added to those who desire a continuation of the advantages which they conceive the present system of tariff taxation directly affords them. So stubbornly have all efforts to reform the present condition been resisted by those of our fellow citizens thus engaged that they can hardly complain of the suspicion entertained to a certain extent, that there exists an organized combination all along the line to maintain their advantage. We are in the midst of centennial celebrations, and with becoming pride we rejoice in American skill and ingenuity, in American energy and enterprise, and in the wonderful natural advantages and resources developed by a century's national growth. Yet when an attempt is made to justify a scheme which permits a tax to be laid upon every consumer in the land for the benefit of our manufacturers, quite beyond a reasonable demand for governmental regard, it suits the purposes of adversaries to call our manufactures infant industries, still needing the highest and greatest degree of favor and fostering care that can be wrung from federal legislation.

EUROPEAN PAUPER LABOR.

It is also said that the increase in the price of domestic manufactures, resulting from the present tariff, is necessary in order that higher wages may be paid to our workingmen employed in manufactures than is paid for

what is called the pauper labor of Europe. All will acknowledge the force of an argument which involves the welfare and liberal compensation of our laboring people. Our labor is honorable in the eyes of every American citizen, and as it lies at the foundation of our development and progress, it is entitled, without affectation or hypocrisy, to the utmost regard. The standard of our laborers' life should not be measured by that of any other country less favored, and they are entitled to their full share of all our advantages. By the last census it is made to appear that of the 17,392,099 of our population engaged in all kinds of industries, 7,670,493 are employed in agriculture, 4,074,238 in professional and personal service, 2,934,876 of whom are domestic servants and laborers, while 1,810,256 are employed in trade and transportation and 3,837,112 are classed as employed in manufacturing and mining. For present purposes, however, the last number given should be considerably reduced. Without attempting to enumerate all, it will be conceded that there should be deducted from those whom it includes 375,143 carpenters and joiners, 285,401 milliners, dressmakers, and seamstresses, 172,726 blacksmiths, 133,756 tailors and tailoresses, 102,473 masons, 66,241 butchers, 41,309 bakers, 22,083 plasterers, and 4,891 engaged in manufacturing agricultural implements, amounting in the aggregate to 1,214,023 ; leaving 2,623,089 persons employed in such manufacturing industries as are claimed to be benefited by a high tariff. To these the appeal is made to save their employment and maintain their wages by resisting a change. There should be no disposition to answer such suggestions by the allegation that they are in a minority among those who labor and therefor, should forego an advantage in the interest of low prices for the majority ; their compensation, as it may be affected by the operation of tariff laws, should at all times be scrupulously kept in view, and yet with slight reflection they will not overlook the fact that they are consumers with the rest ; that they, too, have their own wants and those of their families to supply from their earnings, and that the price of the necessities of life, as well as the amount of their wages, will regulate the measure of their welfare and comfort.

REDUCTION OF TAXATION.

But the reduction of taxation demanded should be so measured as not to necessitate or justify either the loss of employment by the workingman nor the lessening of his wages, and the profits still remaining to the manufacturer after a necessary readjustment should furnish no excuse for the sacrifice of the interests of his employees, either in their opportunity to work or in the diminution of their compensation. Nor can the worker in manufactures fail to understand that while a high tariff is claimed to be necessary to allow the payment of remunerative wages, it certainly results in a very large increase in the price of nearly all sorts of manufactures, which, in almost countless forms, he needs for the use of himself and his family. He receives at the desk of his employer his wages, and perhaps before he reaches his home is obliged, in a purchase for family use of an article which

embraces his own labor, to return, in the payment of the increase in price which the tariff permits, the hard-earned compensation of many days of toil.

The farmer and the agriculturist, who manufacture nothing, but who pay the increased price which the tariff imposes upon every agricultural implement, upon all he wears and upon all he uses and owns, except the increase of his flocks and herds and such things as his husbandry produces from the soil, is invited to aid in maintaining the present situation ; and he is told that a high duty on imported wool is necessary for the benefit of those who have sheep to shear, in order that the price of their wool may be increased. They, of course, are not reminded that the farmer who has not sheep is by this scheme obliged, in his purchase of clothing and woolen goods, to pay a tribute to his fellow farmer as well as the manufacturer and merchant. Nor is any mention made of the fact that the sheep-owners themselves and their households must wear clothing and use other articles manufactured from the wool they sell at tariff prices, and thus as consumers must return their share of this increased price to the tradesmen. I think it may be fairly assumed that the large proportion of the sheep owned by the farmers throughout the country are found in small flocks numbering from 25 to 50. The duty on the grade of imported wool which these sheep yield is 10 cents each pound if of the value of 30 cents or less, and 12 cents if of the value of more than 30 cents. If the liberal estimate of six pounds be allowed for each fleece, the duty thereon would be 60 or 72 cents, and this may be taken as the utmost enhancement of its price to the farmer, by reason of this duty. Eighteen dollars would thus represent the increased price of the wool from 25 sheep, and \$36 that of the wool from 50 sheep, and at present values this addition would amount to one third of its price. If upon its sale the farmer receives this or a less tariff profit, the wool leaves his hands charged with precisely that sum, which in all its changes will adhere to it until it reaches the consumer. When manufactured into cloth and other goods and material for use, its cost is not only increased to the extent of the farmer's tariff profit, but a further sum has been added for the benefit of the manufacturer under the operation of other tariff laws.

THE FARMER AND THE WOOL TARIFF.

In the mean time the day arrives when the farmer finds it necessary to purchase woolen goods and material to clothe himself and family for the winter. When he faces the tradesman for that purpose he discovers that he is obliged not only to return, in the way of increased prices, his tariff profit on the wool he sold, and which then perhaps lies before him in manufactured form, but that he must add a considerable sum thereto to meet a further increase in cost, caused by a tariff duty on the manufacture. Thus, in the end, he is aroused to the fact that he has paid upon a moderate purchase, as a result of the tariff scheme, which, when he sold his wool, seemed so profitable, an increase in price more than sufficient to sweep away all the tariff profit he received upon the wool he produced and sold.

When the number of farmers engaged in wool-raising is compared with

all the farmers in the country, and the small proportion they bear to our population is considered ; when it is made apparent that, in the case of a large part of those who own sheep, the benefit of the present tariff on wool is illusory ; and, above all, when it must be conceded that the increase of the cost of living caused by such a tariff becomes a burden upon those with moderate means and the poor, the employed and unemployed, the sick and well, and the young and old, and constitutes a tax which, with relentless grasp, is fastened upon the clothing of every man, woman, and child in the land, reasons are suggested why the removal or reduction of this duty should be included in a revision of our tariff laws.

INCREASED COST OF HOME MANUFACTURES.

In speaking of the increased cost to the consumer of our home manufactures, resulting from a duty laid upon imported articles of the same description, the fact is not overlooked that competition among our domestic producers sometimes has the effect of keeping the price of their products below the highest limit allowed by such duty, but it is notorious that this competition is too often strangled by combination, quite prevalent at this time, and frequently called trusts, which have for their object the regulation of the supply and price of the commodities made and sold by members of the combination. The people can hardly hope for any consideration in the operation of these selfish schemes.

If, however, in the absence of such combination, a healthy and free competition reduces the price of any particular dutiable article of home production below the limit which it might otherwise reach under our tariff laws, and if, with such reduced price, its manufacture continues to thrive, it is entirely evident that one thing has been discovered which should be carefully scrutinized in an effort to reduce taxation.

The necessity of combination to maintain the price of any commodity at the tariff point, furnishes the proof that some one is willing to accept lower prices for such commodity, and that such prices are remunerative, and lower prices produced by competition prove the same thing. Thus, where either of these conditions exist a case would seem to be presented for an easy reduction of taxation. The considerations which have been presented touching our tariff laws are intended only to enforce an earnest recommendation that the surplus revenues of the government be prevented by the reduction of our customs duties, and at the same time to emphasize a suggestion that in accomplishing this purpose we may discharge a double duty to our people by granting to them a measure of relief from tariff taxation in quarters where it is most needed and from sources where it can be most fairly and justly accorded.

EVIDENCES OF PROGRESS.

Nor can the presentation made of such considerations be with any degree of fairness regarded as evidence of unfriendliness toward our manufacturing interests, or of any lack of appreciation of their value and importance.

These interests constitute a leading and most substantial element of our national greatness, and furnish the proud proof of our country's progress. But if in the emergency that presses upon us our manufacturers are asked to surrender something for the public good and to avert disaster, their patriotism, as well as a grateful recognition of advantages already afforded, should lead them to willing coöperation. No demand is made that they shall forego all the benefits of governmental regard, but they cannot fail to be admonished of their duty as well as their enlightened self-interest and safety when they are reminded of the fact that financial panic and collapse, to which the present condition tends, afford no greater shelter or protection to our manufacturers than to our other important enterprises. Opportunity for safe, careful, and deliberate reform is now offered; and none of us should be unmindful of a time when an abused and irritated people, heedless of those who have resisted timely and reasonable relief, may insist upon a radical and sweeping rectification of their wrongs.

The difficulty attending a wise and fair revision of our tariff laws is not underestimated. It will require on the part of Congress great labor and care, and especially a broad and national contemplation of the subject, and a patriotic disregard of such local and selfish claims as are unreasonable and reckless of the welfare of the entire country.

FOUR THOUSAND ARTICLES SUBJECT TO DUTY.

Under our present laws more than four thousand articles are subject to duty. Many of these do not in any way compete with our own manufactures, and many are hardly worth attention as subjects of revenue. A considerable reduction can be made in the aggregate by adding them to the free list. The taxation of luxuries presents no features of hardship, but the necessities of life used and consumed by all the people, the duty upon which adds to the cost of living in every home, should be greatly cheapened. The radical reduction of the duties imposed upon raw material used in manufactures, or its free importation, is of course an important factor in any effort to reduce the price of these necessities; it would not only relieve them from the increased cost caused by the tariff on such materials, but the manufactured product being thus cheapened, that part of the tariff now laid upon such product as a compensation to our manufacturers for the present prices of raw material, could be accordingly modified. Such reduction, or free importation, would serve beside to largely reduce the revenue. It is not apparent how such a change can have any injurious effect upon our manufacturers. On the contrary, it would appear to give them a better chance in foreign markets with the manufacturers of other countries, who cheapen their wares by free material. Thus our people might have the opportunity of extending their sales beyond the limits of home consumption, saving them from the depression, interruption in business, and loss caused by a glutted domestic market, and affording their employees more certain and steady labor, with its resulting quiet and contentment.

The question thus imperatively presented for solution should be approached in a spirit higher than partisanship, and considered in the light of that regard for patriotic duty which should characterize the action of those interested in the weal of a confiding people, but the obligation to declared party policy and principle is not wanting to urge prompt and effective action. Both of the great political parties now represented in the government have by repeated and authoritative declarations condemned the condition of our laws which permit the collection from the people of unnecessary revenue, and have in the most solemn manner promised its correction; and neither as citizens nor as partisans are our countrymen in a mood to condone the deliberate violation of these pledges.

FREE TRADE AND PROTECTION.

Our progress toward a wise conclusion will not be improved by dwelling upon the theories of protection and free trade. This savors too much of bandying epithets; it is a condition which confronts us, not a theory. Relief from the condition may involve a slight reduction of the advantage which we award our home productions, but the entire withdrawal of such advantages should not be contemplated. The question of free trade is absolutely irrelevant, and the persistent claim made in certain quarters that all efforts to relieve the people from unjust and unnecessary taxation are schemes of so-called free-traders is mischievous and far removed from any considerations for the public good.

The simple and plain duty which we owe the people is to reduce taxation to the necessary expenses of an economical operation of the government, and to restore to the business of the country the money which we hold in the treasury through the perversion of governmental powers. These things can and should be done with safety to all our industries, without danger to the opportunity for remunerative labor which our workingmen need, and with benefit to all our people by cheapening their means of subsistence and increasing the measure of their comforts. . . .

GROVER CLEVELAND.

WASHINGTON, December 6, 1887.

II. MR. BLAINE'S INTERVIEW, PARIS, DECEMBER 7.

NEW YORK, December 7. — A Tribune reporter interviewed Mr. Blaine in Paris to-day, and the result is cabled to that paper. Mr. Blaine said: "I have been reading an abstract of the President's message, and have been especially interested in the comments of the London press. Those papers all assume to declare that the message is a free-trade manifesto, and evidently are anticipating an enlarged market for English fabrics in the United States as a consequence of the President's recommendations. Perhaps that fact stamped the character of the message more clearly than any words of mine can."

"You don't mean actual free trade without duty?" queried the reporter.

"No," replied Mr. Blaine. "Nor do the London papers mean that. They simply mean that the President has recommended what in the United States is known as a revenue tariff, rejecting the protective feature as an object, and not even permitting protection to result freely as an incident to revenue duties. For the first time in the history of the United States the President recommends retaining the internal revenue tax in order that the tariff may be forced down even below the fair revenue standard. He recommends that the tax on tobacco be retained, and thus that many millions annually shall be levied on a domestic product, which would far better come from a tariff on foreign fabrics."

"Then do you mean to imply that you would favor the repeal of the tobacco tax?"

"Certainly; I mean just that," said Mr. Blaine. "I should urge that it be done at once, even before the Christmas holidays. It would in the first place bring great relief to growers of tobacco all over the country, and would, moreover, materially lessen the price of the article to consumers. Tobacco to millions of men is a necessity. The President calls it a luxury, but it is a luxury in no other sense than tea and coffee are luxuries. Watch, if you please, the number of men at work on the farm, in the coal mine, along the railroad, in the iron foundry, or in any calling, and you will find 95 in 100 chewing while they work. After each meal the same proportion seek the solace of a pipe or a cigar. These men not only pay the millions of the tobacco tax, but pay on every plug and every cigar an enhanced price which the tax enables the manufacturer and retailer to impose. The only excuse for such a tax is the actual necessity under which the government found itself during the war and the years immediately following. To retain the tax now, in order to destroy the protection which would incidentally flow, raising the same amount of money on foreign imports, is certainly a most extraordinary policy for our government."

"Well, then, Mr. Blaine, would you advise the repeal of the whiskey tax also?"

"No, I would not. Other considerations than those of financial administration are to be taken into account in regard to whiskey. There is a moral side to it. To cheapen the price of whiskey is to increase the consumption enormously. There would be no sense in urging the reform wrought by high license in many States if the national government neutralizes the good effect by making whiskey within reach of every one at 20 cents a gallon. Whiskey would be everywhere distilled if the surveillance of the government were withdrawn by the remission of the tax, and illicit sales could not then be prevented, even by a policy as rigorous and searching as that with which Russia pursues the Nihilists. It would destroy high license at once in all the States. Whiskey has done a vast deal of harm in the United States. I would try to make it do some good. I would use the tax to fortify our cities on the seaboard. In view of the powerful letter addressed to the Democratic party on the subject of fortifications, by the late Mr. Samuel J. Tilden, in 1885, I am

amazed that no attention has been paid to the subject by the Democratic administration. Never before in the history of the world has any government allowed great cities on the seaboard, like Philadelphia, New York, Boston, Baltimore, New Orleans, and San Francisco, to remain defenseless."

"But after the fortifications should be constructed, would you still maintain the tax on whiskey?"

"Yes," said Mr. Blaine, "so long as there is whiskey to tax I would tax it, and when the national government should have no use for the money I would divide the tax among the federal union with the specific object of lightening the tax on real estate. The houses and farms of the whole country pay too large a proportion of the total taxes. If ultimately relief could be given in that direction it would, in my judgment, be a wise and beneficent policy. Some honest but misguided friends of temperance have urged that the government should not use the money derived from the tax on whiskey. My reply is that the tax on whiskey by the federal government, with its suppression of all illicit distillation and consequent enhancement of price, has been a powerful agent in the temperance reform by putting it beyond the reach of so many. The amount of whiskey consumed in the United States per capita to-day is not more than forty per cent. of that consumed thirty years ago."

Mr. Blaine said that in his judgment the whiskey tax should be so modified as to permit all who use pure alcohol in the arts or in the mechanical pursuits to have it free of tax. In all such cases the tax could be omitted without danger of fraud, just as now the tax on spirits exported is remitted.

"Besides your general and sweeping opposition to the President's recommendation, have you any further specific objection?"

"Yes," answered Mr. Blaine, "I should seriously object to the repeal of the duty on wool. To repeal that would work great injustice to many interests and would seriously discourage what we should earnestly encourage, namely, the sheep culture among farmers throughout the Union. To break down wool growing and be dependent on foreign countries for the blanket under which we sleep and the coat that covers our backs is not a wise policy for the national government to enforce."

"Do you think if the President's recommendation were adopted it would increase our export trade?"

"Possibly in some few articles of peculiar construction it might, but it would increase our import trade tenfold as much in the great staple fabrics in woollen and cotton goods, in iron, in steel, in all the thousand and one shapes in which they are wrought. How are we to export staple fabrics to the markets of Europe unless we make them cheaper than they do in Europe, and how are we to manufacture them cheaper than they do in Europe unless we get cheaper labor than they have in Europe?"

"Then you think that the question of labor underlies the whole subject?"

"Of course it does," replied Mr. Blaine. "It is in fact the entire question. Whenever we can force carpenters, masons, iron workers, and me-

chanics in every department to work as cheaply and live as poorly in the United States as similar workmen in Europe, we can of course manufacture just as cheaply as they do in England and France. But I am totally opposed to a policy that would entail such results. To attempt it is equivalent to a social and financial revolution, one that would bring untold distress."

"Yes, but might not the great farming class be benefited by importing articles from Europe instead of buying them at higher prices at home?"

"The moment," answered Mr. Blaine, "you begin to import freely from Europe you drive our own workmen from mechanical and manufacturing pursuits. In the same proportion they become tillers of the soil, increasing steadily the agricultural product, and decreasing steadily the large home demand, which is constantly enlarging as home manufactures enlarge. That of course works great injury to the farmer, glutting the market with his products and tending constantly to lower prices."

"Yes, but the foreign demand for farm products would be increased in like ratio, would it not?"

"Even suppose it were," said Mr. Blaine, "how do you know the source from which it will be supplied? The tendency in Russia to-day and in the Asiatic possessions of England is toward a large increase of the grain supply, the grain being raised by the cheapest possible labor. Manufacturing countries will buy their breadstuffs where they can get them cheapest, and, the enlarging of the home market for the American farmer being checked, he would search in vain for one of the same value. His foreign sales are already checked by the great competition abroad. There never was a time when the increase of a large home market was so valuable to him. The best proof is that the farmers are prosperous in proportion to the nearness of manufacturing centres, and a protective tariff tends to spread manufactures. In Ohio and Indiana, for example, though not classed as manufacturing States, the annual value of fabrics is larger than the annual value of agriculture."

Mr. Blaine said he did not mean to imply that there should be no reduction of the national surplus. He would reduce it by a prompt repeal of the tobacco tax, and would make here and there some changes in the tariff not to reduce protection, but wisely foster it.

"No great system of revenue like our tariff," he said, "can operate with efficiency and equity unless the changes of trade be closely watched and the law promptly adapted to these changes. But I would make no change that should impair the protective character of the whole body of the tariff laws. Four years ago, in the act of 1883, we made changes of the character I have tried to indicate. If such changes were made, and the fortifying of our seacoast thus undertaken at a very moderate annual outlay, no surplus would be found after that already accumulated had been disposed of. The outlay of money on fortifications, while doing great service to the country, would give good work to many men."

"Will not the President's recommendation to admit raw material find strong support?"

"Not by wise protectionists in our time. Perhaps some greedy manufacturers may think that with free coal or free iron ore they can do great things, but if they should succeed in trying they will, as the boys say, catch it on the rebound. If the home trade in raw material is destroyed or seriously injured, railroads will be the first to feel it. If that vast interest is crippled in any direction the financial fabric of the whole country will feel it quickly and seriously. If any man give a reason why we should arrange the tariff to favor the raw material of other countries in a competition against our material of the same kind, I should like to hear it. Should that recommendation of the President be approved, it would turn 100,000 American laborers out of employment before it had been a year in operation."

"What must be the marked and general effect of the President's message?"

"It will bring the country where it ought to be brought — to a full and fair contest on the question of protection. The President himself makes it the one issue by presenting no other in his message. I think it well to have the question settled. The Democratic party in power is a standing menace to the industrial prosperity of the country. That menace should be removed or the policy it foreshadows should be made certain. Nothing is so mischievous to business as uncertainty, nothing so paralyzing as doubt.

III. JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL'S SPEECH AT THE DINNER OF THE TARIFF REFORM LEAGUE, BOSTON, DECEMBER 24.

GENTLEMEN: In what I have to say, and it will not tax your patience long, I shall discreetly confine myself to generalities. These are apt, I know, to flatten into platitudes unless handled with practiced dexterity. But I had rather run the risk of this than abuse the chairman's privilege of speaking first, as I have sometimes seen it abused, to my own detriment. I shall be careful not to devastate the speeches of those who are to come after me by trying to show how many fine things I can say about the subject which will be the chief topic of discussion to-night. I shall prefer to let you suppose that I could say them if I would. For I consider the true office of a chairman on such occasions to be that of the heralds who blow a few conventional notes to announce that the lists are open.

At this season which custom has set apart for mutual good wishes and felicitations, members of a common kindred are wont to accentuate the feeling that is in all hearts by gathering round a board where good cheer is at once the symbol and the stimulant of the generous sympathies within. Our festival seems to me prettily analogous with those others more peculiar to the season. For there are affinities of sentiment, there is a kinship of thought, and of the opinions and conduct that come of thinking, which often bind men together more closely than ties of blood. We are, it is true, of kin to each other as children of a common country, but we are more nearly related, we are more vitally stirred by a consent of judgment in what

we believe to be for the honor and the welcome of the mother so dear to us all.

This is no doubt a political meeting, but most of you would not be here, I certainly should not be here, had this been a conspiracy in the interest of any party or of any faction within a party, had it been, that is to say, political in that ill sense which our practice, if not our theory, has given to what should be the noblest exercise of man's intellect and the best training of his character. I believe, and I am glad to believe, that all shades of party allegiance are represented here. If in a free commonwealth government by party be a necessary expedient, it is also a necessary evil, an evil chiefly in this that it enables men, nay, even forces them, to postpone interests of prime import and consequence to secondary and ephemeral, often to personal interests, not only so, but to confound one with the other. The success of the party becomes only too soon of more importance than that of any principle it may be supposed to have or profess. Is not the main use of a party platform that a screen may be built of its planks to hide its principles from every profane eye? Has not the youngest of us seen parties repeatedly "change sides" with the airy gravity of a country dance? Our party arrangements and contrivances are grown so intricate, too frequently so base, that the management of them has become a gainful profession, and the class of men who should shape public opinion and control the practical application of it are reduced to confide the highest duty the state has intrusted them with to attorneys not of their own choice, whose hands are not too delicate to be dipped into the nauseous mass with which they are too fastidious to soil their own. I do not believe that there is a man at this table who for the last twenty years has been able to embody his honest opinion, or even a fraction of it, in his vote. During all those years no thoughtful man has been able to see any other difference between the two great parties which stood between him and the reforms he deemed essential to the well-being of his country than that the one was in and wished to stay there, and the other out and did not wish to stay there. Each appeared to make use of the same unworthy tricks for its own immediate advantage, each had an abundance of aces in its sleeve, and each was divided on the two great questions of vital interest to the country, the tariff and finance. If our politicians would devote to the study and teaching of political economy half the time they spend in trying to agree so as not to agree with the latest attempt of the Knights of Labor to improve the nature of things, they would be far less harmful to themselves and to the country. Party allegiance tends naturally to concentrate upon some representative or available man, and from this to degenerate into a policy of the strongest lungs by which voters are driven, as sheep are driven, blinded by the dust themselves have raised, to over-trample whatever obstacle of prudence or reflection may stand in their way. Have we not more than once seen men nominated for the highest office of the state because they had no "record," as it is called; that is, men with no opinions that could be found out, but who would serve as well as another

(under strict supervision) to divide the booty ? Nothing will ever persuade me that the American people would select such men as the representatives of their ideal if they could help it. It is the duty of all sedate and thoughtful people to help them to help it by every honest means. If party be a miserable necessity, it is the business of all such to mitigate, if they cannot nullify, its evils whenever they have the chance.

But, gentlemen, there are occasions when higher motives than those of party allegiance and party advantage become imperative. We are now called upon to face, and if we can to master, such an occasion. Never before has a Pandora's box so full of the germs of infectious demoralization been offered to any people as to us in our growing surplus. Never have such grotesque schemes for squandering what should be the life-blood of the nation's industrial energies been proposed by men in public place, and, what is sadder, by men who have persuaded themselves and are striving to persuade others that they are acting from patriotic motives. Never before have such enormous bribes been offered to self-interest, to cupidity, to dishonor, to sloth. If unthriftiness be thus preached in high places, with what force can thrift be inculcated in the lower ?

One, certainly, of the reasons that have brought us hither, one, at least, of those that chiefly suggested the opportuneness of our coming together here, has been the President's message at the opening of the present Congress. Personally, I confess that I feel myself strongly attracted to Mr. Cleveland as the best representative of the higher type of Americanism that we have seen since Lincoln was snatched from us. And by Americanism I mean that which we cannot help, not that which we flaunt, that way of looking at things and of treating men which we derive from the soil that holds our fathers and waits for us. I think we have all recognized in him a manly simplicity of character and an honest endeavor to do all that he could of duty, where all that he would was made impossible by difficulties to the hourly trials and temptations of which we have fortunately never been exposed. But we are not here to thank him as the head of a party. We are here to felicitate each other that the presidential chair has a man in it, and this means that every word he says is weighted with what he is. We are here to felicitate each other that this man understands politics to mean business, not chicanery ; plain speaking, not paltering with us in a double sense ; that he has had the courage to tell the truth to the country without regard to personal or party consequences, and thus to remind us that a country not worth telling the truth to is not worth living in, nay, deserves to have lies told it and to take the inevitable consequences in calamity. If it be lamentable that acts of official courage should have become so rare among us as to be noteworthy, it is consoling to believe that they are sometimes contagious. "So shines a good deed in a naughty world." As courage is preëminently the virtue of men, so it is the virtue which most powerfully challenges the respect and emulation of men. We thank the President for having taught a most pertinent object lesson, and from a platform lofty enough to be seen of all the people. We should be glad to think, though we hardly

dare to hope, that some of the waiters on popular providence whom we humorously call statesmen would profit by it. As one of the evil phenomena which are said to mark the advance of democracy in the decay of civic courage, we should be grateful to the President for giving us reason to think that this is rather one of its accidents than of its properties. Whatever is the effect of Mr. Cleveland's action on his personal fortunes, let us rejoice to think that it will be a stimulating thorn in that august chair for all that may sit in it after him. Would that all our Presidents might see and lay to heart that vision which Dion saw, that silent shape of a woman, sweeping and ever sweeping without pause. Our politics call loudly for a broom. There are rubbish heaps of cant in every corner of them that should be swept out for the dustman. Time to cart away and dump beyond sight or smell of mortal men. Mr. Cleveland, I think, has found the broom and begun to ply it.

But, gentlemen, the President has set us the example not only of courage, but of good sense and moderation. He has kept strictly to his text and his purpose. He has stated the facts and marshaled the figures without drawing further inferences from them than were implicitly there. He has confined himself to the economic question, to that which directly concerns the national housekeeping. He has not allowed himself to be lured from the direct forthright by any temptation to discuss the more general and at present mainly academic questions of free trade or protection. He has shown us that there was such a thing as being protected too much, and that we had protected our shipping interests so effectually that they had ceased to need protection by ceasing to exist. In thus limiting the field of his warning and his counsels he had done wisely, and we shall do wisely in following his example. His facts and his figures will work all the more effectually. But we must be patient with them and expect them to work slowly. Enormous interests are involved and must be treated tenderly. It was sixty years before the leaven of Adam Smith impregnated the whole sluggish lump of British opinion, and we are a batch of the same dough. I can remember the time when bounties were paid for the raising of wheat in Massachusetts. Bounties have fallen into discredit now. They have taken an alias and play their three-card trick as subsidies or as protection to labor, but the common sense of our people will find them at last. If we are not to expect any other immediate result from the message than that best result of all, human speech, that it awaken thought, we can at least already thank it for one signal and unquestionate benefit. It is dividing, and will continue more and more to divide, our parties by the lines of natural cleavage, and will close the artificial and often mischievous lines which followed the boundaries of section or the tracings of bygone prejudice. We have here a question which equally concerns every man, woman, and child, black or white, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the Gulf of Mexico to the Bay of Fundy. We have here a topic which renders nugatory all those problems of ancient history which we debated and settled more than twenty years ago by manly wager of battle, and that so definitely that we welcome here

to-night with special pleasure some of the brave men with whom we argued then, and whom we insisted all the more on keeping as countrymen that they had taught us how to value them.

Gentlemen, I think I have occupied as much of your time as a chairman should. I will only ask your patience while I detain you for a moment longer from other speakers whom I am as eager to hear as you must be. The allusion to our civil war, which I made a moment ago, suggests to me a thought which I should be glad to share with you before I close. That tremendous convulsion — as I believe those engaged on the losing side now see as clearly as we — saved us a country that was worth saving, so that properly there was no losing side. Now, what I wish to say is this : that a country worth saving is worth saving all the time, and that a country with such energies as ours, with such opportunities and incitements to grow rich, and such temptations to be content with growing rich, needs saving all the time. Many of us remember, as we remember nothing else, the overwhelming rush of that great national passion, obliterating all lines of party division and leveling all the landmarks of habitual politics. Who that saw it will ever forget that enthusiasm of loyalty for the flag and for what the flag symbolized which twenty-six years ago swept all the country's forces of thought and sentiment, of memory and hope, into the rush of its overmastering torrent? Martial patriotism touches the heart, kindles the imagination, and rouses the nobler energies of men as nothing else ever does or can. Even love is a paler emotion. That image of our country, with the flame of battle in her eyes, which every man then saw, how beautiful it was, how potent to inspire devotion ! But these ecstasies of emotion are by their very nature as transient as they are ennobling. There is a sedater kind of patriotism less picturesque, less inspiring, but quite as admirably serviceable in the prosy days of peace. It is the patient patriotism which strives to enlighten public opinion and to redress the balance of party spirit, which inculcates civic courage and independence of mind, which refuses to accept clamor as argument or to believe that phrases become syllogisms by repetition. It is this more modest and thoughtful patriotism to the exemplifying and practice of which we aspire ; and the first lesson it teaches us is that a moderated and controlled enthusiasm is like stored electricity, the most powerful of motive forces, and that the reformer of practical abuses springing from economic ignorance or mistake then first begins to be wise when he allows for the obstinate vitality of human error and human folly, and is willing to believe that those who cannot see as he does are not themselves necessarily bad men.

IV. SPEECH OF SENATOR SHERMAN, OF OHIO, AT THE
DINNER OF THE HOME MARKET CLUB, AT THE HOTEL
VENDOME, BOSTON, FEBRUARY 9, 1888.

GENTLEMEN, — I like the name of your club, for it is a name that describes your principles ; it is a creed in itself — home market for home productions. It has the flavor of patriotism. When you use the word *home*, you do not mean your household, your business, not even Boston or Massachusetts ; but your whole country from ocean to ocean, from Canada to the Gulf of Mexico. The market you refer to is the interchange of the products of sixty millions of people, the most free, intelligent, and prosperous on the globe, engaged not merely in manufactures, but in agriculture and commerce, and embracing almost every employment of civilized man. You use the phrase “home market” to distinguish it from the foreign market, not to exclude the foreign market, but to emphasize your preference for the home market as infinitely greater, more valuable, more productive than the foreign market.

The home market deals with over eight thousand million dollars annually in value of agricultural products and six thousand million of manufactures, while the foreign market deals with only fifteen hundred million dollars of exports and imports annually, and more than half of these are home products. This is not all ; every part of the capital and labor employed in the productions of the home market is American labor and capital. These productions are by American farmers and workshops, and they are transported on American railroads, steamboats, and wagons. They are exchanged for each other by American merchants, tradesmen, and middlemen, and more than ninety per cent. of them is consumed by the American people. It is the home market that gives employment, life, strength, health, wealth, and comfort to the people of the United States. It is this home market that, I take it, you wish to foster, protect, and diversify.

On the other hand, our foreign market is conducted entirely by foreigners. Nearly one half of it is in foreign products, made by foreign labor, largely by people whose daily wages would not buy the food, saying nothing about clothing and shelter, that is consumed by the American workingmen, and yet the price of all food is confessedly cheaper here than in Europe. These products are transported in foreign vessels ; they are consigned mainly to foreign agents as a device to secure undervaluation, and to a large extent are consumed as articles of luxury and ornament. The aggregate of imported goods in the highest years of importation is less than sixty per cent. of home products. More than one third of this, the great body that enters into the consumption of our people, is free of duty, and the rest is only charged such reasonable duties as will incite home competition without destroying home industries. As to our exports, mostly of food, when they leave our shores they are carried in foreign vessels, and are only taken to

supply absolute wants. They are taken by our European neighbors as we take sugar from the West Indies and coffee from Brazil, because they must have them. All the while they are trying to get cheaper wheat from India and Russia and cotton from Egypt. Even what they do take in the way of food is less than seven per cent. of our production, while the home market consumes the balance.

When I think of the contrast between our home market and our foreign market in magnitude and proportions, the universal benefit of the one and the comparative unimportance of the other, I am led to wonder why so many gentlemen of education and character are willing to endanger the wonderful development of our home industries to increase our foreign commerce. I can excuse such professors as Mr. Sumner and Mr. Perry, whose theories exclude love of country and rest only upon the universal good of man. The most distinguished professor of this school of philosophy that I know of is Mrs. Jellyby, who devoted herself to the good of mankind, and especially of Africa, to the neglect of her house, her husband, and the little Jellybys. I believe the best we can do for mankind is to do the best we can for our country. I suppose that in Congress, at least, we are to legislate for the United States, and that on the question of home market or foreign market we are to be guided by the interests of the people of the United States.

When you invited me to speak to the Home Market Club I learned that there was another club in Boston called the Massachusetts Tariff Reform League, and that its members had a banquet here recently, at which there were many distinguished guests and speeches. So I naturally thought that here, at least, I might find a statement of the benefits of the foreign market and what is meant by "tariff reform." I carefully read all these speeches, and confess my surprise to find so little on economic questions affecting our home industry and so much about politics. It is like Falstaff's bill of fare : too little bread and too much sack. Take Mr. Lowell, for instance, a gentleman for whom I have always entertained the highest respect. He is known as an accomplished writer, a man of culture and taste, a welcome representative of this country at the English court. He was the president of the occasion, and gave tone and direction to it. I find but very little about the tariff in his remarks, but a good deal about Mr. Cleveland. He says :—

"Personally, I confess that I feel myself strongly attracted to Mr. Cleveland as the best representative of the higher type of Americanism that we have seen since Lincoln was snatched from us."

Thus Mr. Lowell, who has been honored by a great party with its confidence and trust, places Mr. Cleveland above Grant, the great soldier of our country ; above Hayes, who certainly gave to the country a pure and excellent administration, and Mr. Lowell himself ; above Garfield, one of the most accomplished of American statesmen ; and above Arthur, in every respect a model gentleman and a prudent and able President.

Now, for what has Mr. Cleveland been distinguished to justify this eulogy ? Two things : First, for the promise of civil service reform, and he

has practiced the most general, sweeping removals in the public offices since the government was established. He found 2,359 presidential postmasters in office, and he has removed or changed 2,000 of them. His postmaster-general, out of 52,000 employees under him, has removed 40,000. Out of thirty-three ministers abroad, the President has removed or changed thirty-two, a large proportion of whom are men distinguished in the war against the Union. Out of 56,000 places he has removed or changed 43,000, and out of the 43,000 there are not fifty Republicans among the appointees. No wonder the witty but cynical Mr. Stearns, one of these appointees, says, "civil service reform received no aid from any public man to amount to anything until the advent of Mr. Cleveland," but it is the civil service that turns out all the "ins" and puts in the "outs." This is the kind of civil service reform practiced by Mr. Cleveland, and yet he is extolled by a gentleman who places civil service reform above all other objects of public policy.

The other ground named to justify this eulogy is the recent message of the President recommending that all taxes now existing on home products be continued, and duties on imports be largely reduced. The inevitable effect of this policy is to increase importations at the expense and loss of our home market, and especially to reduce the wages of all engaged in industries competing with foreign production. The message creates alarm among business men at home, and gives joy and hope to every market in Europe. I have had occasion recently to answer this message, and do not care to repeat it here, but wish to reply to other remarks of our friends in the league. Mr. Lowell says :—

"Never before has a Pandora's box so full of the germs of infectious demoralization been offered to any people as to us in our growing surplus."

This is not true. A surplus is a great deal better than a deficit. And this surplus is not new ; it has been growing since the close of the war. It has enabled us to perform the magnificent feat of rapidly reducing the public debt, a policy which has excited the admiration of the greatest statesmen of Europe. Mr. Gladstone said to me twenty years ago that this was as great a victory as our success in war. This growing surplus was bequeathed to Mr. Cleveland by his predecessors, and was applied by them to the payment of debt, and to repeated reductions of taxes. It is the rational and steady result of our increase in wealth and population growing out of the policy of protection to home industries. Our friends may be surprised that the surplus revenue did not stop with the election of a Democratic president, and perhaps it will if his advice is followed. Certainly it will if he checks the prosperity which enables us to import goods and pay taxes.

But why is not this surplus applied to the payment or the purchase of the public debt ? Whose fault is it that it accumulates in the treasury ? Plainly the fault of Mr. Cleveland, whose secretary of the treasury is authorized to apply this surplus at any time to the reduction of the public debt. If he had followed the example of his predecessors he would weekly or monthly, without proclamation or noise, have purchased and retired the public debt under the plain provisions of existing law.

But if the President prefers to reduce the surplus by the reduction of taxation, why did he not apply to Congress to diminish taxation without disturbing home production? I know that at any time in the last Congress taxation could have been reduced but for the desire of the Speaker of the House and the President to strike at home industries rather than to reduce taxation. A majority of the House, though Democratic, would have passed in an hour a bill reducing taxation, if it had been permitted by the Speaker to vote upon a reduction of internal rather than external taxes; and to-day, if the House is not packed to defeat its will, a bill to make all the reduction recommended by the President could be properly passed. But the truth is, the President and the controlling elements of his party are determined to use the exigency which he has created to force Congress to reduce taxes in their way, so as to strike a dangerous blow at our domestic industries; and it is because of this that he receives the high eulogy of Mr. Lowell.

Again, Mr. Lowell says that the two great parties in Congress are unworthy of confidence; that with them it is a struggle between the ins and the outs, and that "each appears to make use of the same unworthy tricks for its own advantage; each had an abundance of aces in its sleeve, and each was divided on the great questions of vital interest." Now, as Mr. Lowell has never been a member of Congress and I have for many years, I must say that during all that time I have never seen the game played with aces in the sleeve. That is a figment of his imagination. The truth is that Mr. Lowell, though distinguished as a literary man, has no perception of the interests and business of this great republic, of the men who, like you, develop its resources. He cannot appreciate as you do the beneficial results of the policy of protection to the millions of our countrymen whose bread and life depend upon diversified industries, built up and supported alone by wise restrictions upon foreign competition. His affinities for what he calls the mother country are so strong, and his dogmas acquired from school-books so fixed, that he cannot distinguish between the interests of a new, great, and growing country and the ideal policy of his fancies and dreams. He neither did nor can throw any light upon the economic questions in which you are interested. He demonstrates this in his little speech between speeches in a manner so "childlike and bland" that it is worth quoting. He says that at a free-trade meeting in England "he was irritated by the assumption of some of the speakers that it would be an excellent thing for England if the free-trade doctrine should prevail in America," when he tells us he got up and said "that these persons in England who expected that the adoption of free trade here would be profitable to them were greatly mistaken." I can imagine the smiles of satisfaction of the great English merchants who have spent so much money to get a foothold in our home market at this delusion of the American minister.

I wish to speak of this distinguished citizen of Boston with sincere respect, but would apply to him the memorable language used by Whittier, the great poet of Massachusetts, who still lives among you, honored and beloved

by all, of Daniel Webster, the great statesman of Massachusetts, who in a critical moment disappointed his friends and constituents :—

“ Reville him not — the Tempter hath
A snare for all ;
And pitying tears, not scorn and wrath,
Befit his fall.”

The truth is, our entire exportation of agricultural products is less than seven per cent. of our domestic production, and the foreign market for such productions is a most uncertain, unstable, and variable market, depending entirely upon the accident of a good or a bad crop or a war in Europe, while the home market, consuming more than ninety-three per cent. of our agricultural productions, is steady, unchanging, and permanent. The increase of our population for the past three years will consume more of our agricultural products than the aggregate exported. The workingmen of New England alone consume far more of the products of the Western farmers than all Europe. It is strange, indeed, that such delusions will mislead an intelligent American statesman.

Mr. Morgan says that “ the farmers reject the threadbare falsehood that the bounties they pay for labor to other classes are to be restored to them in the benefits of this visionary home market. . . . The only home market the existing tariff has built up has been for the manufacturers.” Gentlemen, our farmers in the West have got far beyond the reach of this appeal to prejudice, and it will not be long before the farmers of Alabama and the South generally, and even the cotton planters, will learn by experience that the hungry mouths of workmen engaged in varied pursuits in every part of our country furnish the best market for their productions. And you in New England, even your professors and free traders, will learn that the steady demand made by millions of your countrymen in the West and South for textile and metallic fabrics furnishes you a hundredfold better market than you can find, with all your ingenuity and enterprise, in the overstocked markets of Europe and Asia. If you join in breaking down this system in order to increase your foreign markets for manufactures from two to even ten per cent., you will destroy the goose that lays the golden egg.

The policy of protection is founded upon the idea that it is best for us as a nation to produce, by American labor, as many of the articles essential to human life and comfort as possible ; that to encourage their production we are justified in levying upon foreign articles that come into competition with ours such reasonable rates of duty as will induce capital to embark in such industries, and secure to American workingmen reasonable wages consistent with the higher wants and the better food, clothing, and shelter demanded by American workingmen. The object of all this is to secure the greatest diversity of employment by the substitution of American products for foreign products. When this policy was first adopted there were practically no manufactures in America, and the principal object was to develop the simpler and ruder forms of manufacture and the raw materials of industry.

Now our manufactures have grown to such a marvelous degree that they amounted in 1880, according to the census, to \$5,400,000,000; and according to an estimate made three years ago, to over six thousand millions, and now to near seven thousand millions.

The question has arisen whether the policy of protection should extend to raw materials produced on the farm and from the mine, or whether these should be admitted free of duty. We all agree that all crude articles necessary for manufacture, that cannot with reasonable labor be produced in this country, ought to be admitted duty free. More than \$100,000,000 in value of such articles are now admitted duty free; but the crude materials for manufacture, raised on our farms or in our mines which come into competition, have been considered just objects of protection. Now, it is proposed to place these upon the free list and continue the protection to manufactures. The principal articles of this kind are wool, produced by the farmer, iron ore, by the miner, and pig iron, by the furnace. Now, if this question is to be determined as a mere matter of local interest, according to General Hancock, or, as Mr. Lowell suggests, "with axes in the sleeve," the men of Boston might selfishly say that, as they want wool, and make the woolens, they will vote for no duty on wool, because they can buy wool cheaper in South America and Australia; and they might say they will vote for no duty on iron ore because they can import it cheaper from Africa and Cuba; nor on pig iron, because they can import it cheaper from England and Wales. But such a decision would be an abandonment of the whole principle of protection. The benefits of this policy must be reciprocal, and the system upon which it is founded must be universal. The American farmer produces wool with the same competition that the manufacturer produces woolens, and should have the same consideration and protection in his employment that is freely conceded to the manufacturer, no more, no less. His product is the completed article of his labor. And so with the mining and smelting of ores, the rich resources planted by Providence in every part of our country. The labor bestowed in their development is as much entitled to the friendly aid of the government as the finest fabric of the loom or the completed work of mechanical skill.

When you remember that more than a million farmers are engaged in raising wool, and produce 282,000,000 pounds, and hundreds of thousands of laboring men are required to mine more than ten million tons of iron ore, from Alabama to the borders of Lake Superior, and from Lake Champlain to the Pacific Ocean, you must see that to leave these industries unprotected against the competition of the poorest paid and most degraded labor of Europe and Africa would be indefensible, and would expose the whole system to overthrow. All that the farmer or the miner asks is that reasonable and proper protection which is cheerfully extended to all branches of manufacturing coming into competition with foreign industry; that their labor and employments receive the same consideration in framing your tariff laws given to other industries. They only ask enough duty to compensate for the difference in the price of labor here and the countries with which they

compete. Nor do they ask duties on grades of wool that they cannot produce. I confess that in reasoning about this matter I cannot help expressing my profound contempt for the selfishness of the policy declared by Mr. Mayor Hewitt, in a letter to the league, in which, while demanding increased duties for the articles that he is producing, he insists on the repeal of duties on materials he uses.

Now, gentlemen, you may ask me what I have to say about tariff reform. I answer that I am decidedly in favor of tariff reform, always have been and always will be. I have participated in tariff reform since 1855; but my idea of tariff reform is not especially to make our duties acceptable to foreign nations, but rather to promote the interests of our own people; not to take lessons from the Cobden Club or the English aristocracy, but from Washington, Jefferson, Jackson, and Lincoln, and to follow the teachings of Webster and Clay. I am not in favor of that kind of tariff reform which brings Senator Morgan and Mr. Lowell together. I do not know what they mean by tariff reform. I suppose it is eighty-two per cent. on sugar and twenty per cent. on woolens, the highest rate possible on what they produce, and the lowest rate, or none at all, on what other people produce. I am afraid that if these two eminent representatives of tariff reform would exchange ideas on other topics they would not be so harmonious. If Mr. Lowell would discuss civil service reform, Mr. Morgan would pronounce it a humbug, and yet they agree on the tariff reform recommended by Mr. Cleveland, which is a general reduction of the duties on foreign imports, and especially on raw materials.

Now, to this I am opposed, first because it is an injustice to American citizens in every part of our country who have been invited to engage in the process of manufacture, and a still greater injustice to the millions of laboring people who depend upon industries thus protected. Again, the policy proposed will not reduce the revenue, but will absolutely increase it and thus swell the surplus as well as disturb the business of the country. It will necessarily check the enormous productions of our country, increase and harden the competition now existing between European and American labor, and reduce the wages of all laboring men employed in protected industries. It will, in my judgment, disturb or break down large departments of industry now in the course of successful experiment. It is a departure from the policy recommended by our fathers, and especially the policy adopted within the last twenty-five years, under which our manufactures have grown to their present enormous aggregate. It is a departure from the policy adopted by the most intelligent nations of Europe and America, especially our kinsmen in Canada, who followed our example and have been benefited by it.

But, you may ask me, how would I reduce the surplus revenue. I answer frankly that the tariff ought to be carefully revised with a view to correct any inequalities or incongruities that have grown out of the change of values since the passage of the act of 1883; that every imported article which does not compete with our domestic industry and is essential to the comfort and

wants of our people should be placed on the free list ; that every raw material of industry which does not compete with our own productions should be specially selected for the free list ; that wherever any industry which can be conducted in this country with reasonable success needs a moderate increase of duty for its protection to give it, and in this way check foreign importations and lessen the revenue. The direct tax upon American productions levied by our internal revenue laws, which interfere with the industry of our people, should be modified or repealed ; in this way the revenues of the government should be reduced so as to supply only enough revenue to pay the expenses of the government wisely and economically administered, and to carry out the provisions of the sinking fund for the gradual reduction of the public debt. In estimating the expenditures of the government I would provide for proper appropriations for the improvement of our harbors, for the defense of our sea coasts, for the increase of our mercantile marine, for transporting our mails to foreign countries, and a liberal provision for all the obligations we are under to the Union soldiers, their widows and their orphans, by whose courage alone we have a country to care for, a flag to honor, and a government to protect us. Above all, I would impartially protect our home market from the deluge of foreign importations, and encourage, maintain, diversify, and establish on a sure foundation the industries of our people in all parts of our country.

When they tell us that with free trade or lower duties we could buy some things cheaper abroad, I answer that even if this be true we can afford to pay such prices as will insure home production and fair wages, and we can point them to an unbroken experience that home competition reduces the price more and more, while American workshops give us a home market whose benefits extend to every industrial pursuit in our broad land. By this home competition we will in due time enter the markets of the world as we have already in many branches of manufacture. With wise statesmanship we could now, but for the narrow ideas of the powers that be, establish such commercial relations with the Dominion of Canada, with Mexico and the South American States, as would enable us to extend our markets and our friendly assistance in developing the untold resources of two continents. In this great American policy we naturally look to Boston to take the lead, and when she leads a nation of sixty millions of people will follow.

THE JESUIT AND THE PUBLIC SCHOOL.

WHEN we say that the Jesuits are relentless foes to what is termed popular education, we bring an indictment against them that needs no qualification; they ask for and desire no qualification. Their *malice prepense* is open or covert, direct or indirect, as circumstances may require. They may be conscientious, and all the worse is it for the public school if they are. They antagonize the school "for the greater glory of God," as they carry forward all their schemes both commendable and condemnable, *ad majorem Dei gloriam*. Under this, their favorite maxim and battle-cry, they are prepared to resort now as aforetime to any measures that will accomplish their purpose. Deceit, lying, torture, arson, murder, and violations of every law of the decalogue have been justified by the Jesuits under *ad majorem Dei gloriam*; and the character of the Jesuit changeth not.

In a previous article an effort was made to show what are the political instincts of these men who are managing the affairs of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States. In the present article we confine attention chiefly to the venomous war upon the public school by these Catholic managers.

A few years ago they complained, or influenced others to complain, that the public school was teaching sectarian religion, because in it the Bible was read and prayer was offered. In many of the States a sentiment was worked up; office-seekers, for the purpose of securing votes, liberal Unitarians who, from singular motives, side with Papists in their conflicts with evangelical Protestantism, and even many leading Episcopalians who, perhaps, sympathize with Papists, or at least when others speak are significantly silent, sided with the complainants, and the Bible and prayer were abolished from a large proportion of our schools. But who that knows anything of the Jesuits could have been left to imagine that these concessions would satisfy them?

It is this same Jesuitical craft which now complains that our public schools are godless affairs in which neither religion nor morals are taught, and that the souls of their children should no longer be imperiled by being sent to them. These Jesuits go farther; they affirm that the state has "no right to educate children," and that "parents are the rightful educators of their children." These ecclesiastical dictators who have come but lately from the ignorance and degradation of Europe, who are not yet clean from its ditch water, and the ink upon whose naturalization papers is not dry, have the impudence to say that the American people are doing and have been doing in matters of education what they have no right to do; that they have enacted compulsory school laws which they have no right to enact. These laws the Jesuits openly propose to violate as far and as fast as they dare; and after declaring that "parents are the only rightful educators of their children," these domineering ecclesiastics, who are disloyal to all the fundamental principles of our government, propose themselves to violate parental rights by compelling parents, under threats the most severe they can employ, to send their children to the parochial schools.

Among the many open attacks made upon the public school, one of the frankest is that of the Jesuit, Fr. F. T. McCarthy, in a lecture upon "education," given December 22, 1887, in Boston at the Church of Our Lady of Perpetual Help. His utterances are the more significant, because he emphatically says that he is not giving an individual opinion, but is the mouth-piece of the Catholic Church. We give the reader the benefit of his language upon this point:—

"But, perhaps, this is simply my opinion. Dearly beloved, I did not come here to give my opinion. I came here to give the teaching of the Catholic Church. What is the teaching of the Catholic Church? That parents may not send their children to godless schools unless a certain necessity arises. If they have other schools to send them to where they can receive a fitting education, and they send them to godless schools,—schools where no religion is taught, schools from which religion is banished,—they are guilty of mortal sin." [*Mortal sin, listen and ponder!*]

There are many other paragraphs in the lecture that we

should be glad to insert, but we must be content with quoting a few of the more striking sentences and phrases:—

“We cannot allow this state of things [the education of Catholic children in public schools] to go on, without imperiling the salvation of your children and our own salvation.”

“When the state steps in and assumes the rôle of the school-teacher, then there is the invasion of the individual right, the invasion of the domestic rights, the invasion of the rights of the church, and the invasion of divine rights.”

“There is no circumstance under which the state is allowed to teach. When orphans, foundlings, paupers are neglected, the state may see to it that they are educated, but the state has no right to educate them, but to see to it that they have the education that they have a right to.”

What is the education “that they have a right to?” Education at the hands of Catholic teachers from Catholic books, and no other, would be the reply.

“It [the public school] is subversive of the rights of the individual, subversive of the rights of the family, subversive of the rights of religion, subversive of the divine rights of God himself.”

“You cannot have a sufficiently vivid realization of the necessity of Catholic teaching, the teaching of Catholic children by Catholic teachers, from Catholic books, in Catholic schools. The state has no right to teach, no right to educate.”

“It [the public school system of America] is a national fraud.”

Shade of Horace Mann! come forth and smite this blatant treason and haunt the bewitched people of Boston.

That this Jesuit, the Rev. Fr. F. T. McCarthy, has not overstepped his privileges in speaking as he has for the Roman Catholic Church, is made clear enough. For he shows in his lecture that the policy of the church—a policy, be it borne in mind, dictated by Jesuits—avowed as early as the plenary council of June, 1876, has been to antagonize the public school. And the third plenary council of American bishops, held in Baltimore in 1884, proclaimed its policy thus:—

“Friends of Christian education do not condemn the state for not imparting religious instruction in the public schools as they are now constituted, as they well know it does not lie within the province

of the state to teach religion. They simply follow their consciences by sending their children to denominational schools, where religion can have its rightful place and influence. . . .

"Two objects, then, dear brethren, we have in view: to multiply our schools, and to perfect them. We must multiply them till every Catholic child in the land shall have within its reach the means of education. . . . Pastors and parents should not rest till this defect be remedied. No parish is complete till it have schools adequate to the needs of its children, and the pastor and people of such a parish should feel that they have not accomplished their entire duty until this want is supplied."

This Rev. Fr. McCarthy, S. J., after referring to these counsels, adds:—

"Now, in order to show you that this legislation extends to the whole country, and that it extends to this part of the country, I may mention a fact that ought to have a great deal of weight with you Catholics of the diocese of Boston. In the synod which was held within the past year and a half in this diocese, the Archbishop expressly declared that in all parishes Catholic schools were to be built; that they were to be built as soon as possible; that they were to be under way, at all events, within two years; and that a pastor having the ability to build such schools, and failing to do it, would give sufficient canonical cause for his removal from that parish."

Sufficient canonical cause for the removal of a pastor from his parish! Poor cowed priests of Puritan Boston! But what can they do, except to continue to extort money from their already overtaxed people with which to build more parochial schools?

In summing up this part of his lecture, Dr. McCarthy (we suppose he is a Catholic doctor; if not, he soon will be one) says, —

"Here is the teaching of the Catholic Church, from the Pope and the Councils General down to the Bishops and Priests: that Catholic schools are to be built, Catholic schools are to be supported, that the children of Catholics are to be sent to these schools and *to no other*, that religion must be taught in the schools, that religion and education must go hand in hand, that there is no education worthy of the name without the teaching of religion, and *this must be done without any let or hindrance on the part of any one whatsoever.*"

Over the heads of the priest-ridden people is suspended the anathema of "mortal sin;" and over the heads of the wincing priests is suspended the threat of "removal from the parish!" What will the priests and the people do about it? is an important question.

There are Protestant journals which declare that the Catholic people will meekly submit. A recent editorial in the "Congregationalist" closes thus:—

"A Roman Catholic school is ordered, and will be established, in every congregation, and the children *will*, by the power of the church, *be withdrawn* from the public schools, into purely Roman Catholic substitutes."

On the other hand, there are Protestant journals which confidently affirm that the Catholics of New England will not long submit to this kind of dictation. [See two editorials in the "Journal of Education," December 29, 1887, and January 12, 1888.] The "Boston Daily Globe," which has a large circulation among the Catholics, and is careful not to wound their feelings, ventures the statement that there will "not be found more than one voter in fifty, among Catholics in Boston," who will favor a change from public to parochial schools.

"Even if the clergy," continues the article, "were unitedly in favor of such a change they could not carry their people with them," giving as a reason that "the effect of our institutions has been to make the Roman Catholic laity here believe that in public matters they are the best judges of what is for their good."

We are pained as we think that the "Congregationalist" is the wiser judge in these matters. Were the majority of the Roman Catholics in New England of any nationality excepting Irish, we might look to see them throw off this tyrannical Jesuitical yoke. But—!

In the latter part of the reign of Louis XIV., the Jesuits were dominant in France, and did what they always do when dominant. Says Professor Fisher: "The teaching of the Spaniard Mariana, one of their writers, that regicide is lawful, was believed to have led to the murder of Henry IV. of France.

The assassination of his predecessor, Henry III., as well as of William of Orange, was traced by many to the poisonous doctrine of Jesuit teachers." This hint is sufficient for our present purpose. But these criminal proceedings, and their active interference in political affairs, their commercial speculations and their nefarious moral maxims, aroused bitter opposition not only in France but in other quarters of Europe. As a result Catholic communicants in many states rose against these corrupt and unendurable plotters against the rights of men; they were expelled in 1507 from Venice, in 1708 from Holland, in 1764 from France, in 1767 from Spain, in 1820 from Russia, in 1829 from England, in 1872 from Germany, and in 1873 from Italy. They have been expelled from several of the South American republics, also from Mexico, and have been a second time pronounced outlaws in the French republic.

But alas! we study history in vain to find a single page which records the expulsion of Jesuits from Ireland. The thought forces itself upon us that when the oppressed people of Ireland open their eyes, they will see that their greatest enemy is not the Englishman but the Jesuit; and when the Irish in New England open their eyes they will see that their greatest enemy is not the public school, but is this same aggressive, oppressive, meddlesome, political nuisance — the Jesuit. As we have said, Italy, which was and is Roman Catholic, ninety-nine per cent. of her population being Roman Catholics, would not endure popery under Jesuitical leadership. Catholic Italians rose against these oppressors and declared the state politically free from ecclesiastical domination.

Mexico, too, was and still is nominally Roman Catholic. Fifty years ago the papal church in Mexico, in proportion to the number of its communicants, was richer than anywhere else in the world. The church held two thirds of the property of the city of Mexico. Mortgages were held by her over a large portion of the country. She controlled the money and landed interest of all the great centres of trade; and convents covering hundreds of acres were adorned with the highest art. The church was rich, elegant, luxurious. But to-day the papal church of Mexico, in proportion to the number of its communi-

cants, is poorer than anywhere else in the world. There is not allowed at present a nunnery, monastery, nun, Sister of Charity, or Jesuit, in all Mexico: they are excluded by law. What has brought about these changes, does some one ask? The answer is that popery under Jesuitical leadership became there, as elsewhere, aggressive and intolerant to such extent that Catholic Mexicans, like their Italian brethren, rose against their oppressors, declared the state politically free from ecclesiastical domination, and heroically crushed that gigantic worldly power which had intrenched itself under the name of religion.

Might not one, therefore, hope and expect that the Catholics of New England, many of whom are American born, would be at least as courageous as the Italian Catholics, or as the Mexican Catholics? Might not one hope and expect, when confronted with these Jesuitical commands and intimidations employed to wrest from the children of American-born Catholics the advantages of the public school system of Boston and of New England, that they would rise in their manhood and say: No, we will not obey these outrageous commands; we have some rights if we are Catholics.

But, unfortunately for America, the Irish Catholic, as also the French Canadian Catholic, is not an Italian Catholic; and he is not a Mexican Catholic. He unquestionably lacks the ecclesiastical independence of his Italian and Mexican brethren.

Hence, under the papal lash in the hands of the Jesuits, the parish priest, whatever his personal judgment, hastens to build parochial schools; and children of Catholic parents, whatever their personal desires, are hastened to fill them.

Few people are aware of the rapid increase of these schools. There was scarcely a parochial school in this country thirty years ago. In 1880, according to Sadlier's directory, there were about seventeen hundred, with two hundred thousand pupils. To-day there are not less than a million pupils in parochial schools, and those schools are organizing in all directions. Such inland, almost rural cities, as Burlington and Montpelier, Vermont, already have their parochial schools. And in such cities as Manchester, New Hampshire, and Lewiston, Maine, the scholars in parochial schools outnumber those in the public

schools. It is estimated that in the Boston diocese there are not less than fifty thousand scholars in the parochial schools. Therefore, in view of this implicit obedience to ecclesiastical command, what hope is there that our Catholic fellow-citizens will venture to free themselves from this papal tyranny to which they have submitted? We know that some of the priests are not in sympathy with the parochial school movement, and we know that many of the laity are mentally protesting against it; but when the test comes they silently submit to the command and the menace of the Jesuits.

Well, some one asks, why not let the Catholics educate their own children if they so desire? And why all this noisy opposition? These questions at first thought seem plausible enough, but those who ask them appear to be forgetful, or at least unmindful of many things that ever should be kept in mind.

They are not informed, perhaps, as to the falsehoods taught in the parochial schools, or of the gross ignorance of the people that for ages have been under papal control; they forget that "Popery," as John Milton declared, "is a double thing to deal with, and claims a twofold power, ecclesiastical and political, both usurped, and the one supporting the other;" that Irish Catholics taught in the parochial school will accept the dogma of papal infallibility, will be led to think if they offend the Pope they offend God, and then will obey passively, unresistingly and unquestioningly whatever is commanded by the church authorities.

If the aim and the result of the parochial school were to make better or more loyal citizens, then all opposition should be withdrawn; indeed there would be no opposition. But it is because the aim and result are to make less loyal citizens that the state has a right to interfere; indeed it is not only the right, but the solemn duty of the state, and of every citizen in the state, to interfere and to oppose in all legitimate ways the establishment of such schools.

M. Edmund About, in vindication of the action of the French Assembly, in seeking to deliver the nation, in matters of education, from the influence of the papal power, made use of this language: "The absolute independence of some few thousand

monks might be tolerated, were they to devote themselves to a purely contemplative life, or to confine themselves to preaching in the pulpit, writing in the papers, and publishing works of doubtful casuistry or distorted history. But directly they lay hands on education — when they turn their convents into schools, and entice thousands of children of the middle classes, for the purpose of moulding their young minds and inculcating their particular ideas — it behooves the state, not merely as a right, but as a bounden duty, to be up and doing. So, at least, thought the Duc Victor de Broglie, M. Guizot, M. Thiers, M. Villemain, and all the great parliamentary men of 1844."

Of course the principles involved in this discussion apply equally to schools under Protestant control. Hence, the moment a Protestant school teaches disloyalty to the state, and disloyalty is taught whenever supreme political allegiance to a foreign power is taught, then the state should empty that school of its scholars, lock its doors, and put a policeman in charge.

Or suppose Russians in the United States should establish schools with the design of teaching that the primal duty of naturalized Russians is not to the United States government, but to the Czar of Russia; or suppose naturalized Germans and Englishmen should establish schools with the design of teaching that the Emperor William and Queen Victoria are entitled to primal allegiance, would not Americans deem it a duty to interfere? We are inclined to think that the naturalized Irishman, judging from the Faneuil Hall demonstration of a few months ago, would be among the first to move in closing and bolting all such school-house doors.

The indictment we bring against the parochial school is, therefore, this: that it teaches, and intends more and more to teach, that the Pope of Rome is entitled to primal obedience, not only in ecclesiastical, but also in political matters; that the parochial school is designed to make of its scholars more loyal papists, hence less loyal, indeed disloyal citizens. Therefore a parochial school is to be looked upon as an enemy to civil liberty, and those who are trained in it, if heartily imbibing its instructions, we do not hesitate to say should be deprived forthwith of the rights of franchise.

While every citizen, as before stated, is entitled to full liberty of conscience, and while the state should protect every citizen, so long as he does not trespass upon the rights of others and is a peaceable, orderly, and loyal citizen, yet the moment he becomes in any way a trespasser, or the moment he transfers his loyalty to a foreign power to the detriment of the state, that moment he forfeits his rights as a citizen, he forfeits his liberty, he is a criminal, and should become a convict.

And yet many of our citizens speak no word against the parochial school. Protestant business and professional men influenced by business and professional policy, and Protestant politicians influenced by political interests, are already giving money to free these schools from debt. The hooded nun visits these men; she speaks a few words; and even purse strings that are generally tightly drawn are straightway loosened. Aiding and abetting treason, is it? There are citizens who will remain silent even when public moneys are asked or voted in support of the parochial school. There are citizens who would remain silent even if Catholics should pack our school committees, discharge Protestant teachers, and employ none but Catholics.¹

¹ When the Catholics have the power they will be under obligation to adopt the above measures. See the lecture of Dr. McCarthy referred to.

Says the *Catholic World*: "We, of course, deny the competency of the state to educate, to say what shall or shall not be taught in the public schools, as we deny its competency to say what shall or shall not be the religious belief and discipline of its citizens. We, of course, utterly repudiate the popular doctrine that so-called secular education is the function of the state." Again: "Religious liberty consists in the unrestrained freedom and independence of the church to teach and govern all men and nations, princes and peoples, rulers and ruled, in all things enjoined by the teleological law of man's existence." Again: "Before God, no man has a right to be of any religion but the Catholic, the only true religion, the only religion by which men can be raised to union with God in the beatific vision."

In a paper entitled, "The Catholics of the Nineteenth Century," is this statement: "The supremacy asserted for the church in matters of education implies the additional and cognate functions of the censorship of ideas, and the right to examine and approve, or disapprove, all books, publications, writings, and utterances intended for public instruction, enlightenment, or entertainment, and the supervision of places of amusement."

Conservative and avaricious capitalists, weak-kneed citizens, men who are hungry for office, and others who are cursed with political blindness, are, in these and in other matters, the peril of the republic.

The moment the papal power begins its more aggressive work, thousands of our citizens will immediately acknowledge friendship and allegiance. Only the minority in such times are willing to be martyrs. Thousands who have no principle, and who are always ready to enroll themselves under any banner where there is pelf or plunder, will likewise suddenly side with Papists, and vote what they ask. *But some will die first!*

On the other hand, our hope, a sort of forlorn hope, is that our Irish Catholic citizens themselves will wake to a sense of the oppression that afflicts and threatens them; that they will see that children in the parochial school are not half or quarter educated, and are wizening under its instruction, being in no condition to compete with those who are better educated; and that they will see that Roman Catholics who are leaders in politics are such, not from being educated in Catholic schools, but because of what the public and the Protestant schools and colleges have done for them. Our hope is that in these and other matters the scales will fall from the eyes of Irish Roman Catholics; and that then they will dare to strike the Jesuit who now assumes to be the adviser and dictator of the people, of priests, of bishops, and even of the Pope himself. If that blow shall be struck we may trust it will not be less heavy than the one given the Jesuits by the Mexican, and by the Italian Catholics.

The oath uttered by one too much oppressed is loud; his blow is heavy. O Jesuit, beware! You may be crowding that hitherto submissive Irish people one step too far.

L. T. TOWNSEND.

Boston University.

THE CANADIAN VIEW OF THE FISHERIES QUESTION.

THE action of the Canadian government on the fisheries question, in construing with undeniable strictness the provisions of the treaty of 1818, is very generally regarded in the United States as evidencing a narrow, selfish, vexatious temper of mind, which is by no means creditable to those who manifest it. The fact is, that the poor Canadians deem themselves to have suffered so severely every time their interests were intrusted to imperial diplomats for the purpose of patching up some fresh treaty that, finding themselves for once, at all events, able to stand upon bed-rock, as it were, and ask for what is written in the bond, they have, naturally enough, just placed their feet down firmly upon this bed-rock of a clear, concise, not-to-be-distorted stipulation, and kept them there, never attempting to advance one inch beyond their firm foundation.

That the Canadians have good cause to mourn their fettered condition so far as the negotiating of treaties is concerned, a glance at their experience in the past will suffice to establish beyond cavil. To go back to the time of the birth of the United States, when the thirteen colonies revolted from Great Britain their territorial possessions extended no farther west from the Atlantic seaboard than the Alleghany Mountains, while the mother country included within what was then the two Canadas what is now the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota, as well as a large part of Maine, the territory now included in Upper California and Nevada, and the vast Territories of Oregon and Washington. Such was the magnificent domain which belonged to Great Britain previous to the Treaty of Paris in 1783. Is it any wonder if the modern Canadian, spreading out the map of North America, and laying his history beside it, is stirred to the very depths of his nature as he realizes that, but for the crass blundering of British diplomats, and the ever-successful astuteness of Amer-

ican statesmen, the bulk of this glorious inheritance might still have been his, instead of his being confined to a comparatively narrow fertile belt, with nothing but worthless Arctic wilderness to the north of it?

By the treaty of 1783, all the British posts on the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, and the immense territory they inclosed, were abandoned by England without a second thought, and eagerly accepted by that peerlessly perspicacious statesman, Benjamin Franklin, who, looking into the future, far as human eye could see, caught a prophet's glimpse of populous States spreading ever westward towards the distant Rocky Mountains. By Jay's Treaty in 1794, the Maine boundary, which had in the previous treaty been moved a little northward, was shifted again to the manifest advantage of the republic, and west of the Great Lakes the parallel 49° north latitude was fixed upon as the boundary line, thus carving off another broad slice from the British possessions, and creating lively indignation among the English traders who had established posts to the south of that line. Then came the war of 1812-13, in which the British and Canadian forces won back Maine, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota, and all the territory west to the Mississippi. By the Treaty of Ghent, made in 1814, the whole of these conquests, in the winning of which the Canadians bore no small part, was returned to the United States without a single word as to compensation. Truly a bitter pill to swallow!

But even worse (for by this time the enormous possibilities of the realms on both sides of the 49th parallel were being fully appreciated by their inhabitants) was the Ashburton Treaty of 1842, the "Ashburton Capitulation," as Lord Palmerston more accurately termed it, and in honor of which Daniel Webster had his grandson called after the English nobleman who, preferring dining to diplomacy, and sipping champagne to holding conferences, gayly abandoned territory in the East equal to the State of Connecticut and Massachusetts, in addition to more than four million of acres in the West. "I dare say your little farm is worth the whole pine swamp I have been discussing," wrote this eminent diplomat to his friend Croker, during one of the few leisure moments the social festivities of Washington

allowed him. Canada's cup of chagrin and self-sacrifice might well be thought to have been filled to overflowing by these repeated surrenders on the part of British officials, who persistently preferred the "good of the empire" to her own good, but some bitter drops were still to be added to it.

By the Oregon Treaty of 1846, a large part of what is now California, Nevada, Oregon, and Washington Territories was meekly given up to the United States. Nearly thirty years later Canada was again worsted in the matter of the proper channel through which the dividing line south of Vancouver Island should run, her ill-fortune this time costing her the valuable island of San Juan and many smaller ones besides.

Bearing all this in mind, as Canada cannot help doing, is it any wonder if, after such an unbroken series of failures to obtain or rather to retain what was so justly hers, she has once for all taken the stand that whenever her rights are assailed a Canadian shall represent her at the discussion, and that what little advantage has been left her by blundering British treaty-makers shall be firmly, aye, perhaps even rigorously maintained?

Another misconception of the Canadian attitude that would seem to be largely prevalent in the United States is that the people of the maritime provinces, to whom this fisheries question is of especial importance, are unanimously desirous of an early settlement on a basis of reciprocity, and are willing and ready to go to almost any length to attain that consummation. This is not the case. There is undoubtedly a large class of merchants and manufacturers who are very eager for reciprocity, and prepared to make a good deal of sacrifice to bring it to pass. But, on the other hand, the fishermen themselves, and those whose chief interest is in their precarious occupation, are very well content with matters as they stand. The present system of protecting the fisheries, combined with the closing of Canadian ports to American fishermen for any other purpose than those prescribed in the treaty of 1818, gives them a great advantage over their rivals, who had previously well nigh driven them out of the business. Although the catch during the past season has been below the average, the prices obtained for fares

have been good and remunerative, the duty imposed by the United States government falling upon the consumer and not upon the fishermen. Consequently for the very good reason that the fewer there are to catch fish the more probability there is of large fares and profitable prices, the fisherman of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, or Prince Edward Island has little fault to find with the *status quo*, and cherishes no very violent longings for reciprocity.

It would augur well for the result if all parties to this earnestly discussed question approached it in the calm, fair, frank spirit exhibited in two articles that have recently appeared in American periodicals, to wit: Professor Freeman Snow's in the December "Forum," and Mr. W. H. Page's in the "Christian Union." Nothing could be more accurate or impartial than these statements of the points at issue, and never has the Canadian case been more fairly presented by the other side. They go far to show how little real cause there is for the present wide variance, and how easily the differences could be adjusted on an equitable basis. But when Mr. Dingley, of Maine, who is understood to represent the New England view of the matter, lays it down that the question of reciprocal trade relations with Canada is a distinct one from the fisheries question, and should not be complicated with it, and that when the fishery complications are settled (*i. e.*, when Canada has surrendered all that the United States covet), then the United States will be in a better frame of mind to approach the subject of reciprocity of trade, the difficulty of arriving at any satisfactory conclusion is at once made manifest. It is as though, a Guelph and Ghibelline being met to enter into a treaty of peace, the Guelph, although holding tight to his own well-pointed rapier, should call upon the Ghibelline to cast his away as an essential preliminary to any discussion of terms.

In some other spirit than this must the negotiations be carried on, or they had better be not undertaken at all. That the concessions must be mutual the Canadians understand thoroughly, and they are quite prepared even to take the first step in making them, although, considering the relative size and dignity of the two disputants, it surely were more magnanimous

for the one that overshadows the other to show the lead in so laudable an enterprise. But they are determined that this time, all events, let imperial diplomats repeat as they may those phrases concerning the good of the empire, which have cost Canada so dearly already, they will not present their opponents with their trump card, and then meekly entreat them to permit the honors to be made easy. On the honest honorable basis of give and take, Canada will do her part without stint or grudge, and if such counsels as those offered by Professor Snow were only to be followed by those to whom they are more particularly addressed, the consummation so devoutly to be wished, of a mutually satisfactory settlement, would be soon within sight.

G. MACDONALD OXLEY.

Ottawa, Ontario.

RAMABAI.

THE little Hindu maiden heard a voice amid the lull
Of singing streams and rustling leaves, in groves of Gun-
gamul :

It swept along the mountain-wind down to the western sea, —
Heaven whispering to listening earth, "Truth, like the air,
is free!"

That word had winged her father's feet from fettering caste
away,

To give his fledglings liberty for flight in ampler day
Than Manu's cage-like code allowed ; and so the maiden grew
To reach of thought and insight clear no dim zenana knew.

That word adown the jungle rang, and drowned the tiger's
cry :

Its cadence soothed her slumbers, like her mother's lullaby :
And when the orphan girl set forth on pilgrimages lone,
The message followed, in a voice that almost seemed her
own.

And hers it was, yet not her own ; for through her spake
the Word

Whose mystic breath the Veda-hymns with sighs prophetic
stirred ;

The Word that the enfranchised soul commissioned is to bear
Wherever an imprisoned life lifts up to God its prayer.

Child of the lone Ghaut mountains ! flower of India's wil-
derness !

She knows that God unsealed her lips her sisters dumb to
bless ;

Gave her the clews to lead them forth from where they
 blindly grope ;
 Bade her unlock their dungeon-doors, and light the lamps of
 hope.

A wife, a mother, — Ramabai at last the bitter draught
 Poured out for Hindu widowhood, with quivering lip has
 quaffed : —

She, mother of a woman-child, for Hindu women's sake,
 Their whole sad burden on her own frail shoulders longs to
 take.

“Oh let me carry them the key, my sisters of the West,
 To these rich stores of knowledge wherewith your lives are
 blest!
 And for themselves they will discern, as we have learned be-
 fore,
 How pales the wisdom of the sage beside Christ's perfect
 lore.”

So Ramabai appeals, as if the heart of India spoke —
 The heart of Hindu womanhood, pleading, before it broke,
 Against the shutting out of light, the stifling of the soul:
 What ear can turn away, what hand refuse its pitying dole?

O Ramabai! only to see the kindling of thine eye
 With thy heart's purpose, is to know it cannot be put by!
 The faith that can move mountains, the love that casts fear
 out,
 The life that, losing all, wins all, are thine beyond a doubt.

The voice that roused thy childish soul in woods of Gunga-
 mul,
 Is sounding through this western world, but falls on hearts
 so dull!
 Fashion has gaols for us; the weight of Custom on us lies
 Like lead; and many a social film with falsehood veils our
 eyes.

Bravest of Hindu widows! how dare we look at thee,
So fearless in love's liberty, and say that we are free?
We, who have heard the voice of Christ, and yet remain the
 slaves
Of indolence and selfishness, immured in living graves?

O Ramabai, — may we not share thy task, almost divine?
Thy cause is womanhood's, is Christ's; our work, no less
 than thine.
The Power that unseals sepulchres will move thy little
 hand! —
The stone rolls back: they rise — they breathe! the women
 of thy land!

LUCY LARCOM.

GOD ALL IN ALL

SUNG AT TREMONT TEMPLE,

AT THE OPENING MONDAY LECTURE, FEBRUARY 6, 1888.

GRACIOUS, all-wise, eternal God,
Source of all light, fount of all good,
Reverent, before Thy throne we bow;
Dependent we, almighty Thou.

Shed from that living fount Thy light,
Shine on our souls, dispel our night;
We own Thy power, we wait Thy nod,
God over all, all-present God.

Unseen the path, untried the way,
Thy wisdom is our strength, our stay;
Our rock Thy love, our hope Thy word,
Life of our life, our sovereign Lord.

Spirit of grace, Thy will reveal,
Our souls transform, our sonship seal;
We seek Thy face, on Thee we call,
Our God, our strength, our joy, our all.

S. F. SMITH.

BOSTON MONDAY LECTURES.

THIRTEENTH YEAR. SEASON OF 1888.

PRELUDE I.

ASSASSINATION AS A WEAPON OF THE SALOON.

AT Mr. Cook's 195th Boston Monday lecture, delivered in Tremont Temple, Monday noon, February 6, the Rev. Dr. A. J. Gordon, chairman of the lectureship, presided, and the Rev. Dr. Daniel Dorchester offered prayer. A hymn entitled, "God All in All," and written for the occasion by the Rev. Dr. S. F. Smith, author of "America," was sung with impressive effect by a great audience, under the lead of Mr. G. H. Ryder at the organ. The "Boston Traveller" says: "The old-time crowd was present and the scenes that have been witnessed for half a score of years were repeated. The galleries of the Temple were well filled some time before the noon hour, and the reserved seats on the lower floor were soon all taken up." The "Herald" says: "The gathering filled all parts of the hall, even to the uttermost regions of the galleries." People were standing at a score of the doors of the balconies. The platform was crowded with preachers; and the audience, as usual, contained large numbers of students, teachers, and other educated men.

THE FUTURE OF AMERICAN CITIES.

New York city is now as large as Rome was in the days of the Cæsars. Gibbon estimated the population of Rome at 1,200,000; your "Encyclopædia Britannica" places it at only 1,000,000; while New York now has 1,500,000. Half a million people are added to New York every ten years. London, by which is meant the whole population within twelve miles of Charing Cross, doubles every forty years; New York, with its suburbs within twelve miles of City Hall, in about every twenty. It is estimated that in the year 1910 there will be one hundred millions of people within the present boundaries of the republic. At that date, now so near at hand, New York, with its suburbs, will be not far from the size of London at the present time, or more than four times the size of ancient Rome. One bridge

has been thrown across East River, with towers each higher than Bunker Hill monument, a fact almost incredible to a Bostonian, and not far from this stately structure there stands facing the sunrise at the gate of the ocean a statue of Liberty enlightening the world. The next century will enlighten us as to the qualities of the fire in the torch of Liberty, whether they are from above or from beneath. It is expected that another bridge will be built across East River, with Blackwell's Island as a buttress, and joining Central Park with the Brooklyn parks. There will be a bridge swung above the Hudson, below the Palisades; and then New York, growing to be as large as four Romes such as Cæsar saw, will, with its suburbs, be a vast municipality, with two great rivers flowing through it to the sea, and the whole governed, as no similar city ever was before, by universal suffrage. With nothing but the good sense of unsifted populations to protect it, our republic goes wheeling into the twentieth century on a steam-driven, lightning-lighted world.

Already New York is notoriously misgoverned. But if things that make us blush occur in a green tree, what will occur in a dry? When New York becomes as large as four Romes, what will Chicago be, and San Francisco, St. Louis, New Orleans, and this proud Boston? Our republic, as I have so often said, is yet in the gristle, and our indifference to the increase of evils that must wax more and more mischievous as population is more and more crowded into suffocated quarters in great towns, is one of the most alarming signs of the times. We lack forecast, and yet these closing years of the nineteenth century should stimulate us to a wide far outlook, such as our fathers always took when they discussed the future of the republic.

PERILS OF MUNICIPAL MISGOVERNMENT.

My conviction is that the most dangerous evil in American politics is to-day, and is likely for many years to be, unless the mood of the people changes, the sovereignty of the saloon in misgoverned great towns. [Applause.] Little by little this sovereignty is extending from municipal to state, and even national politics. The enthronement or the dethronement

of the saloon! Unless all signs fail, this is the question to be settled in the next American Armageddon. If you wish to dethrone the saloon without needing to use military force, act soon, for the cities are growing out of all proportion to the increase of the rest of the population of the country, and their power over all forms of our politics has become very nearly autocratic. The indifference of the people to the mischiefs already effected by the sovereignty of the saloon deserves to be described as Mr. Garrison once described the indifference of the people to the sovereignty of slavery, as fit to make the statues of the fathers leap from their pedestals, and hasten the resurrection of the dead.

MARTYRDOM OF THE REV. GEORGE C. HADDOCK.

It is notorious that assassination now sometimes goes un-avenged when employed as a weapon of the saloon against the champions of law and order. We read much in the journals about the brutalities of the roughs at the polls. We hear of assaults, incendiary fires, sometimes of murders committed by friends of the whiskey rings, but these facts or rumors make little impression upon us when they refer to matters at a distance from our own personal circle, and most of us are so respectable that we hardly touch the fringes of the power that is eating like a cancer into the land, north, south, east, and west. This is one of the dangers of the hour. But some of us occasionally stand face to face with the ghastliest crimes of the saloon. Since I last looked into your faces I have had opportunity, for which I thank Providence, to study with care Sioux City in Iowa, that noble Commonwealth, with as little illiteracy as any population of its size ever had; a State made up very largely of people of New England descent, and justly proud of their lineage. You remember the martyrdom of the Rev. George C. Haddock, now a year and a half gone by. It was my fortune to stand on the very spot where, in the darkness of a rainy night, after he had returned to a livery a horse which he had been using in pastoral calls at a distance from the city, he was met, as he turned his face toward his own home, by a gang of roughs and shot down, and died in the street. On my table

yonder, on John Hancock's old corner, near the State House, I keep a pen with a handle made of the wood of the sidewalk nearest to the spot which this martyr stained with his blood. He was not a rash man. When he came to Sioux City he took no part in prosecuting the saloons. He said that his business was to preach the gospel. But in spite of the sternness of the legislative provisions of Iowa against liquor selling, great corporations were corrupting the youth of the city, fleecing the merchants, and manufacturing drunkards, criminals, paupers, madmen, and lost souls. I believe as thoroughly as that I sit here, that no drunkard can inherit the kingdom of heaven, and that therefore accursed is he who putteth the bottle to his neighbor's lips, and accursed are we if we let any man do so when we can prevent it. Certain women came forward to make complaints against the saloons and were insulted in various ways; and, finally, Mr. Haddock, finding his chivalry aroused, said, "I cannot as a man, to say nothing of my being a preacher, sit here and let ladies go forward." He took up the case of saloon after saloon, and brought a score of cases into court. He was threatened with assassination. Very few could be found to help him. He stood almost as much alone as Arnold von Winkelried did in that famous battle in Swiss history, when he rushed out in front of the line of his comrades and broke open the ranks of the enemy. Mr. Haddock was a man of gentle manners, a person of sensitive temperament, almost a genius in his poetic and courageous moods. He had a family to which he was profoundly attached. He knew what he was putting at risk.

FAILURE OF JUSTICE IN THE HADDOCK CASE.

His assassination, of course, aroused the city. For a time temperance activity was all it should be; about a hundred saloons were suppressed, and the law was carried out. The trial was brought on; but, as you know, it failed entirely to secure justice. I had a long conversation with one of the lawyers who conducted the prosecution. "We failed," said he, "because, in our opinion, the jury was bought or bullied." There was what was regarded as overwhelming evidence of the guilt of one man, to whom public sentiment wherever I sounded it in Iowa

pointed, and who shall be nameless. "The trial of that man," said this lawyer, "has but just begun." He was hopeful of securing justice.

Another trial was brought on a few weeks ago. Three witnesses of the assassination swore that they saw a certain man shoot Mr. Haddock. Three eye-witnesses took oath before heaven and Almighty God that they knew who the man was who committed this murder. The jury went out, after a most serious charge of the judge, who was thoroughly convinced that the prosecution were in the right. In ten minutes the jurymen came back and delivered a unanimous verdict of not guilty, contrary to the law and the evidence as emphasized in the charge of the judge. On the same day they went into a photographic saloon, and the man who is generally regarded as the assassin sat down in the group and was photographed with them. That evening at his house he entertained these jurymen; old wine flowed like oil; the clergy were toasted ironically; and a little later the lawyers who had conducted the defense received gold canes ostensibly from the business men of Sioux City. A protest was made by a number of reputable firms, but the saloons rode over them rough-shod, and a few days since the case was discharged entirely from the docket of the district attorney, and the present indication is that no more is to be done about this martyrdom.

All this has taken place in America, in the Northern States, in the aggressive, courageous, temperance West, in Iowa, one of the three States that lead the ranks of the advancing prohibition host. In present circumstances, I had rather live among the Sioux than in Sioux City. [Applause.] It was my fortune to lecture in that town, and to stand for a while in the very pulpit Mr. Haddock occupied. That desk flames yet with holy fire. In front of the desk I took the hand of his widow, her face filled with a better light than ever was on sea or land. Her look haunts me. She felt sure at that time that justice would be done; but when I met her son a few days later in another town, and walked with him from the lecture hall to my hotel, he, the biographer of his father, told me in the most distinct terms that he expected no justice; that not only was the mur-

derer of his father on trial, but that the jury system was on trial, and that he feared the jury trial would fail. It has done so. The son of the martyred Haddock in closing his book predicts that his father's murderer will never be brought to justice.

NATIONAL UNITY OF THE WHISKEY RINGS.

What has secured this triumph of the saloon? The public conviction and that of the lawyers of the prosecution is, that money has done it. The liquor traffic in this country is like a skater who can throw his full weight on this foot or on that. There are now a national understanding and unity kept up between the liquor rings of great cities, so that almost any amount of money needed in any local issue can be raised. Why was prohibition crushed in Atlanta the other day? General Fisk, practiced politician, not easily cheated, tells us that there came together in New York city a number of prominent liquor sellers and brewers and raised the question how much money they must have to buy negro votes enough to overthrow prohibition in Atlanta. It was thought that a negro vote would cost \$1.50, and that \$500 should be given to the man who should deliver the goods. So \$5,000 was raised, \$4,500 to spend for corruption purposes, and the wet ticket triumphed. In the city of Atlanta, as a crowd of half drunken roughs were going home from the polls, they saw a young man standing in the door of his home, a Mr. Hightower. They said to him, "Which ticket did you vote, the wet or the dry?" "The dry," he replied. Thereupon a brickbat was hurled, the man's skull crushed in, and he dropped dead in the presence of his own family and on his own threshold. And, although a crowd was looking on, nobody was arrested. You have heard of the martyrdom of that valorous young editor Gambrell in Mississippi. Can any of you tell me whether anybody has suffered for his assassination?

I bring before you a vision, as clearly as I can, of the widow of the martyr and hero Haddock. I bring before you the facts that a great religious organization, the most powerful Protestant church in this country, the Methodist, stood behind him, honored him, gathered to some extent funds to support the prosecution, and yet that the widow had to appeal very piteously

through the secular press for pennies enough to pay her lawyers. The jury system has failed in this case. The state officials of Iowa are at fault, as well as the county commissioners and the district attorney. I hold that the churches are to blame, and that public sentiment is to blame [applause], and that some portion of the blood of Haddock and other victims of the lawlessness of the liquor traffic is on our skirts. [Applause.] Such martyrs are the Arnold von Winkelrieds and the Lovejoys of the coming conflict with the saloon, and God grant that these drops of human blood, shed in a righteous cause, may become the seed of gigantic reforms. [Applause.]

Such is the growth of the power of the saloon under universal suffrage, that in scores and hundreds of American towns these are the shameful outlines of our situation : —

1. When one man goes forward alone and makes effective efforts to secure the execution of temperance laws against rich saloons, he does so at real risk to his property and life.

2. It is difficult to induce even public spirited and well-to-do citizens to unite in suppressing the lawlessness of the liquor traffic.

3. The police is little or no protection under municipal misgovernment.

4. County and state officers afford only uncertain protection according to our average experience.

5. Churches are little or no protection.

6. The jury system often fails to give protection.

7. Political parties cannot safely be expected to secure property and life from attack, under the domination of the whiskey rings.

8. When property or life is destroyed, the incendiary or assassin has often, in recent years, wholly escaped justice.

In view of facts like these, which every candid and intelligent citizen confesses under breath, it is not extravagant, it is not a rhetorical hyperbole born of reformatory passion, to say that in our great towns, small as they are in comparison with what they will be, government of the people, for the people, and by the people, is slowly being superseded in all matters relating to temperance laws by the government of the saloon, for the saloon, and by the saloon. [Applause.]

SUPREME COURT DECISION ON PROHIBITION.

And now, exercising a freedom to which you are accustomed in this place, and which I hope none of you will mistake for partisan heat or personal discourtesy, I beg leave to raise the question, so old and yet new with every hour, what are we to do about this mischief?

First of all let us with united voice praise God for the recent decision of the Supreme Court of the United States on prohibition. [Prolonged applause.] I hold in my hand an official copy of this celebrated decision, sent to me by Justice Harlan a few days ago, and I have had the honor of doing my little utmost in distributing it to the public. It is a document of considerable legal dryness, but every word of it should be studied by every friend of temperance and of law and order.

What are the chief points settled by the decision of the Supreme Court in the Kansas prohibition cases?

1. The constitutionality of state prohibition of the liquor traffic, without compensation for property thereby injured or destroyed, is unanimously affirmed by the Supreme Court. [Applause.]

2. The right of trial by jury is declared forfeited in prohibition States for violators of the temperance law. The liquor traffic can be suppressed by injunction proceedings without trial by jury.

3. It is within the police power of a State to prohibit the private manufacture of intoxicating liquors by any citizen for his personal use.

I venture to take time to read a few sentences from the decision itself to justify these propositions, and because these authoritative words open a new era in temperance legislation. The Supreme Court says: —

“That legislation by a State prohibiting the manufacture within her limits of intoxicating liquors, to be sold there or bartered for general use as a beverage, does not necessarily infringe any right, privilege, or immunity secured by the constitution of the United States, is made clear by the decisions of this court, rendered before and since the adoption of the fourteenth amendment.”

That great amendment was intended as a shield for the slave after he became a free man, and the hope of the liquor traffic was that it might be used as a shield for the whiskey syndicate of the republic. This decision also says : —

“ The entire scheme of prohibition, as embodied in the constitution and laws of Kansas, might fail if the right of each citizen to manufacture intoxicating liquors for his own use as a beverage were recognized. Such a right does not inhere in citizenship, nor can it be said that government interferes with nor impairs any one's constitutional rights of liberty or of property, when it determines that the manufacture and sale of intoxicating drinks for general or individual use as a beverage are, or may become, hurtful to society, and constitute, therefore, a business in which no one may lawfully engage. . . . This conclusion is unavoidable, unless the fourteenth amendment of the constitution takes from the States of the Union those powers of police that were reserved at the time the original constitution was adopted. But this court has declared, upon full consideration, that the fourteenth amendment had no such effect.”

Let us praise Almighty Providence for a decision as beneficial in the conflict with the saloon as the Dred Scott decision was injurious in the conflict with slavery. [Applause.]

What is likely to be the effect of this decision in the future of the temperance reform ?

1. The decision immensely discourages the liquor traffic by hanging over it the Damocles sword of possible and lawful confiscation.
2. It immensely encourages both statutory and constitutional prohibition.
3. It does this for both State and nation.
4. It greatly facilitates the execution of prohibitory laws, and makes it wholly the fault of the people if prohibition does not prohibit.
5. It is a decision for the whole country.

NECESSITY OF A REORGANIZATION OF POLITICS.

Although the Supreme Court decision thus encourages the sentiment of those who demand prohibition, legislative and constitutional, we see two great historic parties trembling before

the whiskey rings. As General Fisk has said, the Democratic party, when asked to protect the people from the liquor syndicate, replies, "We won't," and the Republican party answers, "We can't." [Laughter.] If this be a correct statement of the case, — and I beg you to notice that as an individual I speak hypothetically; you must be responsible for your own opinions, as I am for mine, — there must be a reorganization of politics. [Applause.] I am not a politician, my friends here on the platform are not politicians; but it appears that some of you are. [Laughter and renewed applause.] Is it not fair to take at least the position of an independent voter, and say that just as it was once the duty of an honest citizen not to vote for any party on its knees before the slave power, so now, in the providence of God, it has become plain that it is the duty of every honest citizen not to support any party that is on its knees before the whiskey rings? [Prolonged applause.] I have said nothing of a third party thus far [laughter and applause], and I am quite aware that leaders of the third party are often hung in effigy. I have never assisted at their execution. But as this platform is an entirely independent one, and connected now, thank Heaven, with an independent press [applause], and as you are not responsible for platform or press, but only for what you say yourselves, let me ask you to notice that in the present state of American politics any party that can control half a million votes in the presidential election, holds the balance of power. [Applause.] For one, I am profoundly grateful to Providence that the friends of prohibition, as already organized in a political party of their own, if they stand up and stand together, can cast more than that number of ballots. [Applause.] And yet I know that it was a mischievous thing to organize the Republican party, — a mischievous thing for the Whig party and slavery. [Laughter and applause.] The Republican party was once a third party; so was the Whig party. The managing politicians care for nothing but arithmetic, and therefore one of our supreme duties, as unflinching temperance men, in view of the great and hazardous future of the republic, is to stand up and stand together and be counted. [Prolonged applause.]

LECTURE I.

DID CHRIST TEACH BY INSPIRATION?

Introducing the lecture, the Rev. Dr. A. J. Gordon, President of the Boston Monday Lectureship, spoke as follows : —

There is a memorable saying of Arthur Hallam, "I know that the Bible is God's book because it is man's book, because it fits into every fold and turn of human experience." It were too much to say that the naturalness of Christianity constitutes the highest proof of its supernaturalism ; but we may say that these two constitute the obverse and reverse sides of the same divine coin. Sin is unnatural, sickness is unnatural, death is unnatural. But when our divine Redeemer by his sacrificial and mediatorial work effects in us forgiveness of sin, healing of sickness, and resurrection from death, he restores us to our normal and primitive condition. Thus the supernatural issues in the highest natural ; the divine perfecting its work in the restoration of the human.

Now we believe that the Bible, which constitutes the foundation of our faith, is at once natural and supernatural. But we recognize the great danger of our times to be this, — that we apply our reason to the Bible for its elucidation without applying the Bible to our reason for its illumination ; in other terms, that we attempt to judge the Word of God by our wisdom, instead of submitting our wisdom to be judged by the Word of God.

It was the admirable motto, you remember, of Bengel : "Apply thyself wholly to the Scripture and apply the Scripture wholly to thyself." We believe that this Scripture not only *was* inspired but *is* inspired ; that the Spirit of God still throbs in every word and letter and sentence of its pages. And it is our privilege not simply to bring to bear the force of our reason to examine it, but, above all, to bring to bear its divine inspiration to make clear our own reason to ourselves, remembering

the words of Pascal, that "Faith has its reason; which reason cannot comprehend." Therefore, instead of making our reason an eye-glass for investigating all the minutiae of inspiration, it is for us to make it, what God would have it, a burning glass for bringing to bear the light of his Word upon our conscience to convict and transform it.

The Bible being not only divinely inspired but divinely indwelt, I rejoice that to-day we are not simply to stand face to face with the Scripture and speak to God, but to stand face to face with the Scripture and let God speak to us. Therefore it is with great gratification that I introduce as the subject of this thirteenth course of Monday Lectures, "*God in the Bible*," upon which Mr. Cook will now speak to you.

THE TESTIMONY OF HISTORY TO INSPIRATION.

If an inhabitant of another planet were to visit our sphere and should ask to see the most significant, victorious, and precious object now known to man, I, for one, should unhesitatingly show him the Bible. If I were to guide the travels of such a visitant, I should first of all place him not far from the Roman Forum, and ask him to look through the arch of Titus at the arch of Constantine and the Colosseum. The arch of Titus commemorates the downfall of Judaism. You have sculptured on it the golden candlestick and other utensils used in the temple of old. Our Philistinish indifference to what has gone by, our incurious, torpid mood of mind as to what God has effected in past ages, which were really steps of advance toward our own day, would be dissipated by a sight of this monument of absolutely indisputable historic facts, the downfall of Jerusalem, the passing away of a great polity, political and religious, and the substitution for it of the religion of the New Testament.

I should ask this traveler to consider next the significance of the arch of Constantine, for that commemorates the downfall of imperial paganism. You remember the tradition about the cross seen in the sky, and although this may have been only an optical illusion, nevertheless it produced a vast historic effect. The cross was woven into the symbolism employed by the Ro-

man army; the labarum is carved on the arch of Constantine, and that monument was erected to commemorate the victories to which that vision of the cross led.

Then the Colosseum, "giant wheel which once the very stream of ages drove," as Richter says, "its spokes all broken," would symbolize to our visitor the downfall of popular paganism. Nowhere on earth, I think, except in the Holy Land itself, can you find monuments or natural objects that symbolize so large a portion of the victories of the books of the Bible, and of the religion they represent in their entirety, as in this circle where the Colosseum and the arch of Constantine and the arch of Titus are gazed upon by the cross lifted on high from all the hills of the eternal city and from the hills around it, and especially from St. Peter's, symbolizing not a perfectly pure form of Christianity, indeed, but a power co-extensive with civilization; symbolizing indirectly the whole power of Christianity in our time; a power as new as it is vast and utterly unlike that of which the Colosseum and the arch of Titus were emblems.

Next, with the Christian Scriptures in my hands, I might take my traveler to the Academy at Athens. "These books have conquered those books," I could say to him, "and more acute books never were written than Greece produced in the Academy and the Lyceum. Here stood Paul on Mars Hill, and after eighteen hundred years the truth he taught outrides, as no other faith does, all the storms of time."

I could take my companion to the schools of Confucius, of Mohammed, or of the Brahmins. I could take him anywhere on the globe where intellect has spoken, or conscience, without special divine assistance, has made the still small voice audible, and I could say, "These words have conquered those words." It is certain that Christianity is encircling the globe. It is as sure that God is giving victory to Christianity as that our sphere is rolling onward. I should say to my visitor, "The rings of Saturn yonder, around the world from which you came, do not more surely encircle the planet to which they belong than Christianity is encircling, and will yet more luminously encircle our globe. If the Bible be not the truth, then God has made history the witness to a lie. If the Bible, as a whole, so attested

by universal Providence under the law of the survival of the fittest, is not on the whole a trustworthy religious guide, then God has put around the orb of human experience a Saturn's ring of coruscating falsehood."

And so by the gate of the providence of God in history we enter on the consideration of the theme of God in the Bible.

GOD IN CHRIST, IN CONSCIENCE, AND IN THE BIBLE.

But I would with the utmost reverence draw near to a gate within the gate. The portal of faith in both revelation and inspiration is Christ, our Lord. Is any soul in doubt whether miracles were ever performed? Let that soul raise the question, Was not Christ himself the supreme miracle? Is any soul in doubt as to the reality of revelation? Let its first question be, Is not Christ in himself a revelation? If the doubt is as to the reality of inspiration, let the first inquiry be, Did Christ teach by inspiration? And that shall be my first question in discussing God in the Bible.

I wish to begin with the indubitable, and we will not pause too long on what needs no proof. I hold here in my hand what Dean Stanley (*"Jewish Church,"* vol. ii. p. 137, Am. ed.) calls "the most purely historical view of Christ that has ever been expressed." It is Ernest Renan's, and even that French skeptic says Christ spoke because God was in Him; and that He taught what He received directly from the Divine Spirit. "God speaks not to Him as to one outside of himself. God is in Him. He feels himself with God, and He draws from his own heart what He tells us of his Father. He lives in the bosom of God by the intercommunion of every moment." — (*"Vie de Jesus."*)

No inspiration, no revelation! "For my part," says Charles Darwin, "I have never systematically thought much on religion in relation to science, or on morals in relation to society." "I feel in some degree unwilling to express myself publicly on religious subjects, as I do not feel that I have thought deeply enough to justify any publicity." (*"Life of Darwin,"* vol. i. p. 275, 276.) "I am much in a muddle on the subject of design," — he wrote to Asa Gray, whose memory may God bless, and who was not guilty of confusion of that sort on religious

themes, and who did much to bring Darwin to a better mind. Asa Gray called himself an evolutionist, a theist, and a believer in the Nicene Creed. But Darwin once wrote in a hasty letter to a student, "As for myself, I do not believe there ever has been any revelation." (*"Life of Darwin,"* vol. i. p. 277.)

Was Christ a revelation? Professor Luthardt says that if we had only the four epistles, the historical genuineness of which is now utterly undisputed even by the most destructive critics of Christianity, Romans, Galatians, and the two to the Corinthians, we should yet have the whole of Christianity. It is far too late in the day for us to doubt the historic reality of the character of Christ. Assuming here as correct the conclusions which were reached two years ago in a course of lectures on this platform on *Christ a Revelation*, I now with unutterable reverence present the teaching of Christ as the supreme proof of the reality of inspiration.

Have we a Bible, or is it necessary to make a Bible for ourselves? so light-minded fantasists ask in our day. There is a tone, sometimes even within the church, which seems to imply we can vote the Bible up or down, at least in every part of it not directly connected with the teachings of our Lord. Can we vote Christ up or down? Can we vote revelation, as exhibited in his character, up or down? Dare we say that any human illumination has ever equaled his in spiritual authority? Inspiration is a gift to all ages, you say. Well, who has been inspired as Christ was? Talleyrand said to a skeptic, "Before your new religion obtains great vogue among men it will be necessary for you to die and be raised again." And we must say to those who vaunt the power of modern illumination, Before you can undermine Christianity, it will be necessary for you to overtop it, and to convince the ages that you have been nearer to God than was the heart of Christ. Who expects anything of the kind? Who, throwing aside all fetters except those of historical fact, is not willing to grant as much as Renan did, that this man spake as no other man ever spake?

A VERIFIABLE DEFINITION OF INSPIRATION.

My object, Mr. Chairman and ladies and gentlemen, is not to

defend a traditional or a novel, a mechanical or a mystical view of inspiration, but a verifiable view, whatever it may be. I purpose to reach my conclusions not by deduction, but by induction. My central proposition is that God in history is a witness to God in the Bible, or that inspiration is verifiable by its results.

Seeking, with no presuppositions except those of theism and of history, a verifiable definition of inspiration, let us notice what are a few of the great incontestable facts concerning the Bible. Let us place these facts around us as giant reflectors in a circle, and allow a full and fair light to fall upon them, and then let us take the fire that starts up at the centre of the circle as our definition of inspiration. I will not begin with the fire. If you were all believers, I might thus begin. It is best to begin there when your hands are to be warmed, when your soul is to have melted from it its covering of ice. Your purposes are devotional; begin with the flame at the centre of these great reflectors. My purposes to-day, however, are polemic as well as irenic and spiritual. I begin with the reflectors, and I ask you to notice that they are all within the circle, which no religion and no science must transgress, that of the self-evident intellectual and ethical truths. The Bible nowhere contradicts fundamental principles of human reason.

It is important to distinguish the so-called Christian consciousness from the scientific consciousness. I repudiate as dangerously indefinite, and often thoroughly misleading, what now frequently passes under the name of the Christian consciousness, for that may mean one thing in one age and another in another. But I lift to a place of honor what I venture to call the scientific consciousness, which has cognizance of strictly self-evident truths. Over and over you have heard me express my allegiance to those actually axiomatic, intuitive perceptions which are God's revelation in the soul of man. The Bible expresses its allegiance to them also, and its *cans* and *cannots* are everywhere echoes of them.

Place the reflectors, then, all inside that circle; and here are the reflectors.

1. The Bible is sixty-six books, and yet is one book.

Here is a volume made up of sixty-six pamphlets, written during a period of more than sixteen hundred years, and by more than forty authors, and yet, when we examine it closely, we find that it has only one system of doctrine, running from beginning to end. "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, mind, and might, and thy neighbor as thyself. On these two commands hang all the law and the prophets." Who doubts that an earlier dispensation led up to a later, and that apostles followed a Lord? Who does not see the gospel itself in what is called the *Protevangelium* in the Garden of Eden, the promise that the seed of the woman should bruise the serpent's head? The Old Testament is the dawn of the gospel.

When I first saw Fujisan, in Japan, that sacred mountain of the Orient, it was veiled in mist, but its whole height was exhibited by a dim outline. And so, although the Old Testament in its earlier portions does not exhibit the full vividness of the gospel, the form of the gospel is there. The height of the gospel is there. There is increase in vividness; I do not know that there is increase at all in the breadth of the outline or the height, as revelation progresses.

What explains this unity of doctrine coexisting with the endless variety of forces concerned in the production of the sixty-six books of the Bible? Here is the book, and it exhibits this unity, and we know, whatever the destructive critics say, that ages divide the opening from the closing books; but the entire structure has ethical symmetry. From beginning to end this book is concerned with the question, What is the way of salvation? How shall man be delivered from the love of sin and the guilt of it? And its answer is everywhere the same. A later writer does not contradict an earlier. Idiosyncrasies come out; the Psalmist sings now in this tone and now in that; here are history and reasoning, poetry and proverb and parable, but the predominating ethical and religious system, the great underlying questions and forces of this book have unity from beginning to end of it.

"When we approach the Scriptures," says Professor Luthardt of Leipsic University ("*Saving Truths of Christianity*," T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, p. 254), "and give ourselves to their contemplation, the first

thing which produces an overpowering effect is their magnificent unity, their wonderful harmony. We admire a Gothic cathedral, the splendor of the original conception, the richness, the consistency, the adaptation and harmoniousness of its several parts. Holy Scripture is such a cathedral. It includes the greatest variety. But one thought runs through the whole. It is the same religious spirit which breathes upon us in all its several parts. It is one and the same teaching which it carries on in all its several books; one and the same truth which it everywhere proclaims; one and the same way of salvation which it everywhere bids us walk in. This unity of Scripture cannot but excite both wonder and admiration, when we consider that we have here a literature descending from remote ages, the work of the most diverse authors, written under the most widely differing circumstances and events, for the most opposite purposes, in the greatest variety of form. Where in the whole world, where in the whole circle of literature can anything be found which even distantly approaches it? Scripture forms one great whole. It is not like a collection of writings; it is like a single book; it is an organism in which each part is necessary and none incidental or superfluous, but each serviceable to the whole from the first page to the last, from the creation to the renewal of the world; and the centre of this great whole is Jesus Christ and his cross. We cannot but confess this is not the work of man. For they who wrote the several parts often knew nothing of each other; they knew nothing of that whole for which they were laboring. Neither accident nor human intention brought this to pass, but a higher mind."

Men tell us that there is in the ocean a marvelous structure produced by coral insects and ultimately taking the form of a gigantic cup. The structure is called Neptune's cup, and it is built by insects that have no communication with each other; each is in its cell. Generation after generation of these insects succeed each other, and the neck of the cup is built, and the base and the sides, and it is left finished looking up to God. Through sixteen hundred years and more, various writers produced the Bible. It is the Neptune's cup in the ocean of time, a structure of perfect proportions. The human forces concerned in its production are so various and disconnected that they do not account for its symmetry. Who or what moulded this cup which holds the blood of the Son of God and looks up into his face?

2. Incontestably the Bible is a winnowed book. It may be said of it, and of it only, that it contains no moral or religious inculcation that might not be reduced to practice without harm.

This is true of no other one collection of books known to man, nor, indeed, of any other one book, unless it be some volume that the Bible itself has inspired. Several of these sixty-six books were written in very dark ages, by men almost barbaric in their training. Who or what winnowed the Bible? It is winnowed. Shall we call its freedom from ethical imperfection, inspiration? This is the second of the reflectors, but you are not to draw conclusions too rapidly. I am placing before you facts completely incontestable, because I wish to carry you with me to a definition which shall be verifiable.

3. Incontestably the Bible contains the portraiture of the perfect character of Christ, with historic proof that this character was drawn from reality. This difference immeasurably the Christian sacred volume from all other so-called sacred books.

"What manner of man is this?" said the disciples of old. He is a man, but more than man. What *manner* of man is He? "I know men," said Napoleon at St. Helena, "and I tell you that Jesus of Nazareth was not a man." Here is the portraiture; and, as the preacher of Harvard University used to say in my hearing, "The starting forth of such a picture as that of the character of Christ under the unskilled pencils of such limners as the fishermen of Galilee is sufficient proof of its reality, and its reality is sufficient proof of its divinity." Theodore Parker said on the platform yonder what Rousseau said before him: "It would require a Jesus to forge a Jesus." This is the third reflector.

4. The Bible incontestably contains in its earlier books a predictive element in symbol and prophecy pointing definitely to the coming of Christ and the triumph of Christianity.

As Canon Liddon has lately affirmed, whatever new form arguments used on the topic of prophecy may assume, it must be admitted that only predictions account for the uncontested historic fact that the known world, near the beginning of the Christian dispensation, was filled with the expectation of the appearance of a deliverer. The predictive element is in the Old

Testament, and also in the New, and cannot be wrenched out of either by destructive criticism of any kind. This is the fourth reflector.

5. Incontestably the scheme of doctrine and morals taught in the Bible finds men at greater depths than any other book.

Coleridge said the Bible found him in the secret recesses of conscience, which no other volume did, and therefore he felt assured that God spake through it. The key fitted the lock. You may say that some books written since the Bible appeared in history search us at great depths. Yes, but did not the Bible inspire them? It has been said that if this is a good argument, then Baxter's "Saint's Rest" must be an inspired book, for it finds men at a great depth. But what inspired Baxter's "Saint's Rest"? What brought into history the characteristic ideas of the Christian system of doctrine, the characteristic practices of Christian morals? I contend that it is in the line of this progressive revelation that we find God searching men at the greatest depths, and when thus the echo of this portion of God's work matches perfectly the echo of what we suppose to be another portion, we have evidence of a divine superintendency over these books.

6. The Bible shows beyond controversy that Christ regarded the Old Testament as of divine authority.

7. It shows also that He promised divine guidance to the writers of the New Testament.

8. The Christian scheme of thought founded on the Bible readily absorbs into its circle of influences the best results of progress. I regard that as a most essential test of inspiration.

9. The Holy Scriptures record a series of events exhibiting the way of salvation.

10. To all this we must superadd the fact that experience, age after age, has justified men in accepting as a guide in religious faith and practice the Biblical inculcations.

Truth works well and what works well is truth. But we must test the working age after age, not by any narrow swirl of experience, but by a prolonged application of the law of the survival of the fittest in the struggle for existence.

11. In these various aspects, no other set of books can possi-

bly be compared with the Scriptures. God is in the Bible as in no other book known to man.

12. Unparalleled traits in the nature and history of the Bible show that an unparalleled divine superintendency has been exercised over it.

Let us stand now at the centre of the circle formed by these reflectors, and allow the converging rays from them to meet at one point. In the blaze and heat of that concentration of light, the unforced flame of a verifiable definition of inspiration will start up.

PROFESSOR MONIER-WILLIAMS ON THE SACRED BOOKS OF
THE EAST.

Let me read to you Professor Monier-Williams's confession, lately made in London, as to his extravagant early appreciation of the sacred books of the East. He regarded them as only steps leading up to the Bible. He applied to the sacred books of the East and to our Holy Word the law of evolution, in a way that the best defenders of that hypothesis would not justify. He said: —

“When I began investigating Hinduism and Buddhism, I found many beautiful gems; nay, I met with bright coruscations of true light flashing here and there amid the surrounding darkness. As I prosecuted my researches into these non-Christian systems, I began to foster a fancy that they had been unjustly treated. I began to observe and trace out curious coincidences and comparisons with our own Sacred Book of the East. I began, in short, to be a believer in what is called the evolution and growth of religious thought. ‘These imperfect systems,’ I said to myself, ‘are clearly steps in the development of man’s religious instincts and aspirations. They are interesting efforts of the human mind struggling upwards towards Christianity. Nay, it is probable that they were all intended to lead up to the one true religion, and that Christianity is, after all, merely the climax, the complement, the fulfillment of them all.’

“Now there is unquestionably a delightful fascination about such a theory, and, what is more, there are really elements of truth in it. But I am glad of this opportunity of stating publicly that I am persuaded I was misled by its attractiveness, and that its main idea is quite erroneous. The charm and danger of it, I think, lie in its ap-

parent liberality, breadth of view, and toleration. In the 'Times' of last October 14, you will find recorded a remarkable conversation between a Lama priest and a Christian traveler, in the course of which the Lama says that 'Christians describe their religion as the best of all religions; whereas, among the nine rules of conduct for the Buddhist, there is one that directs him never either to think or to say that his own religion is the best, considering that sincere men of other religions are deeply attached to them.' Now to express sympathy with this kind of liberality is sure to win applause among a certain class of thinkers in these days of universal toleration and religious free trade. We must not forget, too, that our Bible tells us that God has not left himself without witness, and that in every nation he that feareth God and worketh righteousness is accepted with him. Yet I contend, notwithstanding, that a limp, flabby, jelly-fish kind of tolerance is utterly incompatible with the nerve, fibre, and backbone that ought to characterize a manly Christian. I maintain that a Christian's character ought to be exactly what the Christian's Bible intends it to be. Take that Sacred Book of ours; handle reverently the whole volume; search it through and through, from the first chapter to the last, and mark well the spirit that pervades the whole. You will find no limpness, no flabbiness about its utterances. Even skeptics who dispute its divinity are ready to admit that it is a thoroughly manly book. Vigor and manhood breathe in every page. It is downright and straightforward, bold and fearless, rigid and uncompromising. It tells you and me to be either hot or cold. If God be God, serve him. If Baal be God, serve him. We cannot serve both. We cannot love both. Only one name is given among men whereby we may be saved. No other name, no other Saviour, more suited to India, to Persia, to China, to Arabia, is ever mentioned — is ever hinted at.

"What! says the enthusiastic student of the science of religion, do you seriously mean to sweep away as so much worthless waste paper all these thirty stately volumes of sacred books of the East just published by the University of Oxford?"

"No — not at all — nothing of the kind. On the contrary, we welcome these books. We ask every missionary to study their contents and thankfully lay hold of whatsoever things are true and of good report in them. But we warn him that there can be no greater mistake than to force these non-Christian bibles into conformity with some scientific theory of development, and then point to the Christian's Holy Bible as the crowning product of religious evolution. So far from this, these non-Christian bibles are all developments in the wrong

direction. They all begin with some flashes of true light and end in utter darkness. Pile them, if you will, on the left side of your study table, but place your own Holy Bible on the right side — all by itself — all alone — and with a wide gap between." [Applause.]

Such is the testimony of one who studied the doctrine of evolution in connection with the Bible until he saw through the whole of it.

H. W. BEECHER ON INSPIRATION.

In sharp contrast with Prof. Monier-Williams's repudiation of the claim that natural evolution explains the Holy Scriptures, let me read the testimony of one whose last important course of public discussions was on the application of the doctrine of evolution to the Bible, and to the reconstruction of religious thought. I hold in my hand an extraordinary but characteristic and extremely significant letter by Henry Ward Beecher. By reading it, I shall present to you in outline one of the fantastic and false doctrines of inspiration current in portions of the church in our time. As long ago as 1871, when Mr. Beecher was one of the editors of the "Christian Union," there was sent to him an article by Professor Stowe, on future retribution. Mr. Beecher, in haste and weariness, used the article as an editorial, and the manager of the paper was aghast to find the usual doctrine concerning future retribution taught in a leading article, with Mr. Beecher's name at the head of the editorial page. He wrote to Mr. Beecher and received this reply, to which sufficient public attention has never been attracted. It was published in the "New York Evening Post," October 29, 1887.

February 2, 1871.

MY DEAR FELLOW, — You are too acute. It is true that if I had written this article of Stowe's, you would have opened your eyes with amazement tempered with horror. But, considering that it is by an old-time Orthodox man, it seems to me a mild statement. There is a certain truth all through it, but I do not think it happily put. But, chiefly, it is what is left out that makes it faulty. The argument from nature and from Providence is only half given. The fact that the strongest asseverations of endless punishment are found in the synoptical gospels is true. It is only by a line of refined reasoning that we

can get rid of the force of the old Orthodox argument. *Indeed, I suspect that no man can get away from the doctrine of endless punishment except by a process which very materially lowers the doctrine of inspiration.* I am free to confess that my mind more and more moves away from the doctrine of endless punishment, but it is at the expense of that belief in the supreme authority of Scripture, and an increase of faith that the living reason of men must determine living questions, and that the moral sense which Christianity educates must in the end sit in judgment on the qualities of religion itself.

Anyhow, I don't think any great harm is done by Stowe, and his article will not stand in the way of anything we may wish to say. But I do not wish to pluck at the leaves of the tree. It is in vain to argue and criticise at single points, when, in fact, your difficulties go back to the very foundations of things, and when you are awaiting the developments which, by compelling a total reconstruction of the whole philosophy of religion, will relieve you of the trouble of special dissent.

Truly yours,

H. W. BEECHER.

P. S. — I ought to say that I was in the Slough of Despond when I read proof of Stowe's article, and that I did not half take it in, but only thought that it was a sort of fair average statement of Orthodox views.

There are several points to be noticed in this very remarkable letter.

1. The reconstruction proposed here involves a denial of the supreme religious authority of the Scriptures.

2. It denies most especially the supreme authority of the synoptical gospels on the question of eternal punishment. It denies, therefore, in part, the authority of Christ's own teaching on that subject, so far as it is represented by the synoptical gospels.

3. The motive of this denial is aversion to the doctrine of eternal punishment. It sets up in opposition to Christ's consciousness a so-called Christian consciousness.

4. It makes the living reason of men the judge of living questions, even if the whole Bible is set aside.

5. It implies that even in morality the Bible is not a final authority.

6. All this is within the church, and even within so-called Orthodoxy.

I revere, as you know, Mr. Beecher's memory as a philanthropist, but I must admit that I am convinced that Monier-Williams understood the doctrine of evolution as applied to the sacred books of the world better than the author of this letter, the pastor of Plymouth church. Is it too much to assert that when such doctrines are taught inside self-styled Orthodox circles, it is time to discuss the true in opposition to the fantastical theory of inspiration?

INDUCTIVE DEFINITION OF INSPIRATION.

At the centre of these reflectors starts up a fire, the holy flame of which I for one stand in the presence of with awe. These giant facts concerning the holy books of the Bible are parts of the past, and absolutely indisputable. God in history, as well as God in conscience, is a witness to God in the Bible. Unparalleled Divine superintendency over the Bible is palpably verifiable by its unparalleled results. There has plainly been a Divine superintendency over the various portions of the Holy Scriptures, such as make them, as a whole, an authoritative religious guide. Christ is in himself a revelation. He, therefore, is an infallible guide, both as authenticating the inspiration of the earlier portion of these books, and as promising inspiration to the later writers. He who is himself the highest example of both revelation and inspiration is our supreme authority for accepting the Scriptures as written by Divine guidance. I reach, then, provisionally, this definition of inspiration: Such a Divine superintendency over the sacred writers as makes the Bible a trustworthy, infallible, and sufficient guide to the Way of Salvation. [Applause.]

BOOK NOTICES.

THE HIGH CASTE HINDU WOMAN. By PUNDITA RAMABAI SARASVATI. With an Introduction by RACHEL L. BODLEY, A. M., M. D., Dean of Woman's Medical College of Philadelphia. Royal 8vo, pp. xxiv, 119. (Address Pundita Ramabai, 1400 North 21st St., Philadelphia. \$1.35.)

Eloquent, pathetic, authoritative, Christian, this book by the Pundita Ramabai is a star of hope for womanhood throughout Asia. Her genius and enthusiasm, her remarkable personal history in India, her education in England and America, the substantial support which the Ramabai Circles recently organized in the United States are giving to her scheme for opening a school for high caste Hindu widows, warrant the hope that she will become in her own land a centre of influences comparable to those which have made her a devout, intelligent, and aggressive Christian. We should regret exceedingly to see her work fall exclusively under the control of any one denomination, or become so nearly neutral and colorless in regard to Vital Christianity as to secure cordial support only from unevangelical sources — a peril to which she seems as yet insufficiently sensitive.

“Ramabai, in her letter to me written in excellent Sanskrit, and in a book which she has just published in equally excellent English in Philadelphia (‘The High Caste Hindu Woman’), speaks of several cases as bad as, if not worse than, Rukhmabai's case. The future regeneration of India depends upon the regeneration of the women of India.” — PROF. MAX MULLER, *Oxford University*.

“This volume is published to aid the fund for founding a school for the training of young Hindu widows, and is the brave venture of a brave woman; it is as sound, sensible, and engaging as it is true-hearted” — *The Independent*, July 28.

“This dainty volume is both a heart-break and a joy. . . . It tells of women whose only and unpardonable crime is having been born at all.” — MISS FRANCES E. WILLARD, *Union Signal*, Chicago, July 21.

METHODS OF CHURCH WORK, Religious, Social, and Financial. By Rev. SYLVANUS STALL, A. M. New York: Funk & Wagnalls. 1887. Large 8vo, pp. 304. \$1.50.

This book combines alertness and devoutness of spirit with fresh information and practical good judgment in such a degree that we commend it earnestly to all who are engaged in any form of aggressive religious activity. It describes the methods of church work which recent experience, especially in the United States, has shown to be the most useful. Its purpose is to enable the church to marshal itself for Christian labor by the use of such methods, whether new or old, as have been sealed in experience by the Divine bless-

ing. The author is the well-known editor of "Stall's Lutheran Year-Book," which represents all branches of the Lutheran Church in the United States and Europe. He was graduated from Pennsylvania College, Gettysburg, in 1872; studied theology at Union Theological Seminary and at Gettysburg; has had three pastorates, of which the last is at Lancaster, Pennsylvania; and he is now statistical secretary of the General Synod of the Lutheran Church. There is a certain German thoroughness in the plan of this book, and this trait combines admirably with its distinctively American spirit. The volume discusses How to make a Working Church, How to reach the Young, Classes for Bible Study, Temperance Meetings, Pastors' Aids, Workingmen's Clubs, Work among the Sick, and allied topics. The timeliness and good sense of this book make it an important contribution to the literature of current reform.

THE INDIAN SIDE OF THE INDIAN QUESTION. By WILLIAM BARROWS, D. D.
Boston: D. Lothrop & Co. 1887. Pp. 206.

Since Mrs. Jackson's volume entitled "A Century of Dishonor," there has appeared no better presentation of the Indian question than this calm and shrewd book by Dr. Barrows. His extensive travel on our frontiers, and his elaborate study of the Far West in preparation for the writing of his admirable volume on "Oregon," which the present reviewer has read with keen delight under the very shadow of Mt. Hood, have fitted Dr. Barrows to discuss with the authority of an expert the Indian side of the Indian question. He supports the Dawes law, but is anxious to push on the work of the people at large in protecting the Red Savages against the White Savages of the frontier.

In the last analysis of the Indian in Congress and on the border, he is discovered to be simply a man, and more or less like all Americans; and the recent and so far final proposition is to treat him as an American.

Perhaps the Dawes bill goes as far as the government can go on its side of the work. What remains to make the new era a successful one, the people must do. In the regions more intimately affected by the Indian question, there is need of introducing a civil, social, and moral constabulary—a picket line of principles and of sentiments which will constrain a superior neighbor to be a good one to an inferior neighbor. — INTRODUCTION, pp. 3, 7.

QUESTIONS TO SPECIALISTS.

REPLIES BY MISS WILLARD.

9. *Why does the Woman's Christian Temperance Union urge the Prohibition party to stand by the equal suffrage plank placed in its platform in 1872 ?*

Doubtless the strongest points in favor of woman suffrage are :

First. That it is founded on the unchanging principles of justice. Every reasonable man knows that it is not right to tax a class without representing that class, to inflict penalties upon a class that had no hand in determining what those penalties should be, to govern one half of the human race by the other half. All injustice to one class works harm to every other.

Second. The best government known to the race is found in a home where the father and mother have equal power, as is the case in an enlightened modern Christian family. No other place is so free from temptation, and no other conserves so completely the best interest of all who dwell therein. Reasoning from analogy, the larger home of society, and that largest home of all called "government," might be more like this typical home, and in proportion as they are made like unto it, society and government will more thoroughly conserve the interest of all, and shut out the pests of civilization.

Third. The two most strongly marked instincts of woman are those of protection for herself and little ones, and of love and loyalty to her husband and her son. On the other hand, the two strongest instincts that to-day defend the liquor traffic and drink habit are avarice in the dealer and appetite in the drinker. It has been said that civilization has nothing with which it can offset these two tremendous forces. But may it not be found that in the home, through the reserve power never yet called into government on a large scale, woman's instinct of self-protection and of love are a sufficient offset to appetite and avarice and will out-vote both at the polls ? For it must be remembered that in a republic, all questions of morality sooner or later find their way to the ballot box, and are voted up or down.

Fourth. There are fifty-four thousand men in the penitentiaries of the United States against five thousand women. As a class, women hold the balance of power morally in the republic.

Fifth. There is no enemy dreaded so much by liquor dealers and saloon keepers as woman with the ballot in her hand. Secret circulars sent out by them, and intercepted by our temperance leaders, state this explicitly. One of these is addressed to a legislator and reads to this effect : "Set your heel

upon the woman's suffrage movement every time, for the ballot in the hand of woman means the downfall of our trade." When the bill, by which the women of Washington Territory had the ballot and secured local option, was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of the Territory, there were bonfires, bell ringings, and beer on tap in the public square of many a town and village, where the saloon keepers celebrated their jubilee because the women had lost their right to vote. Happily, this right has been restored by an overwhelming majority at the hands of the legislature of 1888.

Sixth. Wherever women have had the ballot, they have used it in the interest of home and against the saloons, the gambling houses, and the haunts of infamy. In Kansas, 26,000 women voted in the spring of 1887. The state librarian at Topeka carefully examined the files of the eight hundred newspapers of Kansas, and reports that without exception they bear testimony direct and indirect to the good behavior of the women at the polls, the courteous manner in which they were treated, and the overwhelming influence they exerted in favor of morality. The law in Kansas prohibits a crowd at the ballot box, and requires that around it fifty feet of space shall be kept clear, persons going one by one to drop their ballots in the box.

The Woman's Christian Temperance Union, while fully convinced that the ballot is the right of every woman in the nation just as much as it is the right of every man, does not base its line of argument upon this fact, but upon the practical value that woman's vote will have in helping the nation to put away the liquor traffic and its accompanying abominations. We do not ask it for ourselves alone; we are impartial friends of the whole human race in both its fractions, man and woman, and hence we are not more in earnest for this great advance because of the good it brings to the gentler, than because of the blessing that it promises to those of the stronger sex. It is for these practical reasons that we claim that woman's ballot should be one of the planks in the platform of the Prohibition party. We claim that the question is not at all irrelevant, but, in the nature of the case, is part and parcel of the prohibition problem. We have learned as a sequel of fourteen years of hard-earned experience that the nation must have prohibition by law, prohibition by politics, and prohibition by woman's ballot.

We, therefore, most earnestly urge our good brothers in the party of the future to stand, as they have done since it was organized in 1872, firmly and loyally for this plank of woman's ballot as secondary only to that of prohibition by the votes of men. We know they will require our help when it comes to the enforcement of the law. If they fill up their party now with men who refuse to come into it unless the woman's suffrage plank is dropped, they will find themselves, ten years hence, face to face with the problem of *enforcement*, which will prove even more difficult than the enactment of prohibition, and they will sigh for the army that they might have brought along with them as a reserve force, but which, in their desire to go forward more rapidly, they were so unwise as to leave behind them from motives of expediency. We fervently pray that this may be their watchword: "The right is always expedient."

10. *Why is not Prohibition enforced in Portland, Me.?*

Not because the law is a failure ; not because the *public* sentiment does not demand its enforcement, but because *political* sentiment says, "We must bid for the vote of the lowest class ; secret liquor dealers control that vote ; hence we must wink at the violation of law." Good men who would like to see the law enforced are divided into two camps, Republican and Democrat ; their votes neutralize each other and are canceled out, but the saloon vote is owned by the liquor men, and thrown solidly for the candidates from whom they expect most favors, no matter to which party said candidates belong. This state of things can never be different until the good men whose public sentiment, if unified into political sentiment, holds the balance at the ballot box are massed in a political party whose watchword is, "The saloon must go," and whose votes place in power an officer back of the ordinance both able and willing to enforce the law.

REPLIES BY THE REV. N. G. CLARK, D. D., FOREIGN SECRETARY OF THE AMERICAN BOARD.

11. *What is your opinion of the scheme of the Pundita Ramabai for the education of high caste Hindu widows ?*

No one who has had the pleasure of listening to the Pundita, or of reading her volume on "The High Caste Hindu Woman," can fail of profound interest in the Pundita herself and in the cause she pleads. But our sympathy with her generous efforts in behalf of her country-women must not blind us as to the wisdom of the scheme proposed. It is to establish an educational institution for the social elevation of high caste Hindu widows. Its immediate object is to prepare them to become teachers of their own class, and so to raise them from the barbarisms and social degradation to which Hinduism, by virtue of its religious precepts and traditions, has subjected them. It proposes to do this without reference to the only agency which is competent to effect this result. All history shows that only through the gospel has woman found her true place in the social scale. While the Pundita Ramabai admits the truth of Christianity and accepts it for herself, and has gradually learned to see that it is a philosophy teaching truths higher than she had ever known in Hindu systems, and "that it gives not only precepts but a perfect example ; that it does not give us precepts and an example only, but assures us of the divine grace by which we can follow that example," she has not yet learned that the gospel alone, inspiring the motives of her teachers, and realized in the lives and character of their pupils, can accomplish the work she has at heart. The whole scheme drops down into a purely humanitarian enterprise, which at the best would only mitigate, without removing, the evils she deplors. The Hindu system, as such, is not to be touched ; partial relief only is to be secured for a few whom it now crushes to the earth.

The Pundita may yet learn, through disappointed hopes, that the *Christian* interest of friends here in this country must be relied on to furnish the

funds she needs to begin and carry forward her work, and that the moral and social renovation of woman in India can only be effected by the gospel; not as represented in denominational forms and creeds, but in a life begotten in human souls through faith in Christ, as the Redeemer and the Life of the world.

Already hundreds of high caste Hindu women and girls are seeking instruction in Christian schools, and we have no doubt that in cities like Poona and Bombay high caste Hindu widows would soon come to an institution like that proposed by the Pundita, though it were known to be conducted not as a proselyting agency, but as based on broad, generous Christian principles. The esteem in which the Pundita is justly held, and her devotion to the welfare of her sisters, would soon secure her access to their hearts and be accompanied by the special blessing of God.

12. *What is the attitude assumed toward Christianity by the Hindu graduates of English government colleges in India?*

It is not favorable. While some individuals accept of Christianity, and a few others are led to appreciate its value so as to favor Christian enterprises, the great majority, while rejecting some of the grosser forms of heathenism, are opposed to the gospel. The religious sentiment has been impaired, if not destroyed, leaving the minds of the students open to all forms of error. Christianity has suffered in the eyes of the people by its exclusion from the higher government institutions, as though it were not worthy of a place in them. While some of the men educated in government institutions renounce all religion in favor of materialism and skepticism as imported from western nations, others would construct an eclectic system, gathering up the moral ideas to be found with more or less fullness in all, but practically excluding any supernatural element, and others are attracted to a cultured deism, ignoring the Christ of God. To the latter class belong the various organizations of the Brahmo Somaj.

That eloquent paragraph of Webster in his speech on the Girard Will case, in which he sets forth the disastrous results of adopting the principle of "no religion till he is eighteen," has tenfold more meaning in India than in a country where the very atmosphere is charged with moral and religious truths. High education without the gospel is now a great hindrance to missionary work in India.

REPLY BY MR. COOK, AT TREMONT TEMPLE, BOSTON, FEBRUARY 6.

13. *What of the position of the Mayor of Boston concerning the Rev. W. F. Davis's imprisonment for preaching on the Common without a permit?*

Mayor O'Brien concedes in one of his recent messages that the city ordinance under which the Rev. Mr. Davis, formerly sub-master of the Latin School, and an efficient missionary at the North End and in Michigan, was imprisoned is unnecessary. He says he does not believe the people of Boston need any such ordinance to keep them in order on the Common, nor

on any other of our public grounds. He thinks it would be wise for the city councilmen to abolish the ordinance ; at least, he says he would gladly sign a bill for its abolition. Now, in my opinion, this concession is a very important one, because the lawyers tell us that if an ordinance of this kind is unnecessary, it is unreasonable, and that if it is unnecessary and unreasonable, it is unconstitutional. [Applause.] I am not here to debate with the Supreme Court of this State, of which I would speak with the utmost reverence. I am quite aware that the ordinance has been tested before that court and pronounced constitutional. But in Michigan a similar case brought before the Supreme Court of that State went the other way.

It would be unpardonable if I were to omit here and now to refer to a report, by a distinguished committee before the Evangelical Alliance in this city, on Mr. Davis's case and allied matters, and published in at least one religious paper in this municipality, the "Morning Star." It was excluded from the other religious weeklies for want of space and grace. [Laughter.] The press, both religious and secular, has treated Mr. Davis's imprisonment with a good deal of coolness, because he offended for the second time. The ordinance has been declared to be constitutional, and here and now it is not important to debate the question whether it is so or not. Is it wise ? The mayor says he thinks it is not. Ought it to be abolished ? The mayor says he thinks it should be. If it is, as the mayor thinks it is, unnecessary and unreasonable as an ordinance, how is it consistent with the bill of rights, the shield of us all ? Many of us are both willing and anxious to have the question carried up to the Supreme Court of the nation and tested. Our objections to the ordinance are four,—it is unnecessary, impolitic, contrary to accepted precedent for two hundred years, and liable to dangerous perversion to the injury of the just liberties of the citizen and the good name of the Commonwealth.

Mr. Davis, in a letter written to me from jail, where I conversed with him a few days ago, says he has no love of personal notoriety, but that what he wants settled is the question whether the Supreme Court of the United States will cut or rivet for the whole country the chains Boston has put around her Common. I look out on those historic elms from my study windows, and remember with shame and indignation that a gentleman now sitting on this platform was in jail for reading yonder on Flagstaff Hill three chapters of the Bible, without note or comment. Our honored president, on this occasion, the Rev. Dr. A. J. Gordon, was fined for the simplest and devoutest and most peaceful preaching of the Word of the Son of Man on these public grounds. Our chairman himself has been fined, and the editor here at my side (Mr. H. L. Hastings), whom I honor very greatly for his valor in defending unpopular truth, has been in jail for no other crime than a simple presentation of Scriptural truth on Boston Common without a permit from the mayor. The condition of the country in military times may be such that a law of this kind is needed. The law was passed originally in war times. But in ordinary times the legal rule appears to be that we are

not to assume that the peace will be broken by preaching until it has been broken. You say that if preachers are allowed to go upon the Common anybody else may go there, too, and that there will be trouble with somebody. For about two hundred years there was no such city ordinance, and no such trouble ever occurred. The report of the committee, to which I have just had the honor to refer, is both fascinating and formidable. It is calm and clear and convincing. It should be studied by every one of us, and my impression is very incorrect indeed if you are not led by it to see that the question as to free speech on public grounds has more than local importance. It has a national importance, and really ought to be carried up to the highest tribunal. [Applause.]

There will be a hearing before the city government on the 15th of February on this theme, and I hope you will crowd the small room which the officials of the municipality open for the occasion.

Information comes to me from Mr. Davis's relatives that the sheriff of this county went down to see him not long ago, and asked him privately and quietly to take the poor debtor's oath, and so get out. [Laughter.] Mr. Davis said he was as rich a man when he went into jail as he is now. [Applause.] He might have said, "They have beaten us openly, being Romans, and have cast us into prison, and now do they thrust us out privily? Nay, verily, but let them come themselves and fetch us out." [Prolonged applause.]

REPLY BY PROF. EDWARD BENNER, PRINCIPAL OF SALT LAKE ACADEMY, AT TREMONT TEMPLE, BOSTON, FEBRUARY 6.

14. What are the latest aspects of the conspiracy to make Utah a Mormon State?

Those who think that the backbone of Mormonism is broken by the locomotive, or by the Christian teacher, or by legal enactment, make a great mistake. My residence in Utah during many years leads me to assure you that the determination and perverseness and tenacity of purpose of Mormons are never greater than when they are on the way to the penitentiary. It is an open secret in Utah that George Q. Cannon, the man in whose person Brigham Young was able to thrust polygamy down the throats of the American people for eight years, was the chief mover in the effort to bring forward the new constitution; and that the seventy-two men who in Salt Lake City carried that constitution without division were the interior priesthood of the Mormon Church, all of them upholding polygamy and believing in it. Two years before, at a similar convention assembled in Salt Lake City, with the same president, and, I believe, the same secretary, and consisting very largely of the same individuals, a protest was sent to the President of the United States, in which is found this language:—

"To yield to the demand of the legislature to judge the rights of conscience, would prove us recreant to every duty we owe to God and man. Among the prin-

ciples of our religion is that of immediate revelation from God. One of the doctrines so received is celestial or plural marriage, for which ostensibly we are despised and hated. This is a vital part of our religion, the decisions of courts to the contrary notwithstanding."

It is the uniform practice of the judges of the Supreme Court of the United States in Utah, when a man is convicted of unlawful cohabitation, to ask him whether in the future he will promise to obey the laws, and the uniform practice of Mormons is to refuse to promise. Mormons prefer, as they say, to go to the penitentiary and suffer with the people of God, because, as we say, they are determined to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season.

There is no reason to suppose that the Mormons have suddenly given up their most characteristic principles. You should recognise their determined temper. You may be sure that they have sent this new constitution to Washington as a sop to serve to put to sleep the big dog of public sentiment until the Mormon Church passes by. We have 30,000 Gentiles in Utah whose loyalty has never been questioned. They all with one voice demand that Utah be not admitted as a State under the false promises of the new constitution. They say that for you to talk of admitting Utah as a Mormon State, in the face of their urgent, reiterated, unanimous protest, is an impertinence, an insult, an outrage. [Applause.]

Mormons often compare polygamy with the social evil, and claim that the former is no worse than the latter. I have seen polygamy near at hand ; and, horrible as the other evil is, I tell you that polygamy is a thousand times worse, because when the profligate or the libertine commits wickedness he keeps it away from his family ; he calls it by its right names, sin and crime ; and he hides it from the face of the pure. But the Mormon, obliterating all distinctions of right and wrong, calls it holiness, and he brings it into his home, and thereby he drags his wife, no matter how sensitive or refined, and his helpless children, into the same social hell with himself, to suffer unmeasured torments. The home, my friends, has been abolished in Utah, and it is for the Christians of America to restore it. [Prolonged applause.]

EDITORIAL NOTES.

EVERY technicality that the astuteness of lawyers can bring to bear appears likely to be used to obstruct the plain course of equity in the Andover Case. The central question at issue is simply one of commercial honor. Has there, or has there not been a breach of trust? Is the teaching of future probation in harmony with the obligations assumed by the professors on signing the Seminary Creed? Ought they to draw their salaries while inculcating what the founders of the Seminary are known to have regarded as pernicious error? The public mind, except in a portion of Eastern Massachusetts, as we judge from much travel and conversation, is very definitely made up on these questions. Honorable and clear-minded men of all denominations and of no denomination, after reading Professor Park's and Dr. Dexter's and Dr. Wellman's elaborate published arguments on the one side and those of Professor Smyth on the other, have expressed to us in great numbers the conviction that the simplest commercial honor should require the accused professors to step down and out. The case is by no means a heresy trial, as certain curiously misinformed secular journals represent it to be. It is simply a question as to good faith in the administration of an educational trust. Can teachers of the eccentric new theology conscientiously use funds gathered to support a thoroughly antagonistic theological and religious creed? Mere manliness, as the disinterested public thinks, ought to settle a matter of this kind. But besides an appeal to the Supreme Court from the decision of the Visitors in the case upon which they have already passed judgment, a new suit has been begun against the Visitors by the Trustees of the Seminary to determine the extent of the jurisdiction of each board. The Fabian policy is pursued; and meanwhile the professors continue to draw their salaries from funds which a sensitive regard for commercial honor should forbid them to use. Professor Thayer's resignation of his position at Andover some years ago was on this very ground, and was much to his credit.

No two documents on *Free Trade and Tariff Reform* have for a generation attracted as much attention as President Cleveland's Message of December 6, and Mr. Blaine's Reply from Paris, December 7. We have heard of an alert educator in New York city assigning these two papers to his advanced pupils as a lesson in political economy. As a record of reform, OUR DAY publishes the documents in full and adds to them the remarkable speech of James Russell Lowell on the Message, with Senator Sherman's equally remarkable rejoinder. The four documents in contrast are of high value as indicating the new vitality of great industrial questions

in American politics, and as giving expert opinion on both sides of the chief issue. Aside from political partisanship, the opinion of what we believe to be a great majority of American voters is, that our policy should continue for many years yet to require a moderate degree of protection for our industries against the low-paid labor of Europe and for purposes of revenue, while at the same time maintaining Free Trade between the sixty millions of our own population. It is the felicity of the American practice in regard to Free Trade and Protection that it combines the advantages of both systems, by giving us Free Trade between the States, with qualified Protection for the present against the rest of the world.

THE venerable Dr. S. F. Smith's noble hymn prepared for the opening of the Thirteenth season of the Boston Monday Lectures (see p. 140) was introduced by the lecturer as follows :—

"It is now more than fifty years since our National Anthem was written by one who has prepared for us this morning our opening hymn. It is, I believe, fifty-six years this month since 'America' was written, on a sullen February day at Andover, by Dr. Smith, then a student there. As most of you know, he was a Harvard classmate of our distinguished citizen, Dr. Holmes. There is yet no national anthem likely to last longer in America than Dr. Smith's. I am very glad that I have this opportunity of expressing my reverence for his career, not only as a preacher of righteousness, but as a poet. He has been prophet and poet both, and I shall be abundantly justified in extending to him as both, and in the name of this audience, our congratulations on his arriving so nearly as he has to the birthday which marks his completion of threescore years and twenty."

THE good judgment and legal care with which the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice conducts its difficult, but indispensable work, is illustrated by the fact that out of one hundred and twenty-one cases brought to trial by Mr. Comstock in 1887, convictions were secured in one hundred and eighteen. Three of the accused escaped simply because they were only persons employed by principals who had already been convicted and punished.

SIX railway companies, English, German, and American, are now petitioning at Peking for liberty to build iron roads through the Celestial Empire. In Australia, railways have been extended so that the distance from Adelaide to Melbourne is now made in sixteen hours, that from Melbourne to Sydney in eighteen, and that from Sydney to Brisbane in twenty.

THE speed of the best ocean steamers between England and Australia, as well as between England and America, is now greater than that of average railway passenger trains through distances equally extended.

IN the year 1887 there were imported into Japan 85,000 English books and 119,000 American.

OUR DAY:

A RECORD AND REVIEW OF CURRENT REFORM.

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THE PROSPECTIVE PLATFORM OF THE PROHIBITION PARTY.

AN individual opinion, although it be that of one who counts as personal friends and coadjutors all the leaders, state and national, in the Prohibition party, can have but little weight in determining a far-reaching policy in politics and reform, but the following predictions may be like roseate gleams before the sunrise.

The Platform of the Prohibition party in 1888 will be a model of terse English. Its style will show the influence of much epitomizing in postal card, in telegram and editorial paragraph, by those who guide the platform-pen. It will affirm but not argue; it will declare but not denounce; it will contain no word-juggling and no subterfuges, but in plain English will set forth a clear-cut purpose concerning every great issue that seeks through the portal of politics to enter the temple of legislation.

It will be a well-assorted no less than a well-seasoned platform, classifying its planks in an order of sequence that will make them rest on rendered reasons.

1. "*In the beginning, GOD.*" This will be, practically, the first plank.

There will be no blinking the ISSUE from which all others flow. If it be true that there is a universal and beneficent energy that

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"Lives through all life, extends through all extent,
Spreads undivided, operates unspent,"

then it matters very little what else is false, and if this be false then it matters very little what else is true.

The major premiss of every optimistic syllogism is that God is the "Soul of our souls and Safeguard of the world!" The Prohibition party is nothing if not optimistic; it has never failed to begin at the beginning with its platform and fasten it solidly to the "one fixed stake" to which Whittier, the greatest political poet of any age, declares his "spirit clings:"

"I know that God is good."

The first plank of the Prohibition platform in 1884 reads thus:—

"The Prohibition party in national convention assembled, acknowledges Almighty God as the rightful sovereign of all men, from whom the just powers of government are derived, and to whose laws human enactments should conform as an absolute condition of peace, prosperity, and happiness."

It is the earnest hope of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union, expressed by resolution in state and national conventions, that the party may base the affirmation of its purposes upon love to God and one's neighbor, those two Christian declarations on which hang all the law and the prophets, and that it may invoke the Christ-spirit as the true World-spirit, practically recognized by men of all creeds and no creed as the cohesive force that alone makes possible society and government.

2. *The complete separation of the national, state, and local government from any financial partnership with the manufacturers of and dealers in alcoholic drinks, and the outlawing of the liquor trade by means of prohibitory constitutional amendments, state and national.*

This follows as a necessary sequence from the affirmation of God-hood and brother-hood; since by the consensus of conscience and observation the trade in alcoholic drinks directly tends to obliterate the image of God in man and the sense of

brotherhood among men. This single proposition strikes equally against low license, high license, and the federal tax.

3. *The effective method of outlawing the liquor traffic in a republic must be not only through prohibition by law, but prohibition by politics, and prohibition by woman's ballot.*

The sequence here implies that the final force in a republic is the vote ; that the existing competition for the liquor vote is the nation's supreme peril ; that temperance Republicans meet temperance Democrats at the ballot box and by voting for different candidates neutralize each other's ballots ; that prohibitory law is but a sword which, in default of sturdy hands to grasp it, can do no execution ; that the prohibition of the liquor traffic is a home question, and the home-vote must be utilized to clinch the desired ordinance by the loyal officer.

It seems likely that this mooted point may, in the interest of harmony, be guarded in one of three ways : either by declaring for woman's ballot as a principle and for the submission of an equal suffrage amendment to the national constitution but leaving the States as such to take independent action — this in deference to the conservative element in the South ; — or by limiting the franchise of women by an educational or property test, or by declaring for the ballot on temperance questions only ; or, finally, by adopting the plank in the first of the three forms but declaring that it is not a test of party fealty.

The effort of those opposed to putting in the plank at all will be to separate the suffrage issue as widely as possible in thought from the prohibition issue, to treat it as quite irrelevant to the temperance reform, to emphasize the objection that " we cannot carry two great questions at a time ; " to show that when submitted to the people they have voted this plank down in six States, and to claim that it will hopelessly divide the party.

But herein it may be fairly said they prove too much, for prohibition has been voted down in a single year by the people of four States and repealed at different times in at least eleven more. But as neither question is likely to go to the people nationally for many a year, and as the party is an unequaled educator concerning both, this argument is in either case irrelevant.

The Woman's Christian Temperance Union believes that woman's ballot is part and parcel of the prohibition cause. It has been so treated and discussed in the Massachusetts Legislature this winter, it has proved so in Kansas and Washington Territory, and is universally so regarded by the liquor interest. We think that the men who, believing that the prohibition of the liquor traffic should be the supreme issue in our politics, and finding themselves for that reason without a political home, will not come into the Prohibition party on account of the equal suffrage plank, are few and far between; we think men make an excuse of this plank who would not come if it were taken out. We have great regard to the *educational* and *unifying* power of a party platform, and are unwilling to lose this mighty force in the working out of prohibition by woman's ballot. We think a party that from the first has had this plank in its platform, inviting women to its councils, making them delegates and officers, prospering through their devotion and sacrifice, is clearly a unique party in the history of mankind, and would do itself dishonor, if after sixteen years of such a record it should drop its equal suffrage plank on a confessed basis of expediency. We think it would thus lose incalculably in moral power, and merit the chief criticism it makes upon men in the old parties, who are wont to say, "I am just as good a temperance man as you are — *but!*"

Men joined the Republican party because it was the party of the Union, although they were free-traders and it believed in a protective tariff. In like manner men will join the Prohibition party because it favors national freedom from the liquor traffic, although they may be opposed to the protective vote of women which it also favors. The cry of wolf has been raised too often over platforms involving several issues to frighten people of experience. We must build our pyramid of prohibition from the base, not from the apex, remembering that transient gains are often at the expense of permanent loss. It is known that the following form of resolution would meet the views of most white ribbon women: —

We believe that the moral power of the nation's womanhood concentrated at the ballot box will be the final factor in the overthrow of

alcohol, and we therefore favor the submission by Congress of a constitutional amendment for the enfranchisement of women.¹

4. *Disfranchisement of the drunkard and the man who buys or sells a vote.*

Dynamite does not deal a blow more treacherous and fatal to government by the people than does a vote with a dethroned brain or a Judas conscience back of it.

5. *Indorsement of the Australian method of voting.*

This is the practical or modern method of calling for "a free ballot and a fair count," which is a part of ancient history in certain platforms that we wot of. Prohibition voters at the North have no less need of this new safeguard than have col-

¹ It has been well said that "there is no way of so thoroughly arousing public attention to any principle as to bring it into politics, and because the interest excited by our national politics is wider and deeper than the interest excited by state politics, there is in the United States no way of promoting public education on any question that can be compared with that of bringing it into the issue of a national campaign." For this reason, the white ribbon women, who are the most faithful adherents of the Prohibition party, will strenuously urge this plank.

Not long since, Walter Thomas Mills was interviewed on the question of inserting a woman's suffrage plank in the national platform. Mr. Mills was adverse to the plank. Dr. John Bascom, ex-President of the Wisconsin University, represents the other side. To the question, Do you think the national convention at Indianapolis should incorporate a woman's suffrage plank in its platform? Dr. Bascom makes answer as follows: "I believe that a plank of suffrage on equal conditions for all citizens, irrespective of sex, race, and nation, should be inserted in the national platform of the Prohibition party. (1.) Because the principle is just in itself, and closely united to the policy of the party. It lies in the direction of that protection of social rights which is our primary purpose. (2.) We have already repeatedly laid down this plank, and its omission now would imply a change of policy. (3.) We have met this question; we shall meet it again and again, and we must either accept the principle or allow ourselves to drift into opposition to it. (4.) Those who urge the rejection of this plank, for the most part, profess themselves personally in favor of it, but adopt this line of action in concession to the views of others. It is thus a bid for voters not yet in the party. If it is to be rejected, it ought to be rejected by members of the party expressing their own convictions. (5.) We aim at some permanency as a party, casting new protection about our higher social interests. We cannot afford to be afraid of any sound principle involved in this policy."

ored voters at the South. It provides for printing all ballots at public expense, insuring their entire privacy, and securing such supervision of the polls by proper officials as shall do away with party "workers," render successful bribery impossible, and by making the people bear the legitimate expense of political campaigns, open the way for capable men to come to the front as candidates, whether they be rich or poor.

6. *Civil service reform with the provision that other things being equal a total abstainer shall have the preference both in appointment and promotion.*

7. *Treatment of the Indians as individuals and the training of them for citizenship.*

8. *Immigration laws excluding criminals, anarchists, and paupers.*

This plank, like the six planks that immediately precede it, provides for making the base of the State's great pyramid more solid; rendering it, indeed, as broad as the totality of responsible brain-power belonging to the people, rigidly excluding the irresponsible and surrounding the exercise of power by all possible guarantees and safeguards.

9. *The prohibition of polygamy and an amendment of the national constitution giving Congress power to "establish uniform laws" concerning marriage and divorce throughout the United States.*

The homes being those commonwealths (or, more correctly, common-healths) which are aggregated into the wholesome state, must be guarded not less carefully than the individual, nay, if need be, more carefully, since the world exists but for the sake of its homes.

10. While there will be no deals to win the labor vote, there will probably be a plain showing that all the best interests of the wage-worker will be better conserved by our party than by any other, inasmuch as the boycott of the saloon is its key-note, and arbitration, coöperation, postal savings banks, postal telegraphy, the holding of public lands for the people rather than for corporations and speculators, and the abolition of monopolies and "trusts" are among the measures which the Prohibition party will strenuously advocate.

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11. *The tariff question*, having been in anti-slavery times the earthworks behind which the old parties fired upon other, is being made to do duty in that character once more.

The Prohibition party said, in the platform of 1884, that "the collection of revenues from alcoholic liquor and tobacco should be abolished, since the vices of men are not proper subjects of taxation," and that "revenue from customs-duties should be levied for the support of the government economically administered and in such manner as will foster American industries and labor."

Probably a tariff for revenue with moderate protection, that is, tariff revision involving not free trade but freer trade, may be the plank adopted.

12. *A pacific attitude toward all foreign nations and the establishment of international arbitration for the settlement of all disputes.*

General Sickles has recently done a substantial public service by reminding us of the almost universal drinking habits in Congress that had so much to do with precipitating us into the civil war. The relation of a steady pulse and a level head to amicable foreign as well as home relations hardly needs pointing out. PROHIBITION of the poison-drinks proves itself, the more we study its correlations, to be, as Richard Cobden said, the reform that lies at the root of all reforms.

13. The recognition that *this is a Nation* and that *as a Nation* we should "learn war no more" (least of all for "offices only" in a presidential campaign), but that by federal aid for universal and enforced public education, by unsectarian religious instruction, by laws that insure Sunday rest to the wage-worker and the opportunity of peaceful worship to all, and most of all by the prohibition of the liquor traffic, we set our faces toward the Golden Age of Unity, of Brotherhood and Peace.

FRANCES E. WILLARD.

Evanston, Ill., March, 1888.

ARBITRATION AS A REMEDY FOR WAR.

MEMORIAL TO CONGRESS, IN FAVOR OF ARBITRATION FOR THE SETTLEMENT OF INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES.

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled:—

The memorial of the undersigned respectfully represents that five of them were appointed by the Mayor of the City of New York to be a committee, of which he was to be, *ex-officio*, a member, pursuant to a resolution of a public meeting of citizens, to urge upon the Congress and the President the making of a treaty with Great Britain, for the settlement by arbitration of differences that may arise between that country and our own; and in pursuance of this appointment, they beg leave to present this memorial.

The occasion of the meeting was to receive a deputation of Englishmen who had come hither to present to the Congress and President a memorial signed by two hundred and thirty-three members of the House of Commons, in favor of a treaty between the United States of America and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, stipulating for a reference to arbitration of all differences between the two countries which could not be settled by diplomacy. The fact of such a memorial is a signal manifestation of confidence and good will; and the characters of those who signed it and of those who presented it require for it respectful attention. As citizens of a friendly nation, we cannot be insensible to this manifestation, and as lovers of peace, we cannot be inattentive to the direction in which public sentiment is tending among the people from whom we derived our origin. Our pride of country will not suffer us to lag behind our English brethren in the interchange of fraternal sentiments, and in coöperation for the welfare of man.

The aim of the proposal is to confirm the friendship and increase the security of each nation. Not that each is not strong enough to repel all attacks, but we know by what suffering and sacrifice an attack is repelled, and therefore how wise and prudent it is to lessen the chances of its coming.

If we look beyond ourselves, it is something to consider what may be the effect of such a treaty as we propose upon the future of mankind. While it is true that if our two nations cannot agree to form such a treaty, no other nations can, it is also true, that when once we shall have made it, our example must have an influence upon other branches of the human family. If the world should see, as we hope it will, that the two great English-speaking nations have promised to live in peace with each other, and have kept the promise and prospered in the keeping, it would not be long before the

spectacle would attract the attention and the sympathy of other nations, and by the force of self-interest lead them to disburden themselves of their intolerable armaments, and leaving the ranks of unprosperous war take the side of prosperous peace.

It is the daily prayer of one of the churches of Christendom : "Give us peace in our time," and a like prayer goes up from every holy temple.

War is not what it used to be in the days of our fathers. The general of our army has lately declared, on a public occasion, that the weapons of warfare have become so destructive that they must needs cause wars to cease and oblige nations to resort to arbitration for the settlement of their disputes, or, he might have added, modern warfare will reduce mankind to the barbarism of the primeval ages.

War being an unspeakable evil, how shall a nation be prevented from attacking another, for some cause real or feigned, some grievance or some pretense ? This is our answer : By agreeing beforehand that it will not attack, without first offering to submit its grievances to impartial arbiters. This would at once put an end to simulated grievances and furnish a remedy for real ones. It would substitute the arbitrament of reason for the arbitrament of the sword. It is easy for a cavalier to say that an agreement to arbitrate made before a dispute began will not be kept, when the passions become hot in its progress. This, however, cannot be known until the method has been tried. Show us the instance in which an agreement to submit to arbitration the differences between two nations has been broken, and we will admit that the objection may have force.

Since the general pacification of 1815 there have been nearly sixty instances of arbitration for the settlement of international disputes, some of them involving the great questions of international right, and some only the ascertainment of extent of injury. The following is a list, imperfect perhaps, but sufficiently accurate to show that the measure is not only not visionary but eminently practicable : —

1. Arbitration between the United States and Great Britain in 1816, about St. Croix river and the lakes.
2. The United States and Great Britain in 1818, about obligation to restore slaves ; referred to the Emperor of Russia.
3. The United States and Spain in 1819, respecting Florida claims.
4. The United States and Great Britain in 1827, about boundaries ; referred to the King of the Netherlands.
5. The United States and Denmark in 1830.
6. Belgium and Holland in 1834.
7. France and England in 1835.
8. The United States and Mexico in 1839.
9. The United States and Portugal in 1851 ; referred to the Emperor of the French.
10. The United States and England in 1853.
11. The United States and New Granada in 1857.
12. The United States and Chili in 1858.

13. The United States and Paraguay in 1859.
14. The United States and Costa Rica in 1860.
15. The United States and Ecuador in 1862.
16. Great Britain and Brazil in 1863.
17. The United States and Peru in 1863.
18. The United States and Great Britain in 1863, about Hudson's Bay Company.
19. The United States and Ecuador in 1864.
20. The United States and Venezuela in 1866.
21. France and Prussia in 1867.
22. Turkey and Greece in 1867.
23. England and Spain in 1867.
24. The United States and Mexico in 1868.
25. The United States and Peru in 1868.
26. The United States and Peru in 1869 ; referred to the King of the Belgians.
27. The United States and Brazil in 1870.
28. Great Britain and Portugal in 1870.
29. The United States and Spain in 1871.
30. The United States and Great Britain ; on the "Alabama," in 1871.
31. The United States and Great Britain in 1871 ; about sundry claims.
32. The United States and Great Britain (the San Juan dispute) in 1871.
33. The United States and Great Britain (about Nova Scotia Fisheries) in 1871.
34. Great Britain and Brazil in 1873 ; referred to United States and Italian Ministers at Rio.
35. Italy and Switzerland in 1874 ; referred to United States Minister in Italy.
36. Great Britain and Portugal (about Delagoa Bay) in 1875 ; referred to the President of the French Republic.
37. China and Japan in 1876.
38. Persia and Afghanistan (Seistan Arbitration) in 1877.
39. Great Britain and Liberia in 1879.
40. The United States and Spain (about Cuba) in 1879.
41. Great Britain and Nicaragua in 1879.
42. The United States and France in 1880.
43. The United States and Costa Rica in 1881.
44. France and Nicaragua in 1881.
45. Chili and Columbia in 1881.
46. Great Britain and Nicaragua (about Mosquito Indians) in 1881.
47. Chili and Argentine Republic (about Straits of Magellan, etc.) in 1881 ; referred to the President of the United States.
48. Holland and Hayti in 1882.
49. The United States and Hayti in 1884.
50. The United States and Spain in 1885.
51. England and Germany (about the Fiji Islands).

52. The United States and Denmark in 1887.

53. Germany and Spain (about the Caroline Islands); referred to the Pope.

54. England, France, and Italy with Chili (about losses in the war between Chili and Peru).

55. Peru and Japan (about the seizure of a Peruvian barque).

56. Nicaragua and Costa Rica (about boundary). Referred to President Cleveland in July, 1887.

57. The Berlin Congress of 1878 was really a court of arbitration held by seven principal powers to settle the claims of all the different states in the Balkan Peninsula.

58. The Danubian Commission, established in 1856, is really a standing international arbitration.

These are instances of occasional arbitration; arbitration entered into as a controversy happened to arise. Within the last two decades a strong movement has been made towards permanent agreements to arbitrate, either general for all differences, or special for questions of a particular character, as for example the interpretation of treaties.

The history of this movement is instructive. In July, 1872, a resolution moved by Mr. Henry Richard was passed by the British House of Commons, in favor of an instruction to the Foreign Secretary to "enter into communication with foreign powers with a view to the further improvement of international law and the establishment of a general system of international arbitration." The example was soon followed in other countries. In November, 1873, a resolution was passed unanimously by the Italian Chamber of Deputies in favor of arbitration. In March, 1874, the second chamber of the Swedish Diet adopted a similar resolution. So did the States General of the Netherlands in the November following. In January, 1875, a motion to the same effect was carried in the Belgian Chamber of Deputies, and afterwards adopted unanimously by the Senate. Although the question has not yet been formally brought forward in the French Assembly, a resolution was carried there in 1878 referring a petition that had been presented on the subject to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, "to whom," it was added, "shall be left in charge to determine the opportune moment when this idea, already tried with success, should be submitted for the consent of states whose constitution and principles are best adapted for seeking in concert its realization."

In 1878, an Italian statesman, Mr. Mancini, knowing that his government was about to negotiate or renew treaties of commerce with other countries, carried a resolution in the Italian Chamber, recommending that such treaties be accompanied by a stipulation for settlement by arbitration of controversies respecting their interpretation or the consequences of their violation. He was afterwards appointed minister for foreign affairs, and himself negotiated some eighteen or nineteen treaties, each accompanied by the arbitral stipulation, one of which was concluded with Great Britain in 1883.

The Berlin Congress of 1884, in which fifteen different powers were rep-

resented, held for the settlement of the relations between the different states on the Congo, contained a provision for arbitration in case of disputes between these states.

Switzerland in 1883 proposed to the United States to enter into an arbitral convention for thirty years binding the contracting parties to submit any differences arising between them to a tribunal of three members, one to be chosen by each party and the third by those two, or, if they should disagree, by a neutral government. Regarding this proposal the President made use of the following language in his annual message to Congress :

"The Helvetic Confederation has proposed the inauguration of a class of international treaties for the referment to arbitration of grave questions between nations. This government has assented to the proposed negotiation of such a treaty with Switzerland."

Colombia and Honduras have entered into a treaty by which they have bound themselves to submit all differences to arbitration, the arbitrator to be the President of the United States for the time being, if the parties do not agree upon a different arbitrator.

Our own country has not only shown its own disposition in favor of arbitration, by the repeated agreements that we have mentioned ; but by many expressions of public men. A resolution in favor of general arbitration was passed by the House of Representatives in 1874. One was introduced into the Senate in 1882. Another is now pending in the Senate.

President Grant, by example and by precept, recommended such a course to his countrymen. In an address to a Philadelphia society after his return from a voyage around the world, he said : "Though I have been trained as a soldier, and have participated in many battles, there never was a time when, in my opinion, some way could not have been found of preventing the drawing of the sword. I look forward to an epoch when a court recognized by all nations will settle international differences instead of keeping large standing armies, as they do in Europe."

Presidents Hayes and Garfield did not hesitate to declare their concurrence in the same views.

These instances answer the objection that arbitration for the settlement of international disputes is not a practical measure. Other objections have been made, but we think it easy to answer them. It has been said that for a nation to bind itself beforehand to submit its disputes to arbitrators is to waive its independence. They who say this forget that the engagement is reciprocal, and that when we bind ourselves not to make war upon England, she also binds herself not to make war upon us, and that would be a great step in advance towards that peace on earth which we profess to believe is to follow the military ages, and to be demanded alike by the dictates of reason and the precepts of religion. We do not bind ourselves to submit to wrongs of aggression, we but agree not to commit the wrongs ourselves. When, soon after the close of the last war with England, we agreed with her to keep only a nominal force of ships of war on the great lakes, we were not shorn of our independence any more than she was shorn of hers. We

agreed that it was better for us, and for all our people on both sides of the line, that the waters of these inland seas should be reserved for the white sails of commerce, without menace or disquiet from rival armaments. We bound ourselves, as great and brave nations, to do what great and brave men do in private life, walk peacefully and confidently, under the protection of mutual faith and honor.

It has been asked why provide against possible contention ; wait for its coming, and then, if diplomacy fail us, resort to arbitration. We answer, that this is not the way men do in civilized communities. They provide beforehand the requisite machinery for terminating disputes, because that is best for the peace and order of society. The fact that repression is ready tends to prevent aggression. The effervescence of passion finds a vent, and an explosion from pent-up forces is prevented.

It has been said that a promise in all cases to arbitrate would deprive us of weapons of retaliation, less than war, like those threatened lately in respect of the fisheries. We answer that it is war and war only ; the great, dominant, overwhelming evil, which it is the aim of the present movement to prevent. It is the bloody conflict of arms, the human butchery, the cities bombarded, the homes decimated, the widows and children left desolate, it is these which we seek to prevent, and it is the means of preventing them that we are urging upon Congress, the executive, and the country.

It has been said that a tribunal of arbitration would furnish no radical cure for international jealousies. Perhaps it would not. It is war not jealousies that the proposal of arbitration seeks to prevent. Courts of law do not furnish a radical cure, nor any cure at all, for jealousies between citizens of the same state or the same city. Whoever thought of that as a reason for abolishing the tribunals of justice ?

It has been said that our experience of international arbitration has not been encouraging. This is said because the Halifax tribunal decided against us. But what about the Alabama tribunal, which decided for us. Do we measure our approval by our success ? What moreover will our adversaries say ? They lose if we gain. The objectors forget, that when two engage in an arbitration, or in a law suit, one or the other must lose. But what is the loss of ten millions or a hundred millions compared with the loss of a great war to both the combatants ? It has been said that the cost of the battle of Solferino would have sufficed to build a ship canal across the Isthmus of Darien.

Another class of objectors bid us to bear in mind the unfriendly feelings which the English people have frequently manifested toward us, the two cruel wars we have had with them, and the disdain with which they have, sometimes though long ago and ignorantly, affected to treat us, and would make these recollections reasons for not agreeing to arbitration with them now. To our minds these are the very reasons for providing beforehand an honorable means of settling possible disputes. We might add that we have something better to do than to brood over the hates of buried generations.

Yet even in the old days of misapprehension and distrust, there were not

wanting words of conciliation and promise of mutual forbearance. The first treaty concluded between Great Britain and the United States, under their present constitution, declared that there should be a "firm, inviolable, and universal peace" between the English King and people and our people, and it provided for two arbitrations to adjust reciprocal claims of English subjects and American citizens for injuries sustained during the war. By a separate article of the treaty it was "expressly stipulated that neither of the contracting parties would (will) order or authorize any acts of reprisal against the other on complaints of injuries or damages, until the said party should (shall) first have presented to the other a statement thereof and verified by competent proof and evidence, and demanded justice and satisfaction, and the same should (shall) either have been refused or unreasonably delayed."

We know that it is one of the traditions of our republic to avoid entangling alliances, and we do not wish to break the tradition. The treaty which we advocate creates no entanglement and no alliance. It would not bind us to help our kinsmen beyond the sea, any more than it would bind them to help us. On the contrary it would bind them to let us alone, if we let them alone. The tradition has not prevented our entering into many treaties; the statute books are full of them. There are treaties of amity and commerce with every civilized country on the face of the earth, filled with minute regulations for the conduct of government and people, and we are at this moment engaged in daily transactions, numberless in fact, under a postal convention, concluded at Berne in 1874, by which we have bound ourselves to twenty other sovereign states.

The people of the United States may take pride to themselves, that in so many instances they have submitted their differences to the decision of arbitrators, and have done so oftener than any other people in the world. We shall thus be following only our own precedents, if we propose the policy of arbitration to any of our associates in the family of nations, and more than all if we propose it to our kindred over the water, one with us in blood, one in speech, and one in free institutions.

We beg therefore most respectfully to ask from Congress the passage of a joint resolution, requesting the President to propose to the government of Great Britain the making of a treaty between the two nations, for a limited period at least, providing in substance that in case a difference should arise between them, respecting the interpretation of any treaty which they have made or may hereafter make with each other, or any claim of either under the established law of nations, or respecting the boundary of any of their respective possessions, or respecting any wrong alleged to have been committed by either nation upon the other or its members, or any duty omitted, it shall be the earnest endeavor of both the contracting parties to accommodate the difference by conciliatory negotiation; and that in no event shall either nation begin a war against the other, without first offering to submit the difference between them to arbitrators, chosen as may be then agreed, or if there be no different agreement, then by three arbitrators, one to be chosen by each party and an umpire by those so chosen; it being under-

stood, however, that arbitration as thus provided for shall not extend to any question respecting the independence or sovereignty of either nation, its equality with other nations, its form of government, its internal affairs, or its continental policy.

And your memorialists as in duty bound will ever pray, etc., etc.

DAVID DUDLEY FIELD.
ANDREW CARNEGIE.
DORMAN B. EATON.
MORRIS K. JESUP.
CHARLES A. PEABODY.
ABRAHAM S. HEWITT.

New York, January 10, 1888.

PRESENTATION OF THE PEACE MEMORIAL AT WASHINGTON.

The President received, October 31, 1887, a deputation from Great Britain, who desire his coöperation in securing a treaty between that country and the United States which shall provide for the amicable settlement of disputes by arbitration. The delegation included Lord Kinnaird, the Right Hon. Sir Lyon Playfair, M. P.; Sir George Campbell, M. P.; Sir John Swinburne, M. P.; Mr. Halley Stewart, M. P.; Mr. Benjamin Pickard, M. P.; Mr. William R. Cremer, M. P.; Mr. Caleb Wright, M. P.; Mr. A. D. Provand, M. P.; Mr. Octavius V. Morgan, M. P.; Mr. Munro Ferguson, M. P.; and Mr. Charles Freak of London, Mr. John Inglis of Glasgow, and Mr. John Wilson of Durham, representatives of the Trades Union Congress. Accompanying the deputation were Mr. Andrew Carnegie of New York, Mr. William Jones, Secretary of the London Peace Society, the Rev. Rowland B. Howard, Boston, Secretary of the American Peace Society, Mr. John B. Wood and Phillip C. Garrett of Philadelphia, and Rev. Charles H. Eaton, D. D., of New York, the successor of Dr. E. H. Chapin.

Mr. Cremer, who obtained the signatures, unrolled and presented the memorial to the President. It was six feet in length, beautifully engrossed by the voluntary labor of a workingman. The following is the text:—

“To the President and Congress of the United States of America:

“The undersigned members of the British Parliament learn with the utmost satisfaction that various proposals have been introduced into Congress, urging the government of the United States to take the necessary steps for concluding with the government of Great Britain a treaty, which shall stipulate that any differences or disputes arising between the two governments which cannot be adjusted by diplomatic agency shall be referred to arbitration. Should such a proposal happily emanate from the Congress of the United States, our best influence shall be used to insure its acceptance by the government of Great Britain. The conclusion of such a treaty would be a splendid example to those nations who are wasting their resources in war-provoking institutions, and might induce other governments to join the peaceful compact.”

POLITICAL HISTORY OF UTAH AND POLYGAMY.

REPORT OF THE UTAH COMMISSION TO THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR, FOR THE YEAR 1887.

SIR,—The great interest which has been manifested by Congress and the people generally in the affairs of Utah Territory has led us to believe that the following statements with respect to the Territory and its citizens will prove to be interesting information, especially so in view of recent events which have transpired in the Territory.

AREA.

Utah Territory has a maximum length of 325 miles by a breadth of 300. . . .

The Mormons control a Territory almost as large as the area of the States of New York and Pennsylvania combined, and a controlling influence in a tract of territory as large as that of the New England and Middle States combined. They have established in this Territory a religious system, with a political attachment, the two forming a strong, compact government with the power of control centred in a few men who claim the right to speak by divine right, and whose advice, counsel, and command is a law unto the people. . . .

The population of the Territory has been given at 200,000. If from this be deducted the strength of the Mormon element, 132,277, we have 67,723 not claimed by the Mormon Church, but of these there are many whose sympathies remain with it. They have been raised in Mormonism, and although they have drifted away, they probably act with their former friends in political matters. The non-Mormon strength will probably not exceed 55,000.

In Salt Lake City and Ogden they have prosperous communities, mainly engaged in business. The strength of the element, however, is to be found in the mining camps. Gold and silver mining began in Utah in 1869-70. Since then a vast amount of capital has been invested in the mines. The great body of the Gentiles are equal in intellect, courage, and energy to those of any other community. When they went to Utah they found all the agricultural land that had water convenient already appropriated. Both the land and the water had been secured, and land without water is practically worthless for agriculture in that Territory. There was nothing left for them but the mines. These they searched for and, as found, opened. This is work that none but superior men can carry through. It takes capital, courage, faith, sagacity, endurance, and ceaseless work. Of

all the mines found, some have brought rich returns. But of these a vast proportion goes for labor, for supplies, for machinery, and to make roads. Silver mines are generally found among almost inaccessible mountain tops, and every movement connected with them is costly. These mines have yielded up to the present time, \$96,000,000. Quite half the sum has been paid to Mormons for labor and supplies, and through this from a very poor people they have become very prosperous. They possessed the land when the Gentiles went among them, but they were so poor that some whole families did not secure \$10 in money throughout the year. What the Gentiles have been able to accomplish has been in spite of the Mormon combined competition and opposition. They wrenched from the rugged and barren mountain tops the gold and silver until they own of the assessed property of the Territory, nearly one third, exclusive of railroad property.

A brief description of the Little Cottonwood District, where mining is conducted under more than ordinarily difficult circumstances, will convey an adequate idea of the toil and danger which attends, and of the superior abilities required for successful mining. This mining district is located in Little Cottonwood Cañon, the mouth of which is some 15 miles distant from Salt Lake City. Entering the cañon the granite walls rise 4,000 feet above the valley. The granite forms the cone around which the mountains have grown until their peaks are 13,000 feet above the level of the sea, and nearly 8,000 feet above the valley. Passing up the cañon the granite walls continue for five miles, rising in grandeur far above the tramway which transports passengers and freight to the mining town of Alta, eight miles above. The grade is over 350 feet to the mile. Snow sheds cover the rails nearly the whole distance. Leaving the granite we pass a great quartzite reef, interspersed with shales. Above this the limestones (the silurian, devonian, and carboniferous) rise in succession. In the limestones the ore is found, and scattered around the steep declivities can be seen the cabins of the miners. The rock is so hard that the average cost of tunneling is some \$10 per foot. Miles of tunnels have been run at an enormous cost. The snow commences to fall in August and September and continues until the following May. The average fall is 30 feet. At Alta City, where the elevation is nearly 9,000 feet, the average depth covering the ground the winter through is 15 feet. The citizens communicate with each other through tunnels run under the snow. The tramway is closed in the early fall, and the only means of communication with the valley below for six months of the year is by a hazardous trip down the cañon through the deep snow. The snow gathers around the summits of the peaks in such heavy masses that snow slides are of frequent occurrences. Since 1870, 132 persons have perished in this cañon from these slides, and the town of Alta has been repeatedly swept as if by a cyclone. Many of the miners work in the mines all the year round. One has built a cabin under the summit of "Old Baldy," a peak between the Little Cottonwood and American Fork cañons, 10,500 feet above the level of the sea. In these altitudes the rocks, which lift their heads through the soil, become bare. The tempests have

left them naked and gray. A life in these vast solitudes is not very enchanting, and yet thousands of energetic, able, and patriotic men pass their lives among them, the great majority deprived of many of the comforts of life, and by unremitting toil contributing to the material wealth of the Territory.

Leaving the mining camps and returning to the valleys, we find the non-Mormons supplying the majority of the capital which is invested in the different avenues of business, and the brains which give life and force to the different channels of trade. They are also engaged in the important work of educating the youth of the Territory. By their efforts mission schools have been established in Salt Lake City, Ogden, and nearly every community of importance in the Territory, which have been very successful. In Salt Lake City the Protestant Episcopal Church established its first school in 1867. Then it had a school with 16 pupils; now it has four schools, 29 teachers, and 589 pupils. The Methodist Church opened its first school September 20, 1870, with 28 pupils; now they have 20 schools, with 36 teachers and 1,060 pupils. The Presbyterians opened their first school April 12, 1875, with 30 pupils; now they have 33 schools, with 67 teachers and 2,110 pupils. The Salt Lake Academy opened its doors in the fall of 1878, under the auspices of the Congregational Church. They had in 1886, 22 schools, with 43 teachers and 1,900 pupils. The Baptist Church came into the Territory in 1884. They have one school with one teacher and 74 scholars. The first Catholic school was commenced in the fall of 1875; they now have 6 schools with 53 teachers and 880 pupils. The Swedish Lutheran Church opened a school last year with one teacher and 35 pupils. A grand total of 87 schools, 230 teachers, and 6,668 scholars.

These different denominations have now in Utah 62 churches of the value of \$453,950 as follows:—

	<i>No. of Churches.</i>	<i>Value.</i>
Protestant Episcopal	4	\$127,650
Methodist	26	119,000
Catholic	6	25,300
Presbyterian	18	115,000
Congregational	*5	25,000
Swedish Lutheran	1	12,000
Baptist	1	25,000
Josephite Mormon	1	5,000

*Also, 12 preaching stations.

The non-Mormons have always been regarded as intruders in Utah and are referred to as "outsiders." . . .

The non-Mormon element has brought to Utah enterprise and capital, the school-book and the Bible. Their mining industries have created a market for the sale of the surplus products of the Mormon farmer, and employment for the surplus labor; their schools and churches are promoting the temporal and spiritual welfare of the people.

The majority of the non-Mormons impress us as being enterprising and public-spirited citizens who are warmly attached to their country and its laws.

RECENT POLITICAL HISTORY OF UTAH.

The political history of the Territory of Utah and the system of plural marriage are so closely interwoven that the one cannot be considered separate and apart from the other. In fact, since July 24, 1847, polygamy has given tone to the political policy of the Mormon people. Under the provisional government of the State of Deseret, and the territorial government which followed after, every act of the legislative assembly which had, even remotely, a political bearing was voted up or down solely upon the question of its relation to the overshadowing interest. Every effort has been made to strengthen polygamy which the experience of forty years could suggest, and every chord has been struck which it was supposed might send back a responsive and friendly note.

The result has been that nearly every man of prominence in the church became a polygamist; the controlling intellect of Utah became involved in the practice. They filled nearly every office of importance in the church, and in the territorial and county governments, and had a large majority of every legislative assembly down to the year 1882, when the "Edmunds Law" disqualified them. Utah was governed by men who seemed determined to build up in the heart of the American continent a polygamous empire.

The statistics for 1880 will give an idea of how far they had progressed.

The census found a population of 143,962, of which 60,576 were over 21 years of age; about 10,000 of these are estimated to be non-Mormons. The number of persons then living in polygamy was found, after careful inquiry, to be about 12,000, and there were at least 3,000 who had lived in polygamy, but a separation had been effected by death or otherwise, making a total of 15,000, 30 per cent. of the adult Mormon population, or one out of every 3½ who had entered into polygamy. While all did not enter into polygamy, all believed it right as a divine revelation and upheld it in those who chose to enter into the relation. The system was united by ties of kindred with nearly every Mormon family in the Territory.

Utah was controlled by the bishops of the church, under the direction of Brigham Young, from July 24, 1847, to March 18, 1849, at which time was organized the provisional province of the State of Deseret. The Apostles of the church in a general epistle said they had petitioned Congress for the organization of a territorial government, and, until the petition was granted, they were under the necessity of organizing a local government. Brigham Young was elected governor of the State. The most important act of the legislative assembly of the new State was the incorporation of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Section 3, which we here reproduce, under the form of law, we think, directly sanctioned the practice of polygamy.

"SEC. 3. And be it further ordained: That, as said church holds the constitutional and original right, in common with all civil and religious communities,

'to worship God according to the dictates of conscience;' to reverence communion agreeably to the principles of truth, and to solemnize marriage compatible with the revelations of Jesus Christ; for the security and full enjoyment of all blessings and privileges, embodied in the religion of Jesus Christ, free to all; it is also declared that said church does, and shall, possess and enjoy continually, the power and authority, in and of itself, to originate, make, pass, and establish rules, regulations, ordinances, laws, customs, and criterions, for the good order, safety, government, conveniences, comfort, and control of said church; and for the punishment and forgiveness of all offenses, relative to fellowship, according to church covenants; that the pursuit of bliss, and the enjoyment of life, in the capacity of public association and domestic happiness, temporal expansion, or spiritual increase upon the earth, may not legally be questioned. Provided, however, that each and every act, or practice so established, or adopted for law, or custom, shall relate to solemnities, sacraments, ceremonies, consecrations, endowments, tithings, marriages, fellowship, or the religious duties of man to his Maker; inasmuch as the doctrines, principles, practices, or performances, support virtue, and increase morality, and are not inconsistent with, or repugnant to, the constitution of the United States, or of this State, and are founded in the revelations of the Lord."

The Edmunds-Tucker act of March, 1887, annulled this act, and directed the attorney-general of the United States to close up the affairs of the church.

January 27, 1851, the news reached Salt Lake City that Congress had created the Territory of Utah, and that President Fillmore had appointed Brigham Young territorial governor. No appointment could have been made which would have been more satisfactory to the Mormons. Brigham Young was their leader, ruler, and prophet. He was reappointed governor by President Pierce, and served till July 11, 1857. The influence of this appointment upon the future of Utah was far-reaching. It enabled the Mormon people to adopt a system of laws which gave them absolute control over the territorial government, and stripped the federal officers of all authority and power. At an early day laws were passed conferring upon probate courts concurrent jurisdiction with the district courts and, owing to the claim and exercise of jurisdiction by these probate courts under territorial laws, the district courts, as representatives of the national authority, continued to be practically nullities until 1874. In 1874 (by the Poland Act) Congress defined and limited the jurisdiction of the several grades of courts in the Territory.

The act as it passed the House of Representatives placed the power of naming jurors for the courts with the United States marshal; but by a provision of the act imposed at its last stage, the power to name one half of the panel was restored to the old agency; by reason of which, acts of Congress distasteful to Utah remained dead letters till 1882-83 when the "Edmunds Act" disqualified Mormons from jury service in polygamy and unlawful cohabitation cases. In 1885 it was held and affirmed in the case of Rudger Clawson, indicted for polygamy, that the district courts were not confined to the panel so named, but after its exhaustion might resort to an open

venire. This decision removed the clog from the enforcement of the laws which had existed over thirty years (the result which followed from the appointment of Brigham Young as governor); prosecutions and convictions for polygamy and unlawful cohabitation under the laws of Congress became possible, and so successful and efficient have these prosecutions been for three years past that a great number of convictions, particularly for the latter offense, have been had, and a large number of offenders, including the most prominent and influential leaders, have fled or gone into concealment, to avoid conviction. In furtherance of the purpose of obtaining control of the Territory, an independent military organization was established by law in violation of the organic act which makes the governor of the Territory "commander-in-chief of the militia thereof." This independent organization was forced to disband by Governor Shaffer in 1870.

Laws were also adopted for the election of certain officers which the organic act imposes upon the governor the duty of appointing. The attorney-general of the United States has decided that the power to appoint lies with the governor; but the legislative assembly persistently refuses to remedy the wrong.

In 1851, polygamy was publicly proclaimed as a tenet of the church by alleged "divine revelation," by Brigham Young, president of the Mormon Church, and governor of the Territory.

At a special conference of the Mormon Church, held at Salt Lake City during the same year, was begun the controversy between the Mormon people and the representatives of the federal government which has continued to the present time. Judge Broochus of the Territorial Supreme Court, who was present, rebuked the people for their polygamous practices. His speech was, as he said, "the result of deliberation and care." It gave great offense to Brigham Young and the Mormon people, who charged him with falsifying "the eternal principles of truth," and with insulting the Mormon women.

From 1851 to 1862, polygamy flourished unchecked and uncontrolled. The Mormon people claim that plural marriage during this period was not unlawful. Certainly there was no statute law against the practice of polygamy, and if the common law did not come into the Territory at the time the United States acquired possession, they are right; but it is an indisputable fact that the common law was in full force during these years. The act of 1862 provides that "every person having a husband or wife living, who marries another, whether married or single, in a Territory or other place, over which the United States has exclusive jurisdiction, is guilty of polygamy, and shall be punished by a fine of not more than \$500, and by imprisonment for a term of not more than five years." The Mormon people claimed the law was not constitutional. At the first session of the legislative assembly following, Governor Harding in his message said: —

"I respectfully call your attention to an act of Congress passed the first day of July, 1862, entitled 'An act to punish and prevent the practice of polygamy in

the Territories of the United States and in other places, and disapproving and annulling certain acts of the territorial legislative assembly of the Territory of Utah.' I am aware that there is a prevailing opinion here that said act is unconstitutional, and therefore it is recommended by those in high authority that no regard be paid to the same; and, still more to be regretted, if I am rightly informed, in some instances it has been recommended that it be openly disregarded and *defied*, merely to defy the same. I take this occasion to warn the people of this Territory against such dangerous and disloyal courses. Whether such act is unconstitutional or not is not necessary for me either to affirm or deny. The individual citizen, under no circumstances whatever, has the right to defy any law or statute of the United States with impunity. In so doing he takes upon himself the risk of the penalties of that statute, be they what they may, in case his judgment be in error. The constitution has amply provided how and where all such questions of doubt are to be submitted and settled, viz., in the courts constituted for that purpose. To forcibly resist the execution of that act would be, to say the least, a high misdemeanor, and if the whole community should become involved in such resistance would call down upon it the consequences of insurrection and rebellion. I hope and trust that no such rash counsel will prevail. If, unhappily, I am mistaken in this, I choose to shut my eyes to the consequences."

The timely advice contained in the recommendations of Governor Harding was not heeded. The people continued to violate the law with impunity. The courts and the officials were powerless, under the territorial statutes, to enforce and execute the punitive provisions of the law. The anomalous condition of affairs was presented of the will of the nation being ignored by a few men who claimed the sanction of divine authority for their acts. It is reported that the Mormons make the claim that they were led to believe by national authority that the law of 1862 was not to be enforced, but was to remain a dead letter on the statute books. Certainly this was an error, and nothing but the fact that the time of Congress was occupied with matters involving the life of the nation, and, after the war, with other matters of importance, prevented prompt and energetic action on the subject. Congress has at every opportunity taken occasion in the most signal manner to express its abhorrence of the practice of polygamy. On June 23, 1874, the "Poland Act" became a law. It was the first law by which Congress had struck at the judicial system under the cover of which the Mormons had so long rendered the district courts powerless. The jury panel was now to be selected by the clerks of the district courts and the probate judge of the county in which the terms of court were held. Two hundred names were to be selected annually, 100 by each. The experiment of mixed juries proved a failure. The grand juries were about equally divided, which rendered abortive all attempts to indict polygamists. In 1878 a partial relief came from an unexpected source. The legislative assembly passed an act regulating the mode of procedure in criminal cases which provided for challenges for actual bias to be tried by triers appointed by the court. When the case of Miles, indicted for polygamy, was reached for trial, the district attorney challenged the Mormon jurors for actual bias, the court appointed triers, and the challenge was sustained. The Mormon legisla-

ture has practically adopted the California code, which contained this provision, probably not anticipating such a construction by the court.

The act properly known as the "Edmunds Act" was approved March 22, 1882. The penalty for polygamy was made the same as that fixed by the laws of 1862. A penalty was also provided "against any man who simultaneously, or on the same day, married more than one woman." "Simultaneous" nuptials was an expedient adopted to protect those who chose to violate the law. The law further provided a penalty for unlawful cohabitation. Heretofore the law made the marriage a crime. Now the living together, the holding out of two or more women to the world as wives, was made a misdemeanor. The great necessity for this amendment arose from the difficulty of securing the conviction of polygamists.

The entire Mormon community conspired to conceal the evidence of such marriages until the statute of limitations would prove a bar to prosecution. Then the polygamous relation would be openly acknowledged. Before the passage of this act the Mormon leaders were frequently seen on the streets, in the theatres, and other public places with their polygamous wives. The law also provided for amnesty to such offenders as would in good faith renounce polygamy. Eighty-one persons have been thus far amnestied by the President. The issue of polygamous marriages before January 1, 1883, were legitimated. The vital importance of making the continuance of the polygamic relation a misdemeanor is seen in the incipient contest which it has produced in the Mormon Church. At first several of the persons thus arraigned promised in open court to obey the laws thereafter, and this in the face of strenuous opposition.

The "*Deseret News*," the church organ, editorially proclaimed that no Mormon could consistently make such a promise without violating obligations which bound him for time and eternity. Those who did so were referred to in a manner calculated to make their neighbors feel that they had incurred disgrace. In the case of John Sharp, decisive action was taken. He was a prominent man in the Territory, a gentleman of high character, who had secured the respect of the people. He had the courage and the patriotism to appear in court and announce his intention to obey the laws. He was promptly removed from the office of bishop of the 20th ward of Salt Lake City, in which office he had become endeared to the people by associations extending beyond a period of twenty years. It was thought that his patriotic course would have an influence upon others and encourage them to respect the law; hence the summary treatment he received.

During the two years ending August 21, 1887, but two or three persons, convicted of unlawful cohabitation, have promised to obey the law, to escape imprisonment.

At the September term, 1887, of the third district court, the first two persons convicted of unlawful cohabitation, promised to obey the law for the future. It is proper we should here say that an opportunity has always been given to these people by the court to escape punishment by a promise to obey the laws.

200 *Political History of Utah and Polygamy.*

Since the passage of the Edmunds law of 1882, the following number of persons have been indicted and convicted of unlawful cohabitation and polygamy.

	<i>No. Indicted.</i>	<i>No. Convicted.</i>
Unlawful Cohabitation	541	289
Polygamy	27	14
Total	568	303

Many of the persons indicted have fled or have concealed themselves to escape arrest.

In the enforcement of the law the present officers of the federal courts in Utah are entitled to special commendation, and this should also include the late able and efficient prosecuting attorney.

While but a small proportion of the offenders have been convicted, the tension produced by these prosecutions cannot be overestimated. Actuated by a determination not to recognize the supremacy of national laws where they forbid crimes sanctioned by a religious creed, it is not surprising that the leaders have resorted to unusual methods to defeat the law, and so great is their influence, and so compact their organization, that the entire membership have been a unit in aiding and abetting the offenders in their obstructive course, and in escaping the penalty of their crimes. The law of 1882 invites the Mormon people, through their legislative assembly, to bring Utah into harmony with the expressed will of the nation; to recognize the fact that every interest must remain subordinate to the general welfare, and be subject to the constitution and the laws; to cease the wretched policy of evasion and resistance to law, which, if persisted in, will destroy the public pride and result in moral decay; and to correct the wrongs which have so long held Utah up to the public gaze in deplorable preëminence.

Governor Murray in his message to the legislative assembly of 1884, the first after the passage of the Edmunds Act of 1882, and again in 1886, called attention to the invitation to the Mormon people contained in the law, and expressed his willingness to coöperate with them in the adoption of proper measures.

The national laws relating to bigamy and polygamy have been ineffective operation for about three years. Standing face to face with the law, the leaders and their obedient followers have made no concession to its supremacy, and the issue is squarely maintained between assumed revelations and the laws of the land. As late as August 23, 1887, and seven weeks after the adoption of the proposed state constitution, at Provo City, Utah, a public reception was tendered by the Mormon people at their meeting-house, to several persons, polygamists, who had just been released from the penitentiary. Among the speakers were two of the state presidency, two bishops and elders of the church, nearly all of whom were polygamists, and who proclaimed their intention to live in the future as they had in the past.

The two elements of population are divided into the People's party (Mor-

mon) and the Liberal party (non-Mormon). Up to 1870, the Mormons had no opposition except in 1867, when a non-Mormon candidate for delegate to Congress received 105 votes. The Liberal party was organized in 1870, and has continued to maintain its organization up to the present time. Its highest vote was polled for Philip T. Van Zile, candidate for delegate to Congress, at the first election held under the law of March 22, 1882. He received 4,884 votes against 23,039 for John T. Caine. This brings us down to the registration and election of 1887.

THE REGISTRATION AND ELECTION OF 1887.

The first annual election since the act of Congress prescribing a registration oath for voters was held on August 1st of this year, and was preceded by a registration under that act, made in the months of May and June last. The commission, after careful consideration, to aid in securing uniformity of action by the registration officers, formulated and submitted to them for their use, as an advisory act on the part of the commission, a form of registration oath, substantially in the words of the act, as follows :—

TERRITORY OF UTAH, } ss. :
COUNTY OF ———,

I, ———, being duly sworn (or affirmed), depose and say that I am over twenty-one years of age, that I have resided in the Territory of Utah for six months last past, and in this precinct for one month, immediately preceding the date thereof ; and that I am a native born or naturalized (as the case may be) citizen of the United States ; that my full name is ——— ; that I am ——— years of age ; that my place of business is ——— ; that I am a (single or) married man, that the name of my lawful wife is ———, and that I will support the constitution of the United States, and will faithfully obey the laws thereof, and especially will obey the act of Congress approved March 22, 1882, entitled, " An Act to amend Section 5352 of the Revised Statutes of the United States in reference to bigamy and for other purposes," and that I will also obey the act of Congress of March 3, 1887, entitled, " An act to amend an act entitled An act to amend section 5352 of the Revised Statutes of the United States in reference to bigamy and for other purposes, approved March 22, 1882," in respect of the crime in said act defined and forbidden, and that I will not, directly or indirectly, aid or abet, counsel or advise any other person to commit any of said crimes defined by acts of Congress as polygamy, bigamy, unlawful cohabitation, incest, adultery, and fornication.

Subscribed and sworn to before me on this ——— day of ———, 188—, ———, Deputy Registration Officer for ——— Precinct, ——— County.

Although the person applying to have his name registered as a voter may have made the foregoing oath, yet if the registrar shall for reasonable or probable cause believe that the applicant is then, in fact, a bigamist, polygamist, or living in unlawful cohabitation, incest, adultery, or fornication, in our opinion the Registrar may require the applicant to make the following affidavit :—

TERRITORY OF UTAH, } ss. :
COUNTY of ———,

I, ———, further swear (or affirm) that I am not a bigamist, polygamist, or living in unlawful cohabitation, or associating or cohabiting polygamously with persons of the other sex, and that I have not been convicted of the crime of bigamy, polygamy, unlawful cohabitation, incest, adultery, or fornication.

Subscribed and sworn to before me on this — day of —, 188—, —, Deputy Registration Officer for — Precinct, — County.

NOTE. — Those parts of the above form in relation to being "sworn or affirmed," and as to being a "native-born or naturalized citizen," and as to being a "single or married man," should be changed by *erasure*, or a line drawn through the words so as to be applicable to the case.

Prior to the registration, and under the date of April 4, 1887, the central committee of the "People's" party (Mormon) issued an address, advisory, to the voters of the party, in which the oath prescribed by the act was commented upon, interpreted, and explained, and the voters informed that, as to male voters, there is nothing in the act which need necessarily reduce their numbers; that duty called them to wakefulness and activity, and all who could take the oath were urged to do so. The substance of the interpretation is in this extract: —

"The questions that intending voters need, therefore, ask themselves are these: Are we guilty of the crimes in said act; or, have we the present intention of committing these crimes, or of aiding, abetting, causing or advising any other person to commit them? Male citizens who can answer these questions in the negative can qualify under the existing laws, as voters and office holders."

This interpretation does not seem to be a correct exposition of the law, and is well adapted to quiet the conscience of the voter and invite him to find his mind free from any intention relating to the subject. The clear meaning of the law is that the voter must have a *present, affirmative intention to obey the law in the future*, while the interpretation given by the "People's" party invites him to take the oath if he can merely say *he has not a present affirmative intention to violate the law*. The law prescribes a rule of action to bind the voter for the future which cannot be broken without subjecting him to the reproach of moral perjury.

When a law can be assumed to express the will and belief of a people subject to its provisions, those who have not formed the intention to violate it may fairly be assumed to have the intention to obey it, and in such cases the distinction between an *actual* intent to obey, and a *formal* intent to disobey a law might not be of much practical importance, for a good citizen who had not formed an intention to violate the law might well be assumed to have an intention to obey it. When, however, the law expresses neither the will nor the belief of a great majority of a people, the assumption of the intention to obey cannot be affirmed from the absence of a formal intention to disobey, and, like some other inviting ground, the field of *no intention* may be broad, and to those who may wish to occupy it, very desirable. The address was well calculated to invite the "intending voter" to silence the promptings of his conscience in relation to an institution which they claim is "interwoven with their dearest and earliest hopes connected with eternity," in favor of increasing the number of voters of the "People's party." The address further contained the remarkable statement that this was "not a time to indulge in 'bogus' sentiment."

Members of the Liberal party, in view of the evasive interpretation given by the central committee of the People's party, were not satisfied with the form of oath formulated by the commission, and asked the commission to recommend a form of oath which they claimed was necessary to bring the true intent and meaning of the law within reach of the conscience of the voter, as follows: —

TERRITORY OF UTAH, }
COUNTY OF ———, } ss.:

I, ———, being duly sworn (or affirmed), depose and say that I am over twenty-one years of age; that I have resided in the Territory of Utah for six months last past, and in this precinct for one month preceding the date hereof; and I am a native-born (or naturalized), as the case may be, citizen of the United States; that my full name is ———; that I am ——— years of age; that my place of business is ———; that I am a (single or) married man; that the name of my lawful wife is ———; that I will support the constitution of the United States and will faithfully obey the laws thereof; and I will especially obey the acts of Congress prohibiting polygamy, bigamy, unlawful cohabitation, incest, adultery, and fornication; that I will not hereafter at any time, within any Territory of the United States, while said acts of Congress remain in force, in obedience to any alleged revelation, or to any counsel, advice, or command, from any person or source whatever, or under any circumstances, enter into plural or polygamous marriage, or have or take more wives than one, or cohabit with more than one woman; that I will not at any time hereafter, in violation of said acts of Congress, directly or indirectly, aid or abet, counsel or advise any person to have or to take more wives than one, or to cohabit with more than one woman, or to commit incest, adultery, or fornication; that I am not a bigamist or polygamist; that I do not cohabit polygamously with persons of the other sex, and that I have not been convicted of any of the offenses above mentioned.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this ——— day of ———, 188—, ——— Deputy Registration Officer for ——— Precinct, ——— County.

This request the commission declined, in substance holding the form previously recommended contained all the requirements of the law, in the language of the law, and that they did not feel authorized to recommend any additions to that form.

The discussion settled nothing, but only brought out more clearly that no test oath as to future conduct is of any value to prevent infractions of the law. That whether a law will or will not be violated is a matter depending on motives and conditions which no test oath can reach or remove, and the probabilities in the case will be largely affected by the opinions of the person and community in which he lives, as to whether the law is constitutional, and morally just, and whether or not the prohibited act is morally and religiously right or wrong.

In all the election districts the form recommended by the commission was used by the registration officers, although the other form was distributed by the Loyal League, a non-Mormon organization. In one district the registrar attempted to use the form suggested by the liberal committee, but he was removed, and another appointed who used the commission

oath. In another district the registrar claimed the right to ask voters questions not contemplated by the law, and was promptly removed.

The form of oath suggested by members of the Liberal party was first used in the Third District Court, presided over by Chief Justice Zane, and is now used in the district courts of the Territory for the qualification of jurors.

The total registration in the Territory was 20,585. At the general election of the Territory held on August 1, 1887, there were 13,395 votes cast for the People's party candidates, and 3,255 votes for the Liberal party candidates, for the legislative assembly.

The People's party elected 10 councilors and 21 members. The Liberal party, 2 councilors and 3 members. The Liberals, if they had registered and voted their full strength, could have elected, at least, one more member of the council and 2 members of the house. The total vote cast in the Territory for all officers was 18,901.

The returns were canvassed by a board consisting of five reputable persons, appointed by the commission. The total number of county, precinct, and municipal officers elected was 470.

THE MOVE FOR STATEHOOD.

The present year has been marked by proceedings to form a constitution on which to demand admission to the Union of States ; the fourth attempt for that purpose in the history of the Territory.

Before the election, on June 16, 1887, a call appeared signed by the chairman and secretary of the People's party (Mormon), calling upon the people of Utah, irrespective of party, creed, or class, to assemble in mass conventions in their respective counties, on June 25, 1887, at 12 m., for the purpose of appointing delegates to a convention to be held at Salt Lake City, on the thirtieth day of June, 1887, to frame a constitution preparatory to an application to Congress for admission to Statehood.

The non-Mormons were distrustful of the move and unitedly declined to join the convention, or to recognize it. They gave as reasons for declining that in view of the past history of Utah it was a proper case for Congress, in accordance with the general rule, to say when the time for such a move had arrived, and by an enabling act give it authority when, how, and by whom the convention should be called, and how conducted ; that they did not understand this sudden, and to them unannounced call ; that the entire proceeding was carried out by the dominant party, and delegates chosen without regard to forms of election or disqualification of voters, without previous discussion, and from wholly unauthorized sources ; and above all they did not think the attitude of the great majority of the people of Utah towards the laws and authority of the general government had been such as to invite the full confidence of Congress in their fidelity to the laws and government, and to justify that body in granting sovereign Statehood.

The convention met, and with surprising unanimity adopted a proposed constitution, which declares bigamy and polygamy to be misdemeanors, and

affixes punishments. It also provides that no further legislation shall be required to make or define these offenses ; that the provision is not amendable without the consent of Congress, and proclaims the separation of church and state. The instrument is silent as to the offense of unlawful cohabitation.

The Mormons claim that, having taken this action, the people ought not to be longer denied a voice in the conduct of their own affairs, and in the selection of officials to carry on the government ; that in a territorial condition citizens are deprived of the rights and powers which are the strength and glory of American citizenship ; that as a Territory they are excluded from participation in affairs that vitally concern them ; that Utah has the population, the material interests, the intelligence, the stability, and the regard for republican principles and institutions which are necessary to the establishment of a free and sovereign State ; that the movement for Statehood was not sectarian, partisan, or confined to any sectional interest ; but that the call was broad and comprehensive, and included citizens of every creed and class ; that the convention adopted a constitution in good faith, which is as liberal and fair and patriotic as that of any State ; that it was the work of monogamous citizens acting in their capacity as citizens ; that until it can be shown to be otherwise their action should be accepted in good faith, and the constitution should be judged by its plain language and terms ; that the question of whether, under the constitution, the provisions against polygamy will be enforced by the officials of the proposed State is a question that must be left to the future, and that time alone will show ; that every community proposing to come into the Union as a State must be given a fair opportunity to prove whether or not they will carry out the provisions of their charter ; that they have never been accused of insincerity by any one who knows what they have endured rather than make promises they did not intend to keep ; that the religion of the people should not be dragged into the consideration of measures which are purely political ; that in answer to the assertion that, as a State, they will continue to build up their church, they claim the Mormon people have the constitutional right to use every means not inconsistent with the laws of the land to secure converts to their religious faith, unrestrained by any constitutional or legal provision ; that Congress has not the right to interpose as a condition precedent to the admission of the proposed State, that any church shall cease preaching its doctrines or endeavoring to make proselytes ; that, admitting there is no grant of power under which Congress may sanction an amendment to a state constitution, should Congress refuse to act, the constitution cannot be amended in respect of the offenses named ; that the proposed constitution does not presume to say that the President or Congress shall exercise the powers granted them, but leaves the matter to their discretion ; that a Territory, as a matter of right, is entitled to admission into the Union of States whenever it possesses the necessary population, and has a constitution in harmony with republican institutions ; that, acting through the only class of citizens who enjoy the privilege of the elective franchise, the

monogamous Mormons, they have met the wishes of a nation by a constitution which provides for the punishment of those offenses which have excited the hostility of the nation, and having done so, they now ask to be allowed to hereafter control the affairs of the Territory, as the Constitution of the United States intended they should ; that the opposition to the admission of Utah as a State comes from a class who have been the bitter and consistent enemies of the Mormon people, and who are inspired by the hope of bringing the people, while in a territorial condition, within their power.

The above we believe to be a fair summary of the reasons which the Mormons urge in favor of Statehood for Utah.

The action of the convention and the result of its labors did not tend to allay, but rather to increase, the apprehensions and opposition of the non-Mormons. They make many objections to the admission of Utah as a State at present, and unanimously declined to vote upon the subject, or in any way recognize the move. The following is a summary of some of their objections : —

That the action taken is without authority from the proper source and not entitled to any recognition, and accompanied by many and strong evidences of evasion and bad faith in professing an abandonment of polygamy and the accompanying social evils, with the intent to acquire Statehood, and without any intent to restrain and punish such offenses, but merely to intrench them behind Statehood ; that the historical attitude of the great body of the people towards the laws on this subject had not changed down to the eve of calling the convention, and that until then the Mormons, their press and pulpits, had not ceased to declare the laws of Congress unconstitutional and their enforcement persecution ; that though the press and pulpits suddenly became silent, with indications in a few places of a muzzled silence, there was still no sign or intimation of any change of sentiment in words or acts, and the hostility to the enforcement of existing laws and federal authority was still as active and general as before ; that scarcely any Mormon in good standing would even promise to obey the laws in the future to escape punishment after conviction in court ; that they were unable to understand how the great body of the people could undergo an overnight conversion on the subject of these offenses, when, the day before, their consciences were so strong that nothing could induce them to promise obedience to the laws ; that the "Deseret Evening News," their leading and uncompromising organ, had, after the framing of the proposed constitution, and before the election, printed an editorial leaving the question to the voters with the most judicial fairness, but ending with the advice to be "as wise as serpents and harmless as doves ;" that in view of their past history the first evidence of a *bonâ fide* intent to obey and execute laws making these offenses punishable should be a cessation of hostility to present laws and the announcement of obedience to them ; that notwithstanding the great unanimity in the convention and in the subsequent vote of the people, no member of the convention or voter has, in the constitution or elsewhere, declared he considered or believed either of the offenses named in or should

be a misdemeanor or punishable, but the provision in the constitution is introduced by the remarkable, whereas: for the reason that somebody, perhaps some wicked person at Washington, deems those crimes incompatible with a republican form of government, they are made misdemeanors and punishable; that it is not easy to conceive why the incompatibility should be limited to a republican form of government, or why it should not extend to every form of civilized government, unless full force is given to the dogma taught by the dominant sect, that the only true and rightful government is a theocracy in which the powers of government are derived from God and delegated to ministers, who govern by divine right; that no constitutional provision can execute itself, but requires prosecutors, jurors, and judges, all of whom under Statehood would be Mormons, and if a whole people can be suddenly converted one way in one night, they might be susceptible to a reconversion equally sudden, and all the prosecuting powers become hostile to the law; that the rules of evidence and the laws of marriage under Statehood are proper subjects of state legislation, and while marriage without witnesses may be good, a rule of evidence that it requires one or more witnesses to the direct fact of marriage to commit polygamy would leave the constitutional provision worthless, and should the courts adopt the rule still existing in some States, that on a charge of bigamy, cohabitation and the repute of marriage are insufficient to prove the marriage, no new law or rule of evidence would be needed; that it is historical there are many polygamists in Utah, and as such marriages are concealed, the number is unknown, and so far as the constitution is concerned, all these could live openly with their numerous families as soon as the federal laws ceased, and point to their relations as the reward of those who had lived up to the privileges of their religion; that there is no grant of power in the constitution authorizing Congress to sanction or refuse an amendment to the constitution of a sovereign State; that the people of a State cannot deprive themselves of the power to amend a constitution the creation of their will, nor can they legislate to bind those that come after them; that the Mormons have hitherto justified their opposition to the federal laws under the plea of conscience in respect to religious matters, but they have apparently made their consciences a marketable commodity and Statehood the exchangeable value, if they offer in good faith to suppress these offenses, unless their religious views have suddenly changed, of which there is no evidence or pretense; that the claim that this constitution emanates from and is the work of non-polygamous Mormons is no argument in its favor; that good citizenship does not involve only the question who in fact practices polygamy, but also who believes in it as a moral and religious right, superior to all human laws, and hence will be influenced in his conduct by such belief; that the non-polygamists have always been a large majority, but have in every way upheld the polygamists, have been equally active and bitter in their opposition to the laws, and without their aid and support the polygamists could not so long have defied the laws; that there has been no evidence of any struggle or contest between the polygamists

and monogamists, but all have acted with the greatest possible harmony, and vied with each other in attaining the wisdom of serpents and harmlessness of doves; that the church leaders who control in such matters have never manifested in any manner their intention to cease to enforce the practice of polygamy by their people, but that their silence indicates that the converse of the proposition is true; that the Mormon Church has never abandoned its purpose of ultimately becoming a controlling political power, and adopts this method of promoting it; and further, that if the non-polygamists have reached this conclusion, that the law in respect to these offenses is superior, and that it is the first duty of citizens to obey the laws of Congress prescribing rules of conduct, it is an easy manner for them to announce it and give some evidence of their good faith.

In accordance with these views, the non-Mormons abstained from voting on the subject at the polls, desiring not to recognize the movement in any manner whatever.

The monogamous Mormons cast 13,195 votes in favor of the constitution, 500 votes being cast against it.

The action of the Mormon people in adopting a constitution which forbids polygamy and bigamy, in view of their past history, is an anomaly which demands some explanation. In all its territorial history, Utah, under the control of the dominant sect, which is in reality a political organization, with aims and methods which are political, has stood arrayed in opposition to laws of Congress on these subjects, and still maintains united efforts to nullify them.

To arrive at a fair conclusion of the opinions and purposes of the Mormon people with respect to polygamy, it is proper that the views and expressions of their press and pulpits should be considered.

The "*Deseret News*," in its issue of October 6, 1880, said:—

"But we claim the right under the constitution of our country to receive just as many divine communications as the Almighty chooses to bestow and to follow these revelations without molestation or hindrance. At the same time it is our intention to abide by the laws of our country. When we refer to the laws of the land, we wish to be understood that we make one exception, that is the law framed and pushed through Congress for the express purpose of preventing us from obeying a revelation from God, which we have followed in faith, and practiced for many years."

The claim thus made has been reiterated by the first presidency of the church from time to time. In their address of July 24, 1885, they said:—

"We cannot, however, at the behest of men, lay aside those great principles which God has communicated to us, nor violate those sacred and eternal covenants which we have entered into for time and eternity."

Nothing has transpired to lead us to believe that the views thus expressed by their church organ, and most prominent leaders, are not entertained by the Mormon people to-day.

The call for assembling of mass meetings to appoint delegates to meet in

convention and frame a constitution was evidently the result of a very sudden inspiration, so much so that the "Deseret News" editorially said, "It would occasion some surprise." There had been no previous discussion in the press, nor among the people, in relation to such a movement, which was conceived and carried through with the utmost haste. Within fourteen days after the call was promulgated, delegates appointed to frame the constitution had met in convention.

The election of delegates to a constitutional convention by means of mass meetings does not commend itself to persons who have been accustomed to see the important duty of framing a constitution for a sovereign State approached with care and deliberation, in accord with the general will of the people, and under proper authority, with no other aim and purpose than to advance the interests of all, and not of a particular class.

The provision in the constitution with reference to polygamy and bigamy is as follows:—

"SEC. 12. Bigamy and polygamy being considered incompatible with 'a republican form of government,' each of them is hereby forbidden and declared a misdemeanor.

"Any person who shall violate this section shall, on conviction thereof, be punished by a fine of not more than \$1,000, and imprisonment for a term of not less than six months nor more than three years, in the discretion of the court. This section shall be construed as operative without the aid of legislation, and the offenses prohibited by this section shall not be barred by any statute of limitation within three years after the commission of the offense; nor shall the power of pardon extend thereto until such pardon shall be approved by the President of the United States."

The crime of polygamy is to be a misdemeanor (in every other State it is a felony), and is punishable by a fine of not more than one thousand dollars, and by imprisonment for a term of not more than three years, whereas, under the federal law, the fine is fixed at a sum not exceeding five hundred dollars, and imprisonment for a term not exceeding five years. Under the federal law polygamists are denied the right to vote and hold office, but under this proposed constitution persons who have committed, or who shall hereafter commit, the crime of polygamy, and all such as continue to live in that crime, will be invested with the full rights of citizenship. Under the federal law, unlawful cohabitation is punished by a fine not exceeding three hundred dollars, and by imprisonment for a term not exceeding six months; under the proposed State this offense, which perpetuates the evils of polygamy against society and posterity, is to go unpunished.

The legislature of the proposed State is shorn of its power to raise the grade of the crime to that of felony, or to annex any disqualification on conviction, while it is left free to promote polygamy by providing through inheritances and by means of wills for the maintenance of polygamous households, and to deny the legal wife the right of dower, or other rights, as heretofore.

The provisions for amendments to the proposed constitution, only by the consent of Congress, and for pardon of convicted polygamists only by approval of the President, are incongruous and futile, and need not be considered. It is sufficient to say they are open to the criticism that if a community cannot be trusted to amend a constitution it can hardly be said to be fit to be trusted with the powers of a State under any form of constitution, and if it cannot be trusted to deal with those who have violated its laws, it should not have the control of the administration of the laws.

If Utah should be admitted into the Union as a State, the following result would follow, namely, there would be an immediate cessation of all further prosecutions for polygamy and unlawful cohabitation under laws of Congress. No prosecution for polygamy would ever take place in the State until the ruling power in the State chose to do what they now arraign the government for — "persecute" for a crime which is "an essential part of their religion." This claim has been set forth in a formal way which has made it a solemn declaration of the whole Mormon population of Utah. At a general conference held at Logan, April 6, 1885, a resolution was adopted and a committee appointed to draft a protest and address to the President and people of the United States. Such address was adopted at a mass meeting, held May 2, 1885, at which the Hon. John T. Caine, delegate from the Territory, presided, and was deputed as the agent to present the same. In that document is formally proclaimed —

"As to our religious faith, it is based upon evidence which to our minds is conclusive; convictions not to be destroyed by legislative enactments or judicial decisions. Force may enslave the body, but it cannot convince the mind. To yield at the demand of the legislature or judge the rights of conscience, would prove us recreant to every duty we owe to God and man. Among the principles of our religion is that of immediate revelation from God; one of the doctrines so revealed is celestial or plural marriage, for which ostensibly we are stigmatized and hated. This is a vital part of our religion, the decisions of courts to the contrary notwithstanding."

It is a circumstance worthy of mention that Mr. Caine, who bore so prominent a part in the adoption and promulgation of the address from which the above extract was made, was also the president of the convention which adopted the proposed state constitution.

Under the proposed constitution no disqualification would follow the commission of those crimes; the right of voting would be fully accorded to the ruling class now disfranchised. No prosecution would ever take place for continuing that crime, by living in unlawful cohabitation and multiplying its fruits to the degradation of posterity. The right of dower created by Congress would be swept away. The Utah policy has ever been to deny that right to the legal wife, and make her right depend upon the testamentary disposition of her husband. The rights of the minority population would be left to the mercy of a majority, who regard them as intruders, and who have always used political power in a clannish spirit. In illustration of their spirit in such matters a statement of their course in the election

of officers for the Deseret University and Territorial Insane Asylum will suffice. The university was incorporated when the Territory was first organized, and although some fifteen officers, chancellors, and regents are elected biennially to manage this educational institution, which receives support from the territorial treasury, not one representative of the minority has ever been elected. For the insane asylum, built by an appropriation from the territorial treasury, a certain number of directors are elected biennially, but the minority have never been accorded a representative, a privilege and a right which is recognized in every other Territory or State. Further, in Salt Lake City, where the minority have a majority in two of the five organized precincts, they are denied any representation in the city council, by reason of an election law which requires all the city officers to be elected on a common ticket.

The Mormon people cannot be called hypocrites. They boldly proclaim their religious belief to all the world. Until that belief shall be changed, if they be true to their creed, polygamy with its kindred evils will be fostered by every means in their power. The leaders of the church will probably do in the future what they have done in the past. They do not recognize the authority of the government to call upon them for any support in its contest with polygamy, but they do recognize the divine command to encourage polygamy. The attitude, purpose, and determination of the church in this respect has been fully developed. In the case of W. W. Taylor, son of John Taylor, who died a few years ago, it was acknowledged after his death that he was a polygamist, and yet he held a responsible office under the city government of Salt Lake City up to the time of his death. Another case was that of Joseph H. Dean; he was elected and served as a member of the city council of Salt Lake. While in office it was learned that he was and had been a polygamist for over three years. The leaders of the church had full knowledge of the fact that these men were disqualified from holding office under the federal law, yet they acquiesced in their unlawful occupancy of public offices. We have learned of similar cases in the more remote counties. The non-polygamist Mormons were also aware that the men referred to were polygamists, and their course has been in harmony with that of their leaders, as it will probably always be. During the period in which the government has been actively engaged in prosecuting offenders, they have unitedly refused to extend any aid, but have denounced the prosecutions as persecution.

For these reasons the commission has been led to fear that the provision in the proposed constitution making polygamy a misdemeanor was not adopted, nor the action taken, with any purpose to suppress polygamy; that it does not indicate an abandonment by the people of Utah in the manner which is demanded by the will of the American people, as expressed in their national law; that the late movement for Statehood was the offspring of necessity, inspired with the hope of escaping from the toils which the firm

attitude of the government and the energetic course of the federal officers had wound around them. Realizing that they could expect no aid nor comfort from the national administration, and actuated by a determination not to recognize the supremacy of national laws where they forbid crimes licensed by their creed, it is not surprising that the majority in Utah should resort to some expedient to get relief from their dilemma. In the light of these facts it is evident that the relief sought for is expected in Statehood, and that this expedient is, in the case of Utah, inspired by more than the usual motives operating in other communities, which are composed of homogeneous American population in accord with the laws and institutions of the country.

The presentation of the proposed application for Statehood will demand the consideration of the question by Congress, whether the course of the dominant majority in Utah, in the use of delegated powers in a territorial condition, has been such as to induce Congress to withdraw certain of these powers until the perpetuated evil should be corrected (which has not been done).

If Utah, as a Territory, has refused to recognize the force and validity of national laws, and decisions of the Supreme Court, can it be reasonably expected as a State it will do so? Can it be reasonably expected that crimes and evils which the government has failed to suppress with its supervision over a territorial government will be suppressed in a State ruled by the majority which now maintains and propagates these crimes and evils as "an essential part of their religion."

It is submitted if it would not be wise to continue a territorial government in which the national government could continue to deal directly with those evils until they should be eradicated, even if it should be necessary, as suggested in former reports of 1884-85, to take all political power from those who have not sufficient allegiance to recognize the validity of national laws and the decisions of courts, and that no harmony in the Union could be maintained with a State ruled by a creed, which claims all governments but its own to be illegal, and claims a "separate political destiny and ultimate temporal dominion and by divine right."

The commission is of the opinion that Utah should not be admitted to the Union until such time as the Mormon people shall manifest by their future acts that they have abandoned polygamy in good faith, and not then until an amendment shall have been made to the constitution of the United States prohibiting the practice of polygamy. We append to this report resolutions adopted by the Presbyterian and Methodist Churches of Utah.

POLYGAMOUS MARRIAGES.

The names of sixty-seven men have been reported to the commission who have entered into polygamy during the year ending June, 1887. This information has been requested of all registrars. The number given has been reported by non-Mormon registrars, there being no instance in which a name has been reported by a Mormon registrar. The law imposes upon the

commission the duty of appointing proper persons to perform the important duty of registering voters, and it has been the uniform policy of the commission in filling these offices to select men, whenever they could be found, who were in open and avowed sympathy with the law under which they were acting. The necessity for this is apparent. The registration officers are charged with the duty of excluding from the lists of voters at the annual registration in May and June, and the annual registration in September, the names of such persons as have entered into polygamy. Under the Utah law the registry list continues from year to year, only a revision is made by the registrar; therefore, unless he is disposed to give full force and effect to the provision of the law which disfranchises polygamists, this vital principle of the law may be utterly disregarded.

LEGISLATIVE APPORTIONMENT.

Under the act of March 3, 1887, the governor, Utah commission, and the secretary of the Territory, were appointed a board to reapportion the Territory for legislative representation. The board met and organized, and after careful consideration, reapportioned the Territory into twenty-four representative and twelve council districts, and under which the present legislative assembly was elected.

RECOMMENDATIONS.

The commission was first organized in the summer of 1882. Its first duty was to adjust the local laws to the act of Congress, and to provide the necessary rules and regulations for conducting the registration and the election. Under its supervision a new registration was made in 1882, and again in 1887, under the Edmunds-Tucker Act. Annual revisions were also made in 1883, 1884, 1885, and 1886. No person living in the practice of polygamy was allowed to register or to vote, and we believe that in this respect the purpose of the law has been thoroughly and effectually accomplished. The total registration in 1882 was 33,266; in 1883, 37,062; in 1884, 41,858; in 1885, 43,646; in 1886, 45,375. The registration of 1887, under the operation of the test oath, was 20,790. The elimination of the female vote will largely account for the difference, and there was a considerable percentage of voters who refused to take the oath prescribed by the act. Of these the larger proportion were probably non-Mormons.

The commission in its previous reports, made since 1882, has made the following recommendations, which, in its opinion, were needed to give force and effect to the provisions of the law under which it was created:—

- (1) The enactment of a marriage law.
- (2) Making the first or legal wife a competent witness in prosecutions for polygamy.
- (3) Restoring to the first or legal wife the right of dower as at common law, or other interests in the real estate, as provided in the statutes of many of the States.
- (4) That provision be made for a fund, to be furnished by the department of justice to the proper legal authorities in the Territory.

(5) The conferring upon the United States commissioners concurrent jurisdiction with the justices of the peace in civil and criminal matters.

(6) The appointment of the territorial auditor, treasurer, commissioners to locate university lands, of the probate judges, county clerks, county selectmen, county assessors and collectors, and county superintendent of district schools, by the governor of the Territory, subject to confirmation by the commission.

(7) Authorizing the selection of jurors by *open venire*, especially in cases prosecuted by the United States.

(8) Giving to the district courts jurisdiction of all cases of polygamy wherever in the Territory the crime may have been committed.

(9) That the territorial courts in United States cases be invested with a power coextensive with that possessed by the United States circuit and district courts in the States in the matter of contempt and punishment thereof.

(10) That prosecutions for polygamy be exempted from the operation of the general limitation laws.

(11) Authorizing the process of subpoena in all cases prosecuted by the United States to run from the territorial courts into any other district of the United States.

(12) That provision be made for binding over witnesses on the part of the government in all United States cases to appear and testify at the trial.

(13) That when a continuance is granted upon motion of the defendant, provision should be made for taking deposition of witnesses on the part of the government, the defendant to be confronted with the witness and to cross-examine. The deposition to be used in case of death, absence from Territory, or of the concealment of witness so as to elude process of subpoena.

(14) That it be made a penal offense for any woman to enter into the marriage relation with a man, knowing him to have a wife living and undivorced. This should be coupled with a provision that in cases where the polygamous wife is called as a witness in any prosecution for polygamy against her husband, her testimony could not be used in any future prosecution against her, with a like provision as to the husband.

(15) That the term of imprisonment for unlawful cohabitation fixed by section 2 of the act of 1882 be extended to at least two years for the first and three years for the second offense.

(16) That all persons be excluded by law from making a location or settlement upon any part of the lands of the United States who shall refuse on demand to take and subscribe an oath, before the proper officer of the land office in which his or her application is made, that he (if a man) does not cohabit with more than one woman in the marriage relation, and that he will obey and support the laws of the United States in relation to bigamy or polygamy, or (if a woman) that she does not cohabit with a man having more than one living and undivorced wife, and that she will obey and support the laws of the United States in relation to bigamy and polygamy.

(17) That the laws with reference to the immigration of Chinese and the importation of contract laborers, paupers, and criminals be so amended as to prevent the immigration of persons claiming that their religion teaches and justifies the crime of polygamy, as this would cut off the chief source of supply to the Mormon Church.

(18) A suggestion in favor of a constitutional amendment prohibiting polygamy.

Of these recommendations the 1, 2, 3, 5, and 12 have received the approval of Congress and are now part of the statute law.

We again respectfully recommend to the attention of Congress all of the above recommendations which have not yet received its approval.

The commission recommends, as a measure of great importance, the passage of a law conferring upon the governor of the Territory the authority to appoint the following county officers: Selectmen, clerks, assessors, recorders, and superintendents of district schools. This will place the control of county affairs, including the assessment of property (but not the collection of revenue), and the supervision of the public schools, in the hands of persons in sympathy with the efforts of the government to extirpate polygamy. It will also strengthen the element in the different counties which is disposed to assist the federal officers in their efforts to enforce and execute the laws. We also recommend the passage of an act creating a board to consist of the governor, Utah commission, and territorial secretary to apportion Salt Lake City into aldermanic and council districts. Under the present law these officers are elected on a common ticket, thus denying the principle of precinct or ward representation which obtains in other towns and cities.

The non-Mormon citizens of the Territory, acting through their political organizations, Democratic, Republican, and Liberal, have repeatedly given expression to the opinion that the solution of the Mormon problem will be speedily and effectually accomplished by creating a legislative commission to be appointed by the President, and to be confirmed by the Senate. In support of their position they urge the following reasons:—

1. That a republican form of government has no existence in Utah, the church being supreme over all.
2. That until the political power of the Mormon Church is destroyed, the majority will not yield a full obedience to the laws, and only by providing a new code of laws can they be compelled to do so.
3. That common prudence suggests there should be no delay in taking from the Mormon Church the power to control in political matters.
4. That this object can best be accomplished by providing an agency which is in accord with the purposes and will of the national government.
5. That the legislative assembly of the Territory has always been the creature of the church, and during its thirty-six years of existence has made a record which is impressive by its silence with respect to the passage of such laws as the government had the right to expect.
6. That such an agency would relieve Congress from the consideration of the affairs of Utah.
7. That Congress having the right to legislate directly for the Territories, which right has been affirmed by the Supreme Court, ought, in consideration of the extraordinary condition of affairs in the Territory, follow the precedents established in the case of Louisiana and Florida, and grant a commission.

8. That such action will result in bringing Utah into harmony with the other States and Territories of the Union.

In conclusion, we respectfully submit that, in our opinion, the results which have followed from the passage of the Edmunds Act have been very beneficial to the Territory. It has provided a fair, honest, and orderly system of elections, and it is universally conceded by Mormon and non-Mormon that there has been no charge nor even rumor of fraud in connection with the registration of voters and the conduct of elections since the commission first commenced its work.

Very respectfully,

G. L. GODFREY,
A. B. WILLIAMS,
ARTHUR L. THOMAS.

HON. L. Q. C. LAMAR,
Secretary of the Interior,
Washington, D. C.

ST. LOUIS, MO.

Commissioners Carlton and McClernand, dissenting from some of the views expressed above, do not sign this report.

AMERICAN OPINIONS ON INTERNATIONAL COPYRIGHT.

AN OPEN LETTER TO READERS OF BOOKS.

THE AMERICAN COPYRIGHT LEAGUE, which includes among its members the authors of America, asks from all citizens who desire the development of American literature and regard the good name of the American people their personal and active aid in securing international copyright.

The United States is at present the only nation, itself possessing a literature of importance and making a large use of the literature of the world, which has done nothing to recognize and protect by law the rights, international as well as national, of authors of whose production it enjoys the benefit. In declining to assure compensation to foreign authors whose books are read here, it has debarred itself from claiming for its own authors recognition and protection abroad, and it has placed them at a disadvantage at home suffered by no other American craftsmen.

International copyright is needful : —

1. To raise our own country to the standard of national morality and of international fair play maintained by all other civilized nations, now united in the International Copyright Union.

2. For the wholesome development of our national literature, now hampered by the fact that those who must earn their living by their pen cannot devote themselves to producing books if their products must compete with books on which no payment is made to the producer.

3. In justice to American authors, who ask for their products no government "bounty" and no "protection" in the sense of the privilege of taxing the products of foreign writers, but only a fair field for their own in this country and abroad, and a fair chance to make authorship in America a self-supporting profession, instead of a by-calling at the end of a day's toil in other fields.

4. In justice to foreign authors, who are entitled to receive from Americans who read and benefit by their books the same fair payment an American would expect to make on any other article, as clothes or pictures, which he buys from foreign producers.

5. In order to widen the circulation of the best new literature, American and international, by the lessening of price which would ensue, in the case of original American books, from distributing the first cost among the greater number of copies for which sale would be secured among American readers if they were not diverted by the cheap reprints of poor English novels and in the case of books of international importance, whether from American, English, or continental writers, by giving a basis of law to business arrangements for sharing the expense of production among the several nations interested.

We have been told that the American people will not grant this justice lest it might prevent "cheap books." We believe, on the contrary, that the American people are willing to pay for what they get, and will agree that "there is one thing better than a cheap book, and that is a book honestly come by." But the example of France and Germany, countries whose literature is fully protected by international copyright, and whose books are the cheapest in the world, shows that the price of books depends not upon the copyright, but upon the nature of the public demand. American readers want cheap books adapted to their special requirements. This demand will be met. Authors and publishers will profit by wider sales, though at smaller prices for the individual book. Any increase of price because of international copyright will be almost exclusively in the cheapest issues of foreign fiction, un-American and in many cases undesirable for American readers, while no copyright law can in any degree affect the prices of past or future editions of books already published. Translations of Zola's future novels may cost fifty cents instead of twenty-five cents, but as an offset for this misfortune, more American fiction will be sold, and cheap reprints of ephemeral English fiction will make way for decently printed editions, at a fair price, of American and the better class of new English novels.

We submit also that the term "monopoly," as used against copyright, is wrongly used. A monopoly, in the current sense of the word, is the setting apart by law of certain natural products or facilities, or of certain property of the commonwealth, which, in the absence of such a law, would be open to all. This does not apply to an author's control of his productions any more than to a shoemaker's control of the pair of shoes which he makes. The man who earns his living by his brain asks only the same fair play that is given to the man who earns his living by his hands. A domestic copyright to the writer of a history of the United States, or an international copyright to the writer of a history of England, debars no other author from writing a history of either country; it does not grant a "monopoly." The author asks only payment for the service he has done, and not for any restriction of the work of others; in fact, one reason for paying him is that it encourages others to write.

Every American citizen has a practical interest in this reform. We desire to impress upon Congress the fact that the public opinion of intelligent readers is in its favor. We ask each reader to do his part, either by joining the league, which welcomes readers as well as writers of books, or by signifying to its secretary his willingness to sign the memorial for international copyright, or still better by writing at once to his senators and representatives in Congress, urging them to vote for such a measure. The league appeals to the honor, the patriotism, and the business common-sense of American readers in behalf of international copyright, and it believes that such an appeal will not be heard in vain by the American people.

JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL, *President.*

E. C. STEDMAN, *Vice-President.*

G. W. GREEN, *Secretary,*
American Copyright League (11 Pine Street, New York).

. . . Whatever is just is for the benefit of all ; and I wish we could have a law providing, between England and America, that "a copyright taken out in either country shall be equally valid in both." — HENRY W. LONGFELLOW, from a letter (October 8, 1878) to Mr. William Dulles, Jr., Philadelphia, Pa., printed in "*The Century*" for March, 1888.

Can literary property be protected against theft and piracy? If so, it needs no argument to show that it should be ; and if it be not done, the law-making power is in fault. Only by an impossibility can the law-making power be absolved from its obligation. — MARK HOPKINS, *Williams College*, in letter to "*The Century*."

An international copyright law commends itself to every man who is honest enough to keep his hands out of his neighbor's pocket. — JOHN G. WHITTIER.

Several well-known English publishing firms have treated me honorably in the matter of royalty. One of them complained that after so doing the story in question was pirated into two British magazines, — one of them, I think, in Scotland, — and run as a serial, to the injury of the sales of the book. From France, from Holland, from Italy, from Germany, where my books have been translated for fifteen years, I have never received one dollar. Let me say to the credit of one German publisher who negotiated on a business basis with the author, that his righteous effort was defeated by the competition of a less conscientious fellow-countryman before we could sign our contract. In many cases I do not even receive a copy of the volume of whose translated existence I am told. — ELIZABETH STUART PHELPS.

Slavery compelled a man's labor, but it gave him in return food, shelter, and clothing, such as they were ; literary piracy seizes the fruits of a man's labor, and gives him absolutely nothing in return. There can be no question of the nature of the wrong, and no justification of it. . . . — W. D. HOWELLS, *The Editor's Study*, in "*Harper's Magazine*," October, 1887.

I am perfectly satisfied that, the reading public in America being much larger than in England, and demanding cheap books, the result of a copyright law, if we ever get one, will be to transfer the great bulk of the book trade from England to this country, and with it the publishing of books. That is my firm belief. . . . I myself take the moral view of the question. I believe that this is a simple question of morality and justice. . . . One could live a good deal cheaper, undoubtedly, if he could supply himself from other people without any labor or cost. But at the same time — well, it was not called honest when I was young, and that is all I can say. I cannot help thinking that a book which was, I believe, more read when I was young than it is now, is quite right when it says that "righteousness exalteth a nation." I believe this is a question of righteousness. I do not wish to urge that too far, because that is considered a little too ideal, I believe. But that is my view of it, and if I were asked what book is better than a

cheap book, I should answer that there is one book better than a cheap book, and that is a book honestly come by. . . . — JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL, *Statement before the Senate Committee on Patents, Friday, January 29, 1886.*

The soft-handed sons of toil have tasks more trying than those of the roughest day-laborer, though his palms might shame the hide of a rhinoceros. How complex, how difficult is the work of the brain operative ! He employs the noblest implement which God has given to mortals. He handles the most precious material that is modeled by the art of man : the imperishable embodiment of human thought in language.

Is not the product of the author's industry an addition to the wealth of his country and of civilization as much as if it were a ponderable or a measurable substance ? It cannot be weighed in the grocer's scales, or measured by the shop-keeper's yard-stick. But nothing is so real, nothing so permanent, nothing of human origin so prized. Better lose the Parthenon than the Iliad ; better level St. Peter's than blot out the Divina Commedia ; better blow up Saint Paul's than strike Paradise Lost from the treasures of the English language.

How much a great work costs ! What fortunate strains of blood have gone to the formation of that delicate yet potent brain-tissue ! What happy influences have met for the development of its marvelous capacities ! What travail, what throbbing temples, what tension of every mental fibre, what conflicts, what hopes, what illusions, what disappointments, what triumphs lie recorded between the covers of that volume on the bookseller's counter ! And shall the work which has drained its author's life-blood be the prey of the first vampire that chooses to flap his penny-edition wings over his unprotected and hapless victim ?

This is the wrong we would put an end to. The British author, whose stolen works are in the hands of the vast American reading public, may possibly receive a small pension if he comes to want in his old age. But the bread of even public charity is apt to have a bitter taste, and the slice is at best but a small one. Shall not our English-writing brother have his fair day's wage for his fair day's work in furnishing us with instruction and entertainment ?

As to the poor American author, no pension will ever keep him from dying in the poor-house. His books may be on every stall in Europe, in their own or in foreign tongues, but his only compensation is the free-will offering of some liberal-minded publisher.

This should not be so. We all know it, and some among us have felt it, and still feel it as a great wrong. I think especially of those who are in the flower of their productive period, and those who are just coming into their time of inflorescence. To us who are too far advanced to profit by any provision for justice likely to be made in our day, it would still be a great satisfaction to know that the writers who come after us will be fairly treated, and that genius will no longer be an outlaw as soon as it crosses the Atlantic. — OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES, *Letter to Secretary of American Copyright League, April 27, 1885.*

HELPS AND HINDRANCES IN THE SUPPRESSION OF VICE.

THE New York Society for the Suppression of Vice was chartered by the legislature of the State of New York in May, 1873. Its object is to enforce the law against those evils which especially assail public morals, particularly the moral purity of the youth of the community. This organization, since its inception, has been supported by voluntary contributions. It held its fourteenth annual public meeting on the 17th of January last, in Association Hall, New York city, at which Rev. T. DeWitt Talmage, D. D., of Brooklyn and Rev. Charles H. Parkhurst, D. D., of the Madison Avenue Presbyterian Church of New York city delivered most eloquent addresses. The evening was very stormy and the walking bad. The lower part of the large hall, however, was well filled with a most intelligent and enthusiastic audience. The annual report presented at this meeting discloses something of the world-wide influences exerted to-day by the organization.

During the past year the society has been in communication with allied organizations in our own land, as well as with friends of moral purity in foreign lands. The effect of its example, particularly in its uncompromising warfare upon obscene publications, seems to be felt even in heathen lands. From Bombay and Alahabad, appeals have come for help and advice in checking similar evils in India.

Australia has turned upon obscene and lewd books and publications sent there from America, and these instrumentalities of incalculable mischief have been seized and destroyed.

France, during the past year, has arisen against the devil's spawn of some of her modern writers, and their publications have been suppressed in the interest of good morals.

In Switzerland, a man was prosecuted for selling obscene

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matter and sentenced to severe penalties, as well as the loss of his citizenship and his property. He fled to this country, bringing part of his money, and placed it in one of the banks in New York city. Suit was brought in the courts to recover for the Swiss government this ill-gotten gain, and it was attached.

From Berthold, Dakota, a missionary of the cross makes an appeal for advice and assistance to check the indecencies sent from New York city there.

The report also dealt most kindly with the efforts of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union in its organization of departments for the suppression of impure literature, and hailed with delight this indication of interest on the part of this noble organization of devoted women.

The practical results secured during the year 1887 may be seen from the synopsis taken from the reports of the different agents employed throughout our land.

Mr. R. W. McAfee, the indefatigable general agent of the western society, which covers many of the western and southern States, with head-quarters at St. Louis, reports as follows: "35 persons arrested; 27 convicted; 25 sentenced to penalties aggregating eight years, five months, and sixteen days imprisonment, and \$3,325 in fines, besides costs of prosecution." He has seized 950 obscene pamphlets, 1,997 obscene photographs, 107 negatives, 15,000 obscene ballads, songs, etc., 38 articles for immoral use, and a large amount of miscellaneous matter of an obscene character.

Mr. Henry Chase, the faithful agent of the New England Society for the Suppression of Vice, at Boston, reports "two men arrested for manufacturing obscene photographs, both of whom were convicted and sentenced, and from whom he seized two hundred and seventy negatives for printing obscene pictures." He further reports the closing of a number of houses of ill-fame and gambling establishments, and the conviction of their inmates, in the city of Boston; also the securing of the passage of a law by the legislature of Massachusetts empowering the police to seize gambling materials wherever found and to arrest all persons present, even though no gambling was in progress.

Mr. C. R. Bennett of San Francisco, the efficient agent of the Californian Society for the Suppression of Vice, reports "32 arrests; 26 convictions, with penalties aggregating seventeen years, nine months imprisonment, and \$700 in fines;" also the seizure of 244 obscene pictures, 34 obscene figures, 108 obscene songs, 28 articles for immoral use, 509 lottery tickets, and a long list of names of persons found in the possession of dealers, and to whom they had sent unlawful advertisements and wares.

In the January number of *OUR DAY* we gave a partial synopsis of the work of the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice for the year 1887. We now give a more complete record as taken from their last report presented at the annual meeting. In 1887 there were 91 arrests; 118 convictions, with penalties aggregating 88 years. Fines amounting to \$6,106 have been imposed. *These 118 convictions were secured out of 121 cases brought to trial*, some of them being cases that remained untried from former years. The three who escaped were employees where the principals had been convicted and punished, and they escaped simply from being employees. The society reports also the seizure of 100 pounds of obscene books, 2,908 negatives for manufacturing obscene photographs, 19,991 obscene photographs, 25,612 obscene circulars, catalogues, etc., 6,000 newspapers containing unlawful advertisements, and 1,404 obscene figures.

There was reported an aggregate of arrests, since the beginning of the work of the society, of 1,238 persons, and a seizure of 11 tons of gambling material and paraphernalia, and 36½ tons of obscene matter, which has been destroyed.

The expenses of the Society for the Suppression of Vice in securing this large number of arrests and convictions during the past year were less than \$8,500. Can any other organization, or police department, or sheriff's office, show a like amount of good accomplished for the very small expense involved?

"Who steals my purse steals trash; . . .
But he that filches from me my good name
Robs me of that which not enriches him
And makes me poor indeed."

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Following in the wake of the annual meeting of the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice, an attack was made upon the agents of that society in an article written by the Rev. Dr. C. A. Bartol, in the "Forum" for February. The following extracts were published in the "Evening Post" of January 28, 1888. We print them in full, in order that the public may see exactly what serious mistakes a good man may make, when he attempts to discuss a subject that he knows nothing about, and because they illustrate a favorite system of unmanly and uncharitable assault upon our efforts to protect the morals of the young.

"Take a case of immediate urgency now. There is among us a legal agency, appointed with a large salary, supported and empowered for the praiseworthy purpose of hindering or visiting with condign penalty the circulation of obscene pictures and books. One of the methods, perhaps the chief one, employed to this end, and which court and Congress connive at or shut their eyes to, is the agent's hypocritical ordering, under an assumed name, of a print or volume which he pretends to want, with no object but the obtaining of evidence against the publisher or shop. The officer plays the part of a decoy-duck to bring the shy and secretive offenders within the reach of his law-loaded gun. But for what recompense could one consent to be an informant in ambush, on terms recognized in no Hebrew, Christian, or accepted pagan code? Something of his manhood is always sold by the spy. Part of his remuneration, if it be not blood-money, is a bribe for his sly adventure and a sop to his shame."

The good doctor has forgotten that charity which he no doubt has often preached about, and which "thinketh no evil," and has wrought himself up into a fury upon an entirely imaginary state of things.

In dealing with this attack we have nothing to say against Rev. Dr. Bartol as a doctor of divinity, or as an individual. His method of attack, however, is a fair subject of criticism. He is to be credited with being the first minister of the gospel who has adopted the methods of "The National Defence Association." This is an organization born of the repeal element of "The National Liberal League," now called "The American Secular Union." Its avowed object is to overthrow the agen-

cies employed to enforce the laws against obscene publications, and secure a repeal of all laws to suppress obscenity. This organization is composed of some of the worst elements in society, to wit: "professional abortionists," "ex-convicts," "free-lovers," "infidels," and those who make a special effort, by tongue and pen, to blaspheme the name of God and ridicule sacred things.

Their plan of attack upon us, for years, has been to take a fact, and by distortion make a wrong appear where no wrong exists. It is this process of stabbing in the back that may justly be called moral assassination.

The learned doctor, in his article, says: "The government of the United States has an agency, appointed with a large salary," etc.

This statement is not true. This covert assault is designed for me. Although an inspector of the Post Office Department of the United States, charged, since March, 1873, with the enforcement of the laws prohibiting the transmission by mail of obscene matters, I have filled that office and discharged its duties faithfully without receiving a single dollar's compensation from the government.

The necessity for the agency lies in the fact that there is an organized business, extensively and systematically carried on, of sending obscene publications and articles of immoral use through the mails. Venders of these vile things collect the names and addresses of youth and children, and then, unknown to parent or teacher, send secretly by mail, to those whose names they thus collect, these debauching matters.

Some of these miscreants obtain the catalogues of schools, colleges, and seminaries for the sake of securing the students' names; others send out circulars and letters offering "five cents per name," or a watch, or some other prize, to those who will furnish them the post-office addresses of youth under twenty-one years of age. Our last annual report shows more than 982,200 names and addresses seized by this society, and found in possession of persons arrested by our agency.

Something of the necessity for the vigorous enforcement of the law against the curse of obscenity may be found in the fact,

that it exists to such an appalling extent that already thirty-six tons weight have been seized and destroyed.

Dr. Bartol would have it appear that the officer who enforces the law is a spy and informer, and guilty of a heinous offense.

By the side of this atrocious sentiment, born of ignorance and written with a recklessness which is not even becoming to one of our infidel opponents, who "feareth not God, nor regardeth man," we place the simple story of just what is done.

Innocent parties are not interfered with. It is only the cases of those of whom there is reason to believe that they are violating the law that we investigate.

For instance, a parent brings us a circular that has been sent to his daughter at school, offering obscene books for sale. He is greatly incensed and highly indignant, and demands first of all that his child's name shall not be known. The officer's duty is to secure the evidence against the "shy and secretive offender," and bring him to justice. How is this to be done?

The printed circular contains the names of certain obscene books, and the price of each, together with the announcement that the party sending out the circular has them for sale. He also invites those to whom the circular is sent to purchase of him, and is careful to direct how they are to send the money, and promises to send any book on his list upon receipt of price.

The officer accepts this public invitation of this "shy and secretive" villain who thus seeks to find a customer, from among the youth, for matters that he knows will curse them morally, physically, and spiritually, and sends the price for the book named in the circular.

The "shy and secretive" vender of obscenity is not asked to send it by mail, is not obliged to send anything obscene or immoral, and is not asked to send anything which he does not himself say he has for sale. The officer orders from the circular.

Such a letter sent by an officer is in no sense a "decoy" letter, nor is such an officer a "decoy-duck." On the contrary, such a reply is a *test* and not a "decoy" letter. The officer having received "probable cause to believe a crime is being

committed," it is his duty to *test* and see if the statements made in the circular are true or not. How can he do it in any other manner as well as by following the directions given by the miscreant who thus seeks to "decoy" or allure the youth from paths of virtue.

Is not the circular the true "decoy?" Is not the vender of obscenity a "decoy-devil?" Is it not unfortunate for Rev. Dr. Bartol that he has not discovered either of these decoys? He has not a word of condemnation against them.

The letter of the officer is the simple common-sense method of ascertaining a fact. The circular may be a fraud. The "shy and secretive" creature sending it out may be a swindler, who pretends to sell obscene books, obtains money with orders for matters he advertises, and then makes no returns. The officer cannot know this without *testing* it. It is his sworn duty to test every case in which he has reason to believe a crime of this sort is being committed. Wherein does such an act violate any Hebrew, Christian, or accepted pagan code?

An unanswerable argument may be found in the following:

1. This method is effectual.
2. It protects the good name of the child, school, and the child's family from public scandal.
3. It would be a cruel and monstrous thing to drag an innocent girl before a court, and couple her name with the receiving of obscene matters, or have her name which appears upon the envelope or wrapper in which the obscene matter was sent to her set out in the indictment for all time to come, and left there for heartless gossips to discuss, charging her with being a girl that had infamous matter sent to her when away at school.

This libel upon our methods has been a bug-bear before the mind of many an honest man. It is time that the truth be known. If a mad dog is found upon the public street biting children, what would be said of a man who refused to shoot him on the spot, because this might hurt him unless he was chloroformed? The thing to do is to kill the brute, and not stand upon the method until the deed is done. So, while the danger of our youth being corrupted by obscene matters exists, professing Christian men have no time to split hairs over the officer

who tests, by a common-sense method, the "decoy" of one of these "cancer planters."

Apply this doctor of divinity's method of attack upon us to other vocations in life and then see where he stands.

A surgeon has performed a skillful operation, and by amputating a boy's hand has saved his life. If the methods employed by Dr. Bartol are to prevail, this surgeon would be described as "A cruel monster who took a knife and cut a little boy's hand off."

A nurse builds a fire in the stove in a sick room, while the invalid is asleep, to temper the room for the invalid's comfort. The account would read: "An unprecedented instance of heartlessness occurred in this community the other day. A man entered the room where a sick person was asleep and stealthily built a fire in the middle of the room, and then left the room without awakening the invalid.

A physician administers some poisonous drug in a proper prescription for his patient. Such a man would be branded as a "murderer for secretly administering poison to another."

The officer of the law who, in the discharge of his sworn duty, accepts the invitation sent out in the printed circular of the man who advertises obscene books for sale, and sends the price named in this circular for one of the books, thus testing the truth of the circular, and securing the evidence to prove the offense (if indeed an offense is committed), Dr. B. describes as follows: "The officer plays the part of a decoy-duck to bring the shy and secretive offender for his prey within the reach of his law-loaded gun."

Then with a charity unknown to Hebrew, Christian, or pagan standards, he says of that faithful officer: "But for what recompense could one consent to be an informant in ambush, on terms recognized in no Hebrew, Christian or accepted pagan code? Something of his manhood is always sold by the spy. Part of his remuneration, if it be not blood-money, is a bribe for his sly adventure and a sop to his shame."

Shall the beloved children of our own land be protected by a method that is in every sense legitimate and consonant with good morals, from a leprosy that is pursuing them through the

secret avenues of the mails of the United States at the instigation of some of the foulest creatures that ever walked the earth?

Shall such distortions as appear in the foregoing criticism be permitted to prevail in the minds of intelligent men and women, so as to prejudice them against the indispensable work of the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice?

To decoy a person is to allure him to do a thing which otherwise he would not do, and a decoy letter is one offering inducements to another to send what otherwise he would not send.

Decoy letters, in the sense above indicated, are never used by us. *For an officer, to induce an innocent man to commit a crime is abhorrent to every sense of right and justice, and has never been done by the writer.*

If a sportsman finds a flock of ducks close to him in a pond, he has no use for a "decoy-duck." He simply shoots and bags his game. So an officer, with the printed announcement that a "shy and secretive" monster is selling indictable books, has but to test the statements of the advertiser. He has no use for a lure or decoy.

ANTHONY COMSTOCK.

New York, March, 1888.

BOSTON HYMN.

A DOXOLOGY.

SUNG AT TREMONT TEMPLE AT THE 195TH BOSTON MONDAY
LECTURE, FEBRUARY 13, 1888.

Thine is the Kingdom and the Power and the Glory.
OUR LORD'S PRAYER.

THE nations have their little day,
To rise, to flourish and decay ;
But from the eternal arches springs
Thy Kingdom, O Thou King of kings.

Beyond the strength of time or foe,
Thy ceaseless ages ebb and flow ;
We yield our swift, uncertain breath ;
Thine is the Power to vanquish death.

No throne its transient head uprears,
No planet swings amid the spheres,
But shall proclaim, in rise or fall,
Thine is the Glory, Lord of all.

Grant us Thy grace that evermore
Our little wills Thy will adore ;
One Kingdom, Power, and Glory boast
Through Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

Amen.

LOUISE MANNING HODGKINS.

Wellesley College, February 1, 1888.

BOSTON MONDAY LECTURES.

THIRTEENTH YEAR. SEASON OF 1888.

PRELUDE II.

UTAH AT THE DOORS OF CONGRESS.

THE usual great audience was present at Tremont Temple, at noon, February 13, at Mr. Cook's 196th Boston Monday Lecture. The Rev. Dr. A. H. Plumb presided, and the Rev. Dr. L. B. Bates offered prayer. The Boston hymn sung by the audience, and entitled, "A Doxology," was prepared for the occasion by Miss Louise M. Hodgkins, Professor of Literature in Wellesley College.

EXTENT OF THE MORMON CANCER.

Slavery is dead, but polygamy, the twin relic of barbarism, has now a preponderating political influence in a territory larger than New England and all the Middle States. Utah is only 300 miles wide by 325 long, and so is not quite as large as New York and Pennsylvania taken together, but in the adjoining States and Territories, as well as in Utah, Mormon conspiracies are a great sectional and so a national peril. In Idaho, Wyoming, New Mexico, Nevada, and Colorado Mormons are secretly so active in politics, and have so much wealth behind them, gathered from the tithing funds, and are so thoroughly massed by the priesthood, that the lobby representing the Mormons in Washington has dangerously large influence there, not merely because of its wealth, but because of the great constituency which it directly or indirectly represents. It is said the Mormons control the succession in the line of senators from Colorado. A little while ago it was thought they had a similar power in Idaho.

How far need the Utah cancer spread to awaken general indignation and alarm? The Mormon spider sits in the Basin States and throws out his web over national politics, and the

people as a whole make no effective protest. He throws out his web over ignorant peasants in Sweden, Norway, France, Belgium, and England itself, and sometimes Scotland and Ireland, and you are quiet. Will you remain indifferent when Utah, which is really a Blue-beard's chamber, full of dead women's bones, and all uncleanness, asks for admission to the Union on terms of entire equality with any other State? Will you make Utah a State with the political power of her polygamous priesthood unbroken? In one hand the American Blue-beard holds out a promise of self-reformation on condition of his being allowed self-rule; but with the other hand he holds bloody weapons of enduring disloyalty, and guards the locked door of his chamber of horrors.

CONSPIRACIES TO MAKE UTAH A MORMON STATE.

What is likely to push Utah into the Union? Political ambition, chicanery, immense wealth in the Mormon lobby, a combination of circumstances just now very threatening. You think there is no danger. A presidential election is certainly drawing near. Three other Territories besides Utah are applying for admission, Dakota, Montana, and Washington. Except Montana, these Territories are likely to add to the strength of the Republican party. The Democratic party controls the House. You know how strong that party is in the Senate at Washington. Dakota is likely to be divided into two States, both of them Republican. As Mr. Blaine says in his last public letter, the margin by which the Republicans, in 1884, lost national control was almost phenomenally narrow. Do you believe that the temptation to introduce Utah to offset the strength the new Territories, if admitted, will give to the Republican party, will not powerfully affect the Democratic party? Do you believe you can postpone this question until after the next presidential election? The common opinion now is that you can. But even if you can, will it be possible to postpone it another quadrennial? Dakota must come in. She has three times the population of Utah. She will come in as a reinforcement of the Republican party. Washington is anxious to obtain the admission she deserves. This question as to the

admission of Utah will haunt you through two, or possibly three, presidential elections. It is time, therefore, that apathetic provincial citizens should begin to study the far West, for if Utah can govern one of the great historic parties far enough to secure admission to the Union, she begins to govern you. This immense cancer is throwing its roots deep into national politics. The American people have the reputation of possessing sagacity enough to awake to their duties at the fifty-ninth minute of the eleventh hour, but as we did not rouse ourselves until then in the conflict with slavery, so possibly we may not in the conflict with this twin relic of barbarism.

I have a profound conviction that the danger of the admission of Utah to the Union by some political trick is immensely underrated north and south, east and west, and, indeed, everywhere except by the beleaguered patriots of Utah themselves, who are protesting almost with one voice against the schemes of the Mormon party to bring a Mormon State into the republic.

MERITS OF THE NON-MORMON POPULATION OF UTAH.

Utah, as every one knows, or should know, has only two valuable things in it, watered land and mines. The Mormons have the irrigable lands, and the non-Mormons, having been unable to obtain land that could be watered, have seized upon the mines. The non-Mormons own about twenty-five per cent. of all the property of the territory; the Mormons, sixty per cent.; and the railroads the rest. In Utah there are now about 200,000 people, and the Mormons make up 132,000 of this number. They have 162,000, however, in the larger region embracing the States and Territories bordering on Utah, and over which they exert a great political influence. It should be remembered that the non-Mormon population of Utah is constantly accused of being intruders, plotters against the prosperity of the Mormon population. But what have these non-Mormons in Utah done? I maintain that the chief prosperity of Utah comes from its non-Mormon population. The non-Mormons have opened the mines. Take, as a single example, a specimen from which the whole complex case may be understood, the town of Alta, in the great gorge which opens about

fifteen miles from Salt Lake City. You enter that enormous cañon and find granite cliffs rising 4,000 feet on each side. Silver is found in veins far up toward the clouds, and the snows are extremely deep nine months of the year. In this town, for example, half the year the inhabitants are obliged to visit each other in tunnels cut under the drifts. A snow slide occurs; the cabins are swept to destruction; the whole town of Alta has been devastated again and again as if by a cyclone by the sliding snow. It requires courage, sagacity, perseverance to make mining a profitable trade in circumstances like these. And yet you know that from this town and the little Cottonwood district to which it belongs — the name is famous in commercial circles — immense wealth has been poured out of the hills. To whom? Very largely to the Mormons who have supplied food to the camps. It is supposed that in all the mines of Utah, up to the present time, about \$100,000,000 have been dug out of the earth. Half of this has gone to the Mormons themselves for food and labor. Before the miners came to Utah, many a Mormon family did not have ten dollars in ready money from year's end to year's end. The prosperity of Salt Lake City has come very largely from the non-Mormon merchants.

These sagacious men of business, these brave miners, these engineers who have carried the railways across the continent, these teachers of sound learning, these loyal editors, politicians, and judges, these preachers of an undefiled Christianity, these Gentiles, living now under the curses of the predominant party in Utah, will have no ground left to stand on, if you admit Utah as a Mormon State under Mormon control. They will be legislated out of the Territory, with their churches, their schools, and their hard earnings, under the domination of the priestly party, which may very well retain control, even if polygamy is abolished.

POLITICAL DISLOYALTY OF THE MORMON PRIESTHOOD.

The Mormon polity gives such political power to the priesthood that you might admit Utah without polygamy and yet find it a rebel State, because Utah under Mormon control would mean the church in domination over the Mormon population, a

church voting as a unit at the dictate of the priesthood, and a church caring little for the rights of the Gentile population. This is the unanimous opinion of the non-Mormon people of Utah. They called to you from this platform, through the voice of Professor Benner, last Monday, for protection. They are in peril, I suppose, not merely in regard to property, but in regard to life itself, in case Utah comes under exclusively Mormon control. There is a secret high tribunal of Mormons for each of the general Mormon divisions of the Territory, and it is only by watching the conduct of these tribunals that the real mind of Utah can be ascertained in its Mormon population. From these secret high councils proceeded lately an order to the newspapers and the pulpits of the Mormon portion of Utah to favor the adoption of a constitution nominally abolishing polygamy. The conclave which governs Mormons has an income of over half a million annually from tithing. It has the power of life and death. Through a secret system of police, it has again and again exercised its power of taking life.

The number of those who are living in actual polygamy in Utah is only about 15,000, but these are the wealthiest and the ablest men in the Mormon population. Thirty per cent. of the adult Mormon population live in polygamy, or one out of every three and a third. The aristocracy of the harem governs Mormon politics with a rod of iron.

It is not often enough remembered that when President Fillmore gave Brigham Young the position of governor in Utah in 1851, he planted one of the longest roots of mischief in the Territory. President Pierce confirmed the appointment, and Brigham Young continued to be the national representative in Utah up to 1857. During these six years in which he acted by federal authority, he made such arrangements that the federal courts lost nearly all their powers. Brigham Young provided that probate courts should have concurrent jurisdiction with the district courts in Utah; that is, that the territorial courts should have jurisdiction on the same level with the district courts, representing the nation, and there were later novelties introduced. Up to 1874, when what was called the Poland bill passed, the probate courts blocked the action of the district

courts in every case distasteful to Mormons. Then the Poland bill went through Congress, and in the last stages of discussion upon that measure, it was provided that half the panel in every case should be provided by Mormon authority. Thus up to the time of the Edmunds bill, in 1882, this root of mischief, planted when Brigham Young was governor, filled the whole soil, even that portion of it which the federal courts should have occupied. That evil growth is not entirely uprooted yet. When joined with the secret and public tribunals I have already named, it resists successfully the power of Congress. Mormonism is grasping the Basin States as vigorously as ever any pine-tree rocked in a hurricane grasped its support on the Sierra Nevadas or the Rocky Mountains. The very storms which have beaten upon Utah have thrust the roots of this horrible growth far into the crevices of our laws. I am not sure that military contest will not be the only force adequate to uproot the growth from the very bottom.

OBJECTIONS TO THE ADMISSION OF UTAH.

Why should Utah not be admitted to the Union as a State, under the constitution it has lately adopted? In reply to this question, now of national importance, I beg leave to recite a few reasons, covering the case, as I understand it, after, perhaps, a dozen years' attention to this matter, and two visits to Salt Lake City, and constant correspondence with those who study the problem on the spot.

1. The first reason why the new constitution should not be allowed to shield Utah and bring her into the Union is that it leaves in the hands of the polygamists the execution of the laws against polygamy.

As Senator Dawes says in a reply, in the "Forum," to the attorney of the Mormons, George Ticknor Curtis: "A burglar might as well ask to be tried by a struck jury of burglars, as a band of polygamists to be permitted, by the means here proposed, to erect themselves the tribunals in which, and control the instrumentalities by which, the crime of polygamy is to be punished, if punished at all." Dr. McNiece begins a recent article on the present situation in Utah by requesting his readers

to imagine the horse thieves of a Territory asking to be intrusted with the execution of all laws against horse stealing. This, he very justly says, would be a case precisely parallel with the Mormon request now before the nation.

2. A second reason why Utah should not be admitted on the terms now proposed is that the bigamy and polygamy which are declared to be misdemeanors by the new constitution are not understood by the Mormons as equivalents of what they call patriarchal, plural, or celestial marriages.

In a document recently sent out by the Republican and Democratic territorial committees of Utah, these representatives of opposite parties unite in a protest against the admission of Utah under the proposed constitution. One of the very strongest points they make is that bigamy and polygamy are not intended in our sense of the words by those phrases in the new constitution.

"If bigamy and polygamy are really intended to include plural, patriarchal, or celestial marriage, and the declaration of that section to voice the sentiment of the people, as being opposed to all forms and kinds of marriage, except the monogamous relation, naturally one would expect to find in the instrument a condemnation of acts which are universally decried as licentious, and inconsistent with the good order of the State. We find no such condemnation, but on the contrary we do find the emphatic announcement that no interference with the rights of conscience shall be permitted."

What rights of conscience are referred to is left for Mormon construction. It is very well understood that the Mormons punish bigamy and polygamy exercised outside their own church. They have laws at the present moment making these acts crimes, unless justified by the church. But when justified by the church they are no crimes at all; they are plural, patriarchal, celestial marriages. This is supposed to be one of the tricks belonging to the phraseology of the new constitution.

3. It is a most serious objection to the new constitution that it makes such provisions for courts and juries that the church can easily rule the State.

We read in this singular document that "the judicial power is to be vested in a supreme circuit, and such *inferior* courts as

shall be established by law ;" that "the right of trial by jury still remains inviolate, except that in the *inferior* courts a *number less than twelve* may constitute a jury ;" that "the legislature may confer limited *common law* and chancery jurisdiction on *inferior* courts." The non-Mormon population, watching the discussion close at hand in Salt Lake City, interpret these provisions of the new constitution as putting the church in the seat of power over the judicial branch of the government. The joint committee of the two great parties says : —

"Here we have the authority for the erection by the legislature of special tribunals, which may sit with juries of less than twelve. The judges thereof will be creatures of the legislatures, and dependent on it for their tenures and emoluments. Such tribunals, without constitutional restraint, might be made terrible engines of oppression, should the ecclesiastical power deem it necessary to prevent all hostile criticism of its creed or acts. It is idle to assume that in Utah the church will not dominate the State. There will be no State, it will be all church."

4. A fourth reason why Utah should not be admitted on the terms now proposed is that the new constitution leaves the political power of the Mormon priesthood unbroken.

Horrible as is the system of polygamy, it is disloyalty which after all is the chief mischief in Utah. I remember how astonished I was when I first heard this assertion from dozens of thoughtful men in Salt Lake City: "Not Mormon polygamy, but Mormon disloyalty is the chief curse of this Territory and the chief peril to the nation." Polygamy is a mischief of unmeasured dimensions, to be sure. No one purposes to white-wash its horrors. But political disloyalty is as much emphasized in secret by the Mormon oaths of allegiance to the priesthood as polygamy. The priesthood hold the people together as a political unit, and teach everywhere, though not often in public, that their followers should be first Mormons, and afterwards, and a long way afterwards, Americans. There is no doubt whatever in the minds of the ablest men in Utah, in the non-Mormon population, so far as my observation goes, that the Mormon priesthood intend to hold their political power intact, even after they come in as a State. Once in, of course the shield

of state rights could be held over their heads; and that sheaf of telegraph wires gathered in Brigham Young's old office would represent the power of twenty-five men, massing the votes of a population of nearly a quarter of a million.

5. A fifth reason against admitting Utah is that the adoption of the new constitution has not been accompanied by such obedience to the present federal laws as to show that the Mormons intend to abolish polygamy. On the contrary, the evident disloyalty of Mormons shows that the new constitution cannot have been adopted in good faith.

6. The non-Mormon population of Utah are a unit against it. They affirm that the admission of Utah under Mormon rule would mean the expulsion from Utah of the non-Mormon population, with their churches and schools, or else civil war.

7. If Utah is admitted under this constitution and then repeals it, Congress has no remedy except military force.

8. The constitution gives Congress no power to make such a compact with a State as the Mormons now wish made with Utah.

If Utah is to be brought in at all she must be brought in on the basis of entire equality with all the other States. In every admission bill passed by Congress within fifty years and more, there has been a definite provision that the State comes in on an equality with every other State. State rights are distinctly defined. Congress will not interfere with them except from military necessity or to secure a republican form of government, no matter what a State does. Utah once admitted, we cannot interfere with its government, any more than we could with slavery under state law before the rebellion began. We did interfere in the latter case, because to do so was a military necessity in protecting the nation. Except in extreme cases Congress of course does not interfere. What can be more unanswerable than this reply which your own Senator Dawes makes to Mr. Curtis?

"When Utah becomes a state, it is only a State law against polygamy which the citizen violates, if any, and the State alone can punish him; and when the State has repealed that law he no longer violates any law. If the State has covenanted with the United States that it will not repeal the law, and then repeals it, the State alone can be

dealt with, for it alone has offended. And if the United States are without power to reach the State, they are without remedy."

Except in case of such an overthrow of the republican form of government as would justify military interference, Congress cannot interfere with the government of Utah as a State. The constitution clothes the United States with no power to make any such compact with a State as the new Mormon constitution proposes.

ADVANCE OF THE AMERICAN FRONTIER.

Here, then, I pause, and ask your sympathy for the miners against the underminers of Utah. Let us remember what Christian schools in Utah have been doing in all the denominations — Baptist, Presbyterian, Methodist, Congregationalist, Episcopalian. You have heard of their glorious work, of young women imperiling their lives, sometimes under Mormon bullets, to carry instruction to benighted homes. There is no greater epic in modern history than the movement of civilization across this continent. The American war on the forests and the marshes, the rock-ribbed hills, the broad prairies, the cold of the north, the heat of the south, will never be appreciated by populations that have no frontier life, but it has been heroic and sublime. The great wave of advancing civilization has reached the Pacific coast. Oregon and California are now connected by railways. You expect the locomotive to expel Mormonism. You expect the Christian schools to expel it. Undoubtedly they will in time. But will these moral and industrial measures, on which you rely for the eradication of Mormonism, be rapid enough in their operation to prevent a great political crisis arising, either in the next presidential election, or in the one after? For one, I think not; and, therefore, in addition to every industrial, educational, and religious remedy for the Mormon mischief, I urge immediate political measures of relief. Let us resolve, as a nation, that any party which admits Utah as a State under the control of Mormonism shall have this crime hung about its neck as a millstone, and be sunk beyond plummet's sounding in an ocean of popular indignation. [Applause.]

LECTURE II.

INSPIRATION AS ATTESTED BY PAUL'S UNDISPUTED EPISTLES.

THE SELF-EVIDENCING POWER OF INSPIRATION.

It is certain that the Bible is the most inspiring book known to history; and, therefore, in some sense it must be the most inspired. If the Bible breathes the spirit of God, it must have received that spirit from God. If it breathes it in a peculiar way, it must have received it in a peculiar way. If it breathes it with unsurpassed fullness, then it must have received it with unsurpassed fullness. It is, however, a matter of universal experience for many ages among devout men that the Bible does breathe the spirit of God, and this in a peculiar manner and with unsurpassed fullness. Therefore it is certain that the Bible received that spirit in a peculiar manner and with unsurpassed fullness. If it can be shown that God is in the Bible as in no other book, then it will be seen that the Bible is in-breathed of God, or inspired as no other book is. My central proposition is that God is in the Bible as in no other book, and the chief proof is that the Bible contains the portraiture of the character of Christ, and that God was in Christ as in no other religious teacher known to man.

There are those who think that unless we can make a map of the continents of the planet Mars, we cannot be sure that the planet shines in the heavens. Here and now I am not endeavoring to map the continents of the great orb of inspiration. My object is to secure in large outline a thoroughly verifiable definition of that Divine superintendency over the books of the Bible which is ascertainable by its results. There is the planet, and although we do not map all its continents, we know that the orb occupies the dome of heaven. The general definition of inspiration which I put forward merely as a provisional, preliminary one, *such a Divine superintendency over the Bible as makes it a*

trustworthy guide to the way of salvation, can be thoroughly justified by the history of the Bible age after age. A great series of incontestable facts, about which we are all agreed, shows that the Bible has God in it, if there is a God in history and a God in conscience, as we all believe; and God in it as no other book has, for, as Lotze has said in his coolest manner, there was that in Christ which was unique. Shall we call this uniqueness inspiration? Shall we call this religious authoritativeness Divine guidance?

THE ENTIRE SCRIPTURES INSPIRED.

If we are convinced that Christ spoke by Divine authority, we shall be able to move out from this portion of inspiration to other portions; from the centre of the sphere we shall proceed to the whole circumference of it. And therefore I begin with this centre, the inspiration of Christ. I shall ask later what He recognized as inspiration in the Old Testament Scriptures, and what authority He promised to the writers of the New. It has been well said that the argument for any Bible leads to a full Bible. (See "Inspiration, a Symposium," London, 1885.) The argument for any life leads to a man alive. If the Bible, be an organic unity, and it be proven that one part of the organism lives, the organism is alive. It may be that the Bible, like the human frame, is not all of equal importance, and yet it may all belong to one organism, and so all properly be called alive. If any part of a man is alive, the man is alive.

Prof. Charles Hodge of Princeton maintains most definitely that every part of the Bible is inspired. He says that there is, nevertheless, a difference of value in the results of inspiration, just as in the human frame there is a difference of value between the locks that hang upon the head and the brain within it. The Gospel of John is the brain of the Bible; the book of Chronicles Professor Hodge compares to the locks hanging from the head. But they are both a part of one organism, and they are both alive, for if any part of an organic unity lives, the organism is alive.

We come, then, to the heart of our question when we ask, Can the inspiration of the summits of Scripture be guaranteed

by a reasonable, candid, searching investigation? Did Christ himself claim Divine authority for his own teachings? Did Paul assert his own inspiration?

PAUL'S LEGAL OATH AND AUTOGRAPH.

1. The Epistle to the Galatians opens with the equivalent of a legal oath by the Apostle Paul that he taught by revelation.

Martin Luther was accustomed to say: "The Epistle to the Galatians is my epistle; I have betrothed myself to it. That epistle is my wife." On previous occasions I have shown on this platform that four of the epistles of Paul are no longer in dispute, Romans, Galatians, and the two to the Corinthians. The most destructive Biblical critics now admit that these are genuine productions of the date to which they claim to belong, and that they come from the Apostle to the Gentiles. Paul says in words very familiar to you that he is "an apostle not of men, neither by man, but by Jesus Christ, and by God the Father, who raised Him from the dead." With what amazing earnestness and authoritativeness he writes of the way of salvation!

"I marvel that ye are so soon removed from Him that called you into the grace of Christ unto another gospel;

"Which is not another; but there be some that trouble you, and would pervert the gospel of Christ.

"But though we, or an angel from heaven, preach any other gospel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed."

"As we said before, so say I now again, if any man preach any other gospel unto you than that ye have received, let him be accursed."

"For do I now persuade men, or God? or do I seek to please men? For if I yet pleased men I should not be the servant of Christ."

"But *I certify you*, brethren, that the gospel which was preached of me is not after man;

"For I neither received it of man, neither was I taught it, but by the revelation of Jesus Christ."

This last sentence is the equivalent of a legal oath by Paul that he taught by revelation.

"But when it pleased God, who separated me from my mother's womb, and called me by his grace,

"To reveal his Son in me, that I might preach Him among the brethren; immediately I conferred *not* with flesh and blood:

"Neither went I up to Jerusalem to them that were apostles before me; but I went into Arabia, and returned again unto Damascus.

"Then after three years I went up to Jerusalem to see Peter and abode with him fifteen days.

"But other of the apostles saw I none, save James the Lord's brother."

Imagine what Paul's manner was as he wrote the next verse, or what would have been his gesture and his look if he had uttered it before an audience:—

"Now the things which I write unto you, behold, before God, I lie not."

The reference of that clause is, of course, first to the verses immediately preceding, but they refer to the clause, "I conferred not with flesh and blood;" and it goes back to the assertion, "I certify you brethren that the gospel which was preached of me is not after man; for I neither received it of man, neither was I taught it, but by the revelation of Jesus Christ."

2. The Epistle to the Galatians, which begins with the equivalent of legal oath, ends with an autograph.

Paul says, "See how large a letter I have written unto you with mine own hand." Some scholars think that this means only that the concluding paragraph was written by Paul himself, but Dean Alford and many other commentators suppose that the whole epistle was in Paul's handwriting. At any rate, here is a most definite authentication at the end, and the document becomes thus, merely as a piece of historical evidence, very authoritative and peculiar, opening with a legal oath, and ending with an autograph. The Second Epistle to the Thessalonians ends with this significant attestation of all Paul's epistles: "The salutation of me, Paul, with mine own hand, which is the token in *every* epistle: so I write."

What are we to say of this testimony? There are young men who think that the topic I am discussing relates to a date so far gone by that we never can ascertain anything with certainty concerning it. But a document scripturally fixed is as

good evidence now as it was the day it came into existence. The date of this document, for reasons I have given here previously, must be set down as between 54 and 58. All critics place it before the capture of Jerusalem, in the year 70. Many scholars put the date of Galatians at 54, but I will say only that it was before 58. When did Paul's conversion occur? Professor Keim puts it at 38, Ernest Renan at 37. Paul says in this first chapter that immediately after his conversion he began to teach this gospel. That was twenty years before he wrote this letter.

3. This testimony, therefore, goes back to within three or five years of the date of the crucifixion.

Have we the testimony of eye-witnesses to the amazing facts which accompanied the foundation of Christianity? Infidels have tried to show that we have not; and that the New Testament literature can be accounted for upon the theory of myths and legends.

OVERTHROW OF THE MYTHICAL THEORY.

4. The famous mythical theory is completely overturned by modern scholarship, which now carries back the dates of the Pauline epistles to within three or five years of the crucifixion.

What more do we find in this marvelous document? It is very well proved by Paul's testimony that when Paul went up to Jerusalem he was authenticated by the other apostles as a missionary to the Gentiles. His view of the gospel became thoroughly known to James and Peter and John, and they gave him the right hand of fellowship, and sent him to the Gentiles as they themselves were sent to the Jews, or to those of the circumcision. What follows from that fact?

5. It follows that Paul's testimony concerning the fundamental ideas and facts of Christianity was equally the testimony of James and John and Peter.

6. It follows also that the testimony of Paul to the fact of his own inspiration was equally the testimony of John and James and Peter, who were immediate disciples of our Lord, and to whom, as we shall see later, we have reason to believe that special Divine assistance was promised.

You say Paul was no direct disciple of Christ, and ask how it can be proved that he taught by Divine authority? Here is his legal oath. I am not bringing it forward as proof, at the present stage of this discussion, of anything except that he believed that he taught by Divine revelation. I bring forward the additional proof that James and John and Peter indorsed Paul, both in his views of the gospel and in his claims to have received them by revelation.

7. The testimony of the four great pillars of the ancient church goes back demonstrably to a period within three or five years of the crucifixion.

What is my chief question to-day? Did Christ himself claim to teach by Divine authority? If Christ had been a mere man, a philosopher and nothing more, if He had not claimed to teach by Divine authority, and if that claim had not been impressed on his disciples by works such as strike the soul dumb, how could the apostles have come to this confident faith so near to the crucifixion? Strauss says we now know for certain that Christ performed no miracles. If that be the case, James and John and Peter knew for certain in 30 to 35 that Christ performed no miracles, and that there was nothing supernatural in the origin of Christianity.

8. The apostles believed for certain in 35 to 38 that Christ did perform miracles, that He was one sent supernaturally into history, and that his claims were justified by his words and his works.

9. If you adopt the opinion that our Lord made no claims to teach by Divine authority, if you assert that Christ was only a man, filled with the Divine Spirit, but performing no miracles, and exhibiting nothing supernatural in his career, how are you to account for the springing up of such testimony as this within five years of the crucifixion? How are you to account for the coincidence in the teachings of Paul and James and John and Peter, when they assert with one voice our Lord's Divine authority and his Divinity? (See "The Self-Revelation of Christ," by Professor John Kennedy, D. D., London, 1887, pp. 217-268.)

Not of man, Paul says, came his authority; and yet it came from the Lord Jesus Christ. We are told in certain circles

that Christ was a man. We believe this; but that He was more, immeasurably, transcendently more, we must believe if we are to account for this history. This document proves that between 85 and 38 Christianity was what it is to-day. It held the doctrine of a Divine Lord and of his speaking by inspiration and revelation. It held it on the basis, not merely of a diffusion of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost, but of a whole life of which the earlier apostles had been eye-witnesses. How are you to account for this testimony springing into existence at this date if there was nothing behind the crucifixion except what is merely human?

The rising of the mighty tidal wave of Christianity in history is an effect which must have had an adequate cause. When Christianity rose to such height that it toppled over the throne of the Cæsars, crossed the Middle Ages and the oceans, filled our continent at last, and so goes on to encircle the world, something happened to cause that tidal wave to ascend toward heaven, and something very definite and particular.

INSUFFICIENCY OF HUMANITARIAN HYPOTHESES.

Here, then, I stand before the testimony of this Epistle to the Galatians, and ask you to combine the authority of Paul with that of his associate apostles, and explain the origin of their faith at the date at which it was taught. The mythical theory is torn utterly to shreds by facts such as I have been reciting. Five years are not enough to account for the growth of myths and legends. Strauss said in his latest book that he could not account for them with less than three generations. He cannot have one generation; he cannot have half a generation. Paul's testimony, I repeat, goes back to within five years of the crucifixion at most, and probably to within three years of it; and he it was who held the clothes of those who martyred Stephen. Was Paul, who had opportunity to know the facts, deceived? Was Peter, or John, or James, or Paul a dupe? Here is the literature containing the portraiture of the character of Christ, and it must have had an adequate cause. For one I have for years given up all doubt as to the substantial trustworthiness of the gospel history. [Applause.]

Here is the Epistle to the Hebrews, written undoubtedly within the first century, quoted by Clement in his history, to the church at Rome, and dated about 95. It may be that Paul wrote the Epistle to the Hebrews, it may be that some one else wrote it, but at any rate it is a document of the first century, and this is the way it opens, —

“God, who at sundry times and in divers manners spake in time past unto the fathers by the prophets,

“Hath in these last days spoken unto us by his Son, whom He hath appointed heir of all things, by whom also he made the worlds.”

“Who being the brightness of his glory and the express image of his person, and upholding all things by the word of his power, when He had by himself purged our sins, sat down on the right hand of the Majesty on high.”

A mere man? Is that the thought behind this literature?

A mere man? Is this all that we find behind the confidence of the apostles that they were teaching by Divine authority when they taught by revelation of Jesus Christ? Paul says in another place: “For this cause also thank we God without ceasing, because, when ye received the word of God which ye heard of us, ye received it not as the word of men, but (as it is in truth) the word of God which effectually worketh also in you that believe.”

If we prove the inspiration of any part of the Bible, we can stand upon that part to prove the inspiration of the rest. [Applause.] Therefore I ask you to enter my theme by the gate of these undisputed epistles and their testimony to the fact that our Lord claimed Divine authority. The picture of Christ drawn in the Gospels I hold must have proceeded from reality. It is a greater miracle to suppose that it was invented than to suppose it was drawn from historic verity. He who spake as never man spake claimed Divine authority.

10. These undisputed epistles, presenting the exact outlines of Christianity as we now have it, are among the supreme historic evidences that his immediate disciples understood our Lord not only to speak with Divine authority, but also to promise to them inspiration of an authoritative kind.

11. These epistles are also evidence that the apostles, after

the day of Pentecost, claimed that they had received the promised gift of authoritative inspiration as teachers of religious truth.

12. This claim, as these epistles show, was supported by such amazing internal and external evidence of its justifiableness, that the earliest Christian churches were based upon it, and on that basis achieved their triumphs in the face of almost immeasurable opposition.

13. On the same basis of rendered reasons and in spite of the fiercest attacks, Christianity, under the law of the survival of the fittest, has stood and met every test of discussion and experience and triumphed for ages. On the same basis, it stands and triumphs to-day as it rules the world it is renovating.

ORDINARY AND EXTRAORDINARY INFLUENCES OF THE HOLY SPIRIT.

It will be noticed that I am not endeavoring to define the method of inspiration. On that point many of us fall into very great difficulties. The fact of inspiration, the fact of revelation, are the things to be maintained. It may be beyond man to ascertain the methods. The question as to the amount of inspiration, and to some extent as to the degree of it, is a question among Christians themselves. The question as to the fact of it is a question between Christians and unbelievers. A detailed theory as to methods or even degrees of inspiration is both venturesome and unnecessary. I maintain the large statement that God was in Christ as in no other religious teacher known to the race, and that Christ received as of Divine authority the ancient Scriptures of the Jewish dispensation and promised Divine guidance to those who wrote the New Testament Scriptures; or that the Bible is a unit, and is all alive because the blood of our Lord's authority circulates through it all.

As one atmosphere upholds all clouds, so one Divine Spirit upholds all souls. As the air is in every cloud that floats, so God is in every finite being, whether among men or angels. Just as one wind may murmur in many trees, or make music in many æolian harps, so God's spirit breathes truth into all attuned consciences. This is guidance from on high; this is a

Divine whisper in the depths of the soul ; this is God in natural law. But by Scriptural inspiration I understand something far profounder than this. I understand a current of wind moving the clouds in a definite direction. I understand such an impulse of the Breath of the Universe upon spiritual æolian harps, that they speak out articulately the will of God. A more detailed theory as to the method of inspiration I care not to have. Of course, there is value in the faintest note from the harp touched by the Divine Spirit. If the impulse that flows from self-evident truth, if the touches of conscience which we experience were not in harmony with what is taught by inspiration, we could not receive it as divine in origin, for there is but one God and He does not contradict himself. Let us begin the defense of the doctrine of inspiration by showing that there is nothing in it contrary to the still small Voice, nothing in it contrary to self-evident truth. When the mighty harps of the apostles are touched by the Divine breath so as to produce music audible from world's end to world's end, we may in a certain sense test even that music by the music in our own harps. It is God in us that speaks, as it is God in them. And yet the louder and more harmonious music has authority over any lower music coming from tangled cords. We are broken harps. In all teaching concerning the Christian consciousness it must be remembered that our natures have been much disarranged ; and, therefore, when natures divinely arranged are swept by the Divine wind, we are to bring our harps into harmony with those loftier harps. A sense of what would be the utterance of our natures if they were whole abides in the depths of conscience, and next to the authority of Christ, that witness of the Spirit in our own spirits is the chief test of the reality of inspiration. [Applause.]

BOOK NOTICES.

NATIONAL PERILS AND OPPORTUNITIES. The Discussions of the General Christian Conference held in Washington, D. C., December 7, 8, and 9, 1887, under the auspices of the Evangelical Alliance for the United States. New York: The Baker & Taylor Co. 1887. Large 8vo. Pp. 417.

Peril, opportunity, coöperation, were the key-notes of the great conference of Christians at Washington under the auspices of the Evangelical Alliance. A detailed study of the four hundred pages of the Report of the Papers and Addresses presented at that memorable gathering, and edited by the secretary of the Alliance, Dr. Josiah Strong, we have found remunerative and inspiring in a very high degree. There are many nuggets of gold in the sand brought down from mountain heights by this broad and crystalline stream. But the stream itself, made up of a confluence of so many denominational rills, is exceedingly noteworthy. The sound of it is the voice of evangelical, aggressive, and wholly undenominational Christianity in our land; and will grow louder and louder, we hope, as the winter of sectarian schism decays and the vernal season of genuine Christian union advances. Whoever has time to read only a portion of this collection of papers and addresses, should by no means omit President Dodge on the General Outlook, Dr. Dorchester on the City as a Peril, Bishop Hurst and Dr. Pierson on Estrangement from the Church, Professor Boyesen on Immigration, Rev. Mr. Dike on Perils to the Family, Colonel Greene on the Social Vice, President Eaton on Illiteracy, President McCoah on the Relations of the Church to the Question of Capital and Labor, Dr. R. S. Storrs, Dr. Russell, and Dr. Strong on Coöperation in Christian Work, and Dr. A. J. Gordon on Individual Christian Responsibility. As was inevitable in a complete record, the style of the various addresses is of unequal merit, but the literary excellence of the book as a whole reaches a high level. We commend this volume to all students of the signs of the times as beyond question the most comprehensive, trustworthy, and inspiring discussion that has yet appeared on both the promises and the perils of Christian civilization in the United States. Dr. Pierson, who studied the conference close at hand, and with expert attention, goes so far as to suggest that it was perhaps the most important gathering of Christians since the Council of Nice.

We append a few highly suggestive passages which indicate the tone and purpose of the whole conference:—

“Our population is growing with startling rapidity. New and wonderful means of transportation are opening the whole land at once to settlement. New communities are springing up by magic, and their moral and religious characters are being established as rapidly.

"Immigrants are pouring into the country in increasing volume. These new additions to our population are not absorbed and Americanized as formerly, and are settling in masses in our large cities and new States, — retaining language, habits, and traditions foreign to our ideas, and rapidly changing the character of our people.

"The power of the saloons is highly organized, and, notwithstanding all the grand work done for the cause of temperance, claims to control legislatures and laws. Secular unions and infidel clubs exist all through the country, and exert a baneful influence, especially upon our foreign population.

"The Roman Church embraces a large portion of our people; and while we admire and respect its religious devotion and admirable charities, and have nothing but kindness and regard for its individual members, it still holds its first allegiance to a foreign power, which claims the absolute right to control all consciences and all peoples, and is, therefore, a dangerous menace to the republic.

"Our cities are growing in size and in influence, beyond our conception. They are becoming great manufacturing centres, drawing population from all sections of the interior of our country, and from all the world. Their condition is not fully understood by Christian people, and the provision for their religious care is sadly inadequate.

"The growing disregard of the proper use of the American Sunday, the loose opinions as to family ties, the increased licentiousness, the materialism of the age, the absorption in money-making, the increased luxury and enervation in many classes, the dying out of religious influences in sparsely settled portions of the old States, all tend to show a change in the condition of our land, which demands careful consideration.

"The American ideas of morality, frugal living, education, home life, and respect for law are changing rapidly, and it is the duty of the Christian Church to lead the new thought of the times, or certain disaster and punishment must come. . . .

"The gravest and most important consideration which confronts us is the fact that all over the country the artisan class is becoming more and more estranged from the churches, and is gaining its instruction and inspiration from unwise leaders, almost invariably of foreign birth, who argue from half truths and unfair conclusions. . . .

"Mr. Lowell, in his admirable address on 'Democracy,' says: 'Formerly the immense majority of men — our brothers — knew only their sufferings, their wants, and their desires. They are beginning now to know their opportunity and their power.' . . .

"Probably one half of our people never enter a church. When we send out missionaries to foreign countries, rum and licentiousness go out with or before them from our Christian land, and get to work before our ministers can learn the language.

"Every advance of our Christian civilization westward forms first a settlement so crowded with saloons and gambling houses that it is a hell on earth, and its character half formed, before our churches are on the ground; and then men and means are so scanty that often it is only a forlorn hope.

"We pride ourselves on our magnificent growth as a country, our increasing wealth, our pride of life, and our material prosperity; but all history shows that these are always the precursors of decay and ruin, if a deep foundation of morality and religion has not been planted. . . .

"The Alliance has no thought of pushing its own views, or making a place for itself. It has no theories to assert. It believes the first need is for careful and accurate study. Its only hope and suggestion is that each community of Christian men, without regard to name, will be willing to meet and carefully and prayerfully study the problems of its own locality. It is certain this will result in the adaptation of means to meet the wants and destitution sure to be discovered. This will warm Christian hearts into fuller confidence and sympathy with each other, and will advance all denominational interests in their relation to the whole Church of Christ as nothing else can do."— *Opening Address by W. E. Dodge of New York, President of the Conference.*

"That American Christianity and American society are confronted with perils, new, various, organized, and gigantic, is obvious. The city disproportionately enlarging; immigration increasing beyond our power of assimilation; wealth accumulating rapidly in a few hands; monopolies repressing individual enterprise; a foreign church, hostile to American principles, fortifying itself among us; the saloon, threatening every interest of the home and the state; illiteracy overshadowing a large part of the body politic; socialistic tendencies among the laboring classes; crimes multiplying with extraordinary energy; sexual vice patent everywhere, attended by a loosening of the marriage tie and the growth of Mormonism; the alienation of great masses of the people from the church, with a startling increase of Sabbath desecration; corruption among the makers and administrators of law, — these are facts portentous of disaster, and, if unchecked, of ruin." — *Address by Bishop Andrews.*

THE TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT; or, The Conflict between Man and Alcohol. By HENRY WILLIAM BLAIR, United States Senator from New Hampshire. Boston: William E. Smythe Co. 1888. Large 8vo. Pp. 583.

Breadth and vigor of thought, fullness of information, moral heroism of principle, and strategic timeliness of political purpose, make Senator Blair's book the best single volume that America has produced on the temperance movement. The work derives no little added dignity from the high position of the author in the Senate of the United States as one of the leaders of the Republican party. If Senator Blair's advice in regard to political action concerning the liquor traffic were accepted by that great organization, there would be no doubt that its services and successes as a party might be even more illustrious in the future than they have been in the past.

Senator Blair regards the participation of the nation in the gains of the liquor traffic through the internal revenue tax on whiskey as, beyond comparison, the most formidable obstacle existing in the United States to the progress of the temperance movement. The most remarkable passages of this book are those which protest against the protection of the liquor traffic by the national constitution, and call for a constitutional amendment making the liquor traffic an outlaw. Some of the most suggestive propositions of Senator Blair may be seen in the following extracts on the necessity of national prohibition:—

"The constitution of the United States as it now is, and has been from the beginning, is a law for the unrestricted manufacture, sale, importation, exporta-

tion, and internal transportation of intoxicating liquors. It is the great legal fortress of intemperance in this country to-day. It is not even a mere license law. But by its recognition of alcohol as property which may be made and used and carried and protected for all purposes in the national domain, by its protection of alcohol as an imported article in the ports and in the Territories of the nation, and by its practical nullification of state laws, enabling the citizens of a certain State to erect a public bar, protected by the supreme law of the land, along every inch of the boundaries of a sister State which may be struggling to suppress the evil . . . in these ways the constitution of the United States is now the great obstacle in the way of temperance reform in this country." (Page 388.) "What the temperance reform most needs is unification of effort, nationalization." (Page 381.)

"As a matter of fact there has never been a prohibitory law in this country. It is impossible to enact a prohibitory law, in its true sense, by any State." (Page 379.) "There can be no permanent temperance reform in this country so long as the manufacture of liquor is free." (Page 392.) "The movement for a national prohibitory amendment should be the preliminary Bunker Hill, and not the crowning Yorktown, in the progress of the temperance reform in the United States." (Page 372.)

As the slave trade was abolished by constitutional provision, taking effect some years after its passage, so Senator Blair would have the liquor traffic abolished, by an amendment taking effect so far in the future that vested rights would not suffer essentially.

"Notice of a quarter of a century is sufficient to any manufacturer to turn his attention to other and less harmful pursuits. It is longer than our fathers gave to the merchant marine of the country to remove its capital from the slave trade. This will enable every man to wear out his still or convert his machinery to some better purpose. . . . Capital invested in the wholesale or import trade could be very easily diverted in other directions at much shorter notice, while the retailer only requires time to sell out his stock on hand." (Pages 390, 391.)

Eight chapters of this volume discuss the physiological effects of alcohol from the point of view of the latest scientific testimony. The chapter on alcohol and length of life shows that premiums in many life assurance societies are reduced ten per cent. for total abstainers, and contains an admirable summary of the opinions of life assurance experts. Very suggestive and helpful discussion is given to the policy of prevention in the temperance reform, and to the work of the churches and schools in the scientific temperance instruction of children. The suffrage of women Senator Blair regards as indispensable to the success of the temperance reform. The Prohibition party should have been more fully noticed, both because of its merits and because the book gives just praise to various other organizations that have taken strong ground against the liquor traffic. After reviewing the deliverances of Leo XIII.'s letter to Bishop Ireland in 1887, and of a recent Baltimore Council, Senator Blair predicts that the Catholic Church and her followers will eventually demand prohibition. He closes his book by citing the full text of the recent decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the Kansas prohibition cases.

"The best single volume that America has produced on the temperance movement I now deliberately hold up before this Boston audience. It is the famous work just issued by Senator Blair of New Hampshire, and already in wide and effective circulation. Nobody has prompted me to mention this volume, but I must say that if any young man can buy but one book on Temperance, he should purchase Senator Blair's. It is a broad book. It discusses all phases of the temperance question. It has a kind word for Anti-Saloon Republicans (laughter). It gives just praise to the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. It advocates, first, midst, and last, national constitutional prohibition. It is a cool and judicial, but never a dry, discussion of the very freshest facts in the whole field of the temperance reform. It is illuminated by some fifty excellent portraits of temperance specialists. In his high place in Congress, Senator Blair champions the most advanced and radical ideas of the temperance reform, and so makes the whole nation and the next century his debtors. The Supreme Court Decision, with which this book closes, is the day star of a better age. . . . Charles Sumner, as you remember, was greatly interested in the topic of Woman's Ballot, prepared for extensive study of it, and called it the question of the future. My conviction is that, were he now alive, he would be standing shoulder to shoulder with Senator Blair in the advocacy of the foremost current reforms." — JOSEPH COOK, in *Boston Monday Lectureship*, March 5, 1888.

"The book is the handsomest in execution, as to paper, type, and engravings, thus far furnished to the temperance reform. It was written by the temperance reformer who by official position outranks us all, as he does by what he has dared and done in the highest council of the nation during his long, relentless day of persecution and toil.

"If since the war America has had a man of Providence, designated and set apart to 'fight the beasts at Ephesus' and defend the home, that man is Senator Henry W. Blair.

"And you have done the nation an incalculable service in securing from him in the prime of his great manhood a book strong and many-sided. Its twenty-five chapters cover every phase of the greatest reform of the centuries, and carry it forward on the frontier line of progress, showing that without national constitutional prohibition, backed up by the ballot in the hand of woman, we can never win the last battle and safely preserve the fruits of victory. . . . It is the best temperance encyclopedia and picture gallery that we have had. The Senator has shown the greatness of his nature and the loftiness of his outlook by including all phases of the movement and speaking with appreciation of all its advocates, whether political or otherwise. There is nothing narrow or provincial about his modes of thinking, and certainly his book is cosmopolitan. The man who includes Albert Griffin and John B. Finch, Theodore Flood and Dr. Buckley, in the same great picture, and gives to each his meed of praise, is no ordinary man.

"The book will be to the Grand Army of the Temperance Reform what General Grant's has been to the Grand Army of the Republic." — FRANCES E. WILLARD.

"I am very much pleased with Senator Blair's book on temperance. While it is the most comprehensive book of the kind yet published, no detail of importance omitted, and all told clearly and succinctly, it is compact, and the book is of most convenient size. The typographical execution of the book is excellent, and the portraits that illustrate the volume are remarkably good." — MARY A. LIVERMORE.

"It covers every phase of the cause as fully and thoroughly as it can be done in

one volume. The author has collected an immense amount of most important information relating to the temperance cause, a large part of which is not accessible to the general reader, who can find it in this book ready at his hand. I know of no book containing a more comprehensive view of the rise, progress, and present condition of the temperance movement than this of Senator Blair's, which every student of the temperance cause ought to have." — GEN. NEAL DOW.

CHRISTIANITY IN THE UNITED STATES, from the First Settlement to the Present Time. By DANIEL DORCHESTER, D. D. With maps, diagrams, and a portrait of the author. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Large 8vo. Pp. 796.

This is a book of large, thoughtful, and inspiring outlooks. Dr. Dorchester's expertness as a statistician of the religious life of America; his soundly evangelical views and instincts; his wide personal acquaintance with leaders of thought; his profound sympathy with moral and political reforms, especially with the temperance movement in its most advanced positions; his extraordinary skill in methodical arrangement of his matter; and his clear and attractive presentation of large essentials in history, in combination with sufficient detail to give luminousness and piquancy to his narrative, make this book the most valuable general view that has yet been published in a single volume of the history of Christianity in the foremost republic of all time.

"The doctrine of the Trinity no longer savors of Tritheism. Take the great working doctrines of Christianity, strip off the husks, and state them in their simplest forms: There is a personal deity; God is the supreme Sovereign of the universe; he is a being of infinite perfections; he is the ultimate source of life; a mysterious Threeness, so distinct as to justify the use of three different names and personal pronouns, is united in the oneness of the Godhead: the Bible is the divinely inspired book; it is so inspired as to be the authoritative rule of faith and practice; the soul is immaterial and immortal; man is a moral being and accountable to God; he is so depraved and weak that he cannot save himself and must have a divine Saviour; he must be spiritually changed in order to rise into harmony with holiness; whatever education or culture may do, the Holy Spirit is the efficient agent in effecting this change; supreme Deity was embodied in the person Christ Jesus; the death and resurrection of Christ is the sole basis of pardon and ground of hope for sinners; the effects of faith in Christ are the love of God shed abroad in the heart and a new life; Christ will personally come the second time; he will raise the dead; there will be a day of future general judgment and a state of fixedness of character, involving endless retribution and reward in the future world. These vital centres of the doctrines of Christianity are held, with little dissent, by all the denominations of evangelical Protestantism." (Page 672.)

QUESTIONS TO SPECIALISTS.

REPLIES BY MISS WILLARD.

15. *What should be done to prevent the participation of the national government in the gains and crimes of the liquor traffic?*

A nation receiving revenue from a traffic becomes its necessary ally by the law of human greed.

Conscience grows keener as time goes on. Once, intoxicating liquors, like sugar and flour, were sold in all grocery stores. Perception of the difference in results produced led grocers to cease selling the intoxicants, and a less clear-sighted and conscientious class of men set up saloons. The grocers washed their hands of a harmful business; as respectable men they declined to gain profits from a bad source. Later on the state, less quick to learn because more impersonal, perceived the wrong of getting gain through the people's miseries, and is steadily going out of all participation in the gains of the liquor trade. Last of all, the nation, less alive to perceive and less alert to act, because of its enormous bulk and the immense distribution of responsibility which reduces conscience to its lowest terms, begins dimly to perceive that it is as wrong for a nation to participate in the gains of the wicked traffic as it would be for a State or an individual, and we have a national movement against the liquor tax.

The Woman's Christian Temperance Union has desired this long and earnestly. Our earliest resolution on the subject was adopted without a dissenting voice at the national convention in Louisville, 1882, and reads as follows:—

"The Woman's National Christian Temperance Union desires to express its earnest sympathy with the movement favoring the total abolition of the internal revenue taxes on all alcoholic beverages at present collected by the national government, as we believe that the taxation of this business is wrong in principle, an outrage on the moral sentiment of the country, a quasi indorsement of a pernicious traffic, a legalizing, so far as the national government can, of a business that is the source of most of our crime and poverty, and a great hindrance in the way of the removal of the traffic and its attendant evils out of the land.

"We further believe that this revenue is not needed by the government, and that the large surplus that it brings into the treasury is a standing menace to honesty, and a fruitful source of, if not an invitation to, corruption. For these reasons we earnestly urge the abolition of these taxes, and we invite the coöperation of all classes to this end. It is hereby ordered that a copy of the above, properly signed by the president and secretary of this convention, be forwarded to Congress, and that copies be furnished

organizations in the country interested, with a request that they coöperate with us in this matter."

Our latest resolution on this subject was unanimously adopted at the Nashville convention in November, 1887, all of the States excepting Nevada and five of the Territories being represented.

"*Resolved*, That we advocate the abolition of the internal revenue on alcoholic liquors for the reason that it operates to render more difficult the securing and enforcement of prohibitory laws and so postpones the day of national deliverance."

In my annual address before this Nashville convention the following passage occurs:—

"I hope we shall distinctly declare ourselves in favor of removing the internal revenue tax from all intoxicating liquors. It is a covenant with hell and a compact with perdition. To-day it stands as the strongest bulwark between the liquor traffic and its annihilation. We want no monopolies in sin, least of all that the national government should be the largest stockholder, getting ninety cents on every gallon of whiskey, and ninety-three cents, in round numbers, on every keg of beer. The amount of tax is about equal to the annual surplus in the United States treasury; let both be wiped out together. I hope this may be one of our campaign battle-cries: 'Down with the tax that ties the nation tight to the vampire that is sucking out its blood.'"

Every argument by which the people have been educated to look upon license as a sin applies equally to high license and to the participatory tax by which the United States becomes chief partner of the men who manufacture crazing drinks. But the liquor trade and liquor politicians would be glad to make it appear that the tender consciences of the temperance people are in accord with the high moral convictions of this trade and of politicians, the two forming a solid front in opposition to the repeal of the participatory tax by which the national government is the largest gainer in those years when the people swallow most strong drink. But this is a misrepresentation for revenue only. The underlying principle upon which the temperance people in every land are now proceeding is this: **ABSOLUTE AND PERPETUAL SEPARATION FROM THE LIQUOR CRIME AND MOST OF ALL SEPARATION FROM THE ILL-GOTTEN GAINS WHICH FORM THE BULKWARK OF ITS POWER.**

Nobody sees more clearly than the brewers and distillers do, that the day when the United States treasury ceases to be interested in their receipts will be followed by the to-morrow of prohibition. The people are rapidly flocking to the standard of prohibition, and the legislatures are rapidly following their masters. The Supreme Court has given us all we ask. There is no boulder so huge and so high separating us from victory as that tremendous tax that guides the lion's share of profits into the pocket of the nation.

A public tax on an accursed trade is simply a public bribe, and the heavier the tax the more tempting is the bribe.

16. *What practical measures should be taken to secure the abolition of the internal revenue tax on liquors?*

There are two things which temperance people can do and ought to attempt without delay.

First. To bring facts and statements showing the vast mischiefs of federal participation in the liquor traffic to the notice of the pulpit, platform, and press, and especially of non-expert temperance men and women. The new recruits also, while earnest, are not informed.

Secondly. Influential voters should write to their representatives in Congress, urging them to declare for the repeal of all internal revenue taxes on intoxicating liquor. Petition work will come later but *individual work* is needed at once to inform, convince, convict, and pledge our national representatives to vote for repeal as the most seasonable method of settling the surplus question, and of putting the mark of Cain upon the forehead of the liquor traffic.

The liquor traffic in the United States is now like a hunted fox pursued by the greyhounds of prohibition, repeal of the tax, and the Supreme Court decision. At last this crafty old fox has been driven from cover by the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, with its compulsory scientific temperance instruction laws, its ceaseless petitions, remorseless temperance literature, and relentless agitation upon a thousand platforms. At last there is an open field and an army of pursuers. The swift hound of the Supreme Court decision already has the old deceiver by the throat; prohibition clutches one flank, and tax-repeal another, while woman's ballot will be in at the death, sure to give the *coup de grace* and win the brush. The spectacle is full of spirit; hard press the fearless riders, women in the very van; clear winds the hunter's horn; the skies are full of light, the air is crisp and bracing.

REPLIES BY THE REV. A. J. GORDON, D. D., OF BOSTON.

17. *What are the chief difficulties of college students in matters of religious faith and life?*

Not so much theoretical and speculative difficulties as one would suppose. In talking with scores of college men on personal religion, I have found but three or four who were skeptical. It is not the head turned by scientific infidelity, but the heart turned by youthful sins and self-indulgences that presents the chief obstacle to the gospel. Of the two we should say that college dissipation is a far greater barrier to a religious life than college disbelief.

18. *What are the chief remedies for these difficulties?*

The only remedy which is radical is a personal acceptance of Christ. One love expels another. Legalism says, "Break with your sins in order that you may take Christ." The gospel says, "Take Christ in order that you may break with your sins." A strong young man who receives the Saviour as Christ and Lord generally breaks with questionable indulgences, and takes many companions along with him.

19. *To what extent ought the Christian evidences and ethics to be made a part of the required course of study in colleges?*

Christian evidences taught by Christian teachers, ethics expounded by men standing on that divine ethic, the gospel of Jesus Christ, are of immense value to college students. But we cannot think that ethics expounded by skeptics, or the evidences of Christianity taught by the impugnors of Christianity, can be of any great value to college students. The most powerful volumes of Christian evidence that have ever appeared in our colleges have been such living libraries of the gospel as Presidents Dwight, Wayland, Hopkins, and McCosh.

20. *What are the merits of the College Young Men's Christian Associations?*

They are unquestionably the most powerful agency now in use for influencing college students to a Christian life.

REPLY BY MR. COOK AT TREMONT TEMPLE, BOSTON, FEBRUARY 13.

21. *Which is the better justified by experience, the practice of voluntary prayers at Harvard, or the required attendance at prayers at Yale?*

My conviction is that voluntary attendance at college prayers is better than required attendance, but that required attendance is better than no attendance. [Applause and laughter.]

There has lately been issued at Harvard a circular, which I hold in my hand, and which I am assured was sent to every man in the University. It is signed, "Some Rowing Men," whom I am very glad to find speaking out on a theme so vital as this. "Every one recalls the words of Dr. Brooks, when he was in Philadelphia a few weeks ago," this circular says, "and was asked about voluntary chapel prayers: 'Instead of seven or eight hundred as formerly, there are now one hundred and fifty, but those one hundred and fifty are animated by a sincere spirit of devotion. The constraint and formality have passed away, and the general religious tone of the University has been, of late, greatly elevated and improved.' Concerning the last part of the statement there can be but little doubt; as to the first part, this lamentable fact is true, that the number is slipping down from one hundred and fifty to a smaller number."

There are more than a thousand undergraduate students in Harvard University who, under the old regulations, would once a day have assembled to listen to the reading of the Scriptures, and to religious hymns, and to unite in public worship. It is an impressive experience to see a whole University assembled with its professors and joining in religious exercises. I think nothing was to me in Yale and Harvard a larger portion of my daily spiritual food than this sight, especially when President Woolsey led the devotions at Yale, or Dr. Peabody at Harvard. As the president of Yale came down the central aisle, the whole college always rose to do him honor as he passed. I look back now to my college life and recall these scenes as among the noblest on which I had opportunity to look in the whole quadrennial of my studies.

A change has been initiated at Harvard. The University Year Book announces that the preacher conducting morning prayers will be in attendance at Wadsworth House, every morning, during his term of duty for the

purpose of meeting students who wish to consult him. This opportunity for religious conversation with the preachers to the University is unquestionably a great improvement on former practice. A certain pastoral care of the students is thus exercised, such as did not come to the front in my time. It may have existed in the germ, but I had little benefit of it and I needed much. One of the University preachers is ready every day to meet students for conversation on personal religion.

This same Year Book says that attendance at religious services of the University was, to the satisfaction of all concerned in them, made wholly voluntary by action taken in June, 1886. A letter which has been sent to me from an authoritative source says that the attendance at chapel at Harvard is very much governed by the weather. "During the winter the average is about 150; in the spring it runs up to about 200 or 250. Besides the daily service at 8.45 A. M., vesper services are held on Thursday afternoons during the winter. The chapel is always full at these services, though a large proportion of those present are residents of Cambridge and not connected with the University." I venture to think that we have not yet had experience enough to enable us to affirm with confidence that the change at Harvard from required to voluntary attendance at prayers is a benefit to the eight or nine hundred students who usually do not attend chapel at all. It may be a benefit to those who do attend to be free from the sense that their companions are annoyed by a requirement concerning a religious act, which always should be free. I should be in favor of voluntary prayers in every case if it could be shown that college students were old enough to guide themselves wisely in this high matter. As we do not abolish required prayers in the lower institutions, for instance at Phillips Exeter and Phillips Andover Academy, I fear that we ought not quite yet to abolish required prayers in our colleges, even if they begin to be called Universities. The Germans do not abolish prayers in the gymnasia; it is not the general custom of England, it is not the general custom of the United States to omit required prayers in the great institutions of learning.

For one I prefer the Yale fashion in this matter in spite of any experience Harvard has had thus far. If it should turn out, however, that the Harvard students attend prayers as well or nearly as well under the new regulation as they did under the old, then I should prefer the new, because voluntary is better than a required form of devotion. Mr. Emerson, when a trustee of Harvard University, voted against the abolition of required attendance at the devotional exercises of the College, and was accustomed to quote in defense of his position the famous saying of Hegel, that prayer is the highest act of the human spirit.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

IN fifteen States of the American Union women now have the right of voting for school committees. In Kansas they have full municipal suffrage. They recently cast in that State 26,000 ballots, greatly to the advantage of good government in cities. In England, Scotland, Ontario, and Nova Scotia, widows and unmarried women have municipal suffrage on the same conditions as men. In Washington and Wyoming Territory, full suffrage for women in both municipal and state elections has existed for some years. Thirty years ago women nowhere had any right of suffrage.

Among the petitioners for suffrage for women in regard to liquor licenses are many who do not yet think full suffrage for women expedient, but prefer to try the experiment of limited municipal suffrage for women before going farther. Two considerations have much weight with those who occupy this conservative and yet progressively tentative position. A vote on temperance laws, or at least on license, is both needed and generally desired by women as a means of home protection, and so would be likely to be used on the right side. If the experiment does not succeed, the state legislature can withdraw the right of limited municipal suffrage. Under that right, women would vote only on questions of education, or temperance, or both, and not for legislators or state officers, and so could not constrain the latter to continue the new law, if it should not be justified by its results.

So confident are we that the results of limited municipal suffrage for women would be excellent, that we are not surprised to find many highly conservative men and women of eminent public and social position petitioning for it. Nearly a quarter of a century of experience in England and Scotland has abundantly approved this measure of natural justice.

We have great sympathy with President Warren's inspiring proposal that enterprises be organized under American governmental aid to complete the exploration of Polar America as a fitting commemoration of the discovery of this continent by Columbus. An international exhibition at Washington, a holiday voyage of a fleet of ships from Spain to the West Indies, a convention of the representatives of Anglo-Saxon and of Latin nations will not be enough to mark the four hundredth anniversary of 1492. As President Warren says ("Independent," March 8): "The sole supremely fitting commemoration of the immortal explorations of Columbus is *to finish them*. . . . With permanent telegraphically or semaphorically connected stations, the passage to the North Pole could in all likelihood be made less perilous to human life than was twenty years ago the passage of the Congo."

It is now one year and five months since the American Board, at Des Moines, at its seventy-seventh meeting, passed its memorable resolutions repudiating as divisive and perverse the unscriptural hypothesis of probation after death. It is five months since these resolutions were reaffirmed with increased emphasis at Springfield, in these now historic words :

"The Board adheres to the position taken at the last annual meeting at Des Moines concerning the doctrine of future probation, reaffirms its utterances made at that time, and accepts the interpretation of the prudential committee as the true interpretation of its action.

"We recommend to the prudential committee an unabated carefulness in guarding the Board from any committal to the approval of that doctrine."

How deeply the churches sympathize with these votes is shown by the fact officially reported in the "Missionary Herald" for March, 1888, that for the first five months of the financial year the receipts of the American Board have been \$222,134.48, an advance over those of last year at the same date of nearly \$60,000, and an advance beyond the annual average for the corresponding months of the preceding five years of over \$39,000. These facts are attracting deserved attention among Congregationalists in Great Britain. "The British Weekly," published by Hodder & Stoughton, Paternoster Row, London, and which Mr. Spurgeon calls the best religious journal in England, says : "The doctrine of probation after death has been expressly repudiated by the American Congregational Churches, after desperate efforts to gain a footing for it."

The following petition for electoral reform on the basis of the Australian system of voting is in wide circulation in Massachusetts and has our heartiest sympathy:—

To the Massachusetts Senate and House of Representatives in General Court assembled :

We, the undersigned, respectfully represent that the present system of voting in this State, requiring as it does the printing of enormous numbers of ballots by the different parties and the employment of men to distribute them at the polls, is the cause of much expense and gives rise to much corruption ; while, by impairing or destroying secrecy, it affords great opportunity for bribery and intimidation. We therefore earnestly petition for the adoption by law of that method of voting known as the Australian system — the essential features of which are that ballots are printed at public expense and delivered by a public officer to the voter only when he approaches the polls, the voting being conducted in such manner that there can be no canvassing or solicitation of the voter between the time he receives the ballot and the time he records his vote, and that such absolute secrecy as to how he votes is secured as to make bribery unprofitable and intimidation impossible.

The national superintendent of the work of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union has sent this pathetic and powerful protest to every member of Congress :—

To the Members of the Senate and House of Representatives of the Fiftieth Congress:

SIRS, — The admission of Utah has something more than a political significance. It involves the withdrawal of federal protection from helpless women and innocent children who have no representative in your honorable body; no advocates in your committees; no representative in the Mormon lobby. Yet the food necessary for their sustenance has, by priestly edict, been converted into gold, to purchase legal misrepresentation at the national capital.

To the present hour there is not the slightest indication, in the Territory, of any movement to place the home on an American basis. The only visible surrender of polygamy has been the rush to the "underground railroad" of the lords of the harem, and the "surrender" to fate of their "beloved" wives. The "noble army of martyrs" daily, at the expense of the national government, go to prison for "conscience sake." From these "retreats" the "martyrs" issue official orders to the laity to "live their religion."

As the result of close personal investigation for ten years, I assert that the prostitution of the sacred office of motherhood under Mormon regime has no parallel in any civilized country in the known world. In the month of October last I traveled over a greater portion of the Territory to find these domestic conditions unchanged. Nor is the spirit of resistance to national interference less determined than heretofore.

As the authorized representative of the loyal women of Utah, and in behalf of the unprotected victims of the Mormon faith, allow me to ask your careful perusal of the inclosed testimony. Moreover, we ask you to consider that any vote cast for the admission of Utah is a vote cast for the perpetuity of treason, howsoever disguised at the national capital, and to license a hierarchy to continue to make merchandise of innocence.

ANGIE F. NEWMAN.

The Report of the Utah Commissioners published in this number of *OUR DAY* is regarded at Salt Lake City by the non-Mormon population as the fairest and ablest public document that has thus far appeared on the present situation of Utah.

Dr. Bartol, in his characteristic discourse on the life and influence of Mr. Alcott, represented the difference between him and Emerson in philosophy, by saying that Emerson contended that the word *It* was properly applied to the Supreme Power in the universe, while Alcott preferred always the word *He*. The difference between *It* and *He* in this case is that between a philosophy nearly pantheistic and one thoroughly theistic in tone and principle. Mr. Alcott deserves great credit for bringing a soundly theistic teacher, like William T. Harris, to the Concord school, and so providing an antidote for any pantheistic tendencies in the somewhat vague and mystical Neo-Platonism once known as the Emersonian philosophy. Mr. Alcott's chief service to philosophical thought in New England was that of effecting a change of front in certain circles from *It* to *He*.

OUR DAY:

A RECORD AND REVIEW OF CURRENT REFORM.

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FIRST PRINCIPLES OF PROTECTION.

I. THE home market, or domestic commerce, is of immeasurable value to a country over and above all foreign commerce.

We shall quote in support of this position an authority which all free traders ought to accept, that of Adam Smith, the father of free trade. "The inland home trade, the most important of all, the trade in which an equal capital affords the greatest revenue and *creates the greatest employment to the people of the country.*" ("Wealth of Nations," Vol. ii. 7. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1869.) In vol. i. pp. 372, 373 of the above edition, Adam Smith draws out with the greatest clearness the argument for the home market against the foreign. As no free trader ever asks attention to this passage, we will here give the substance of it in our own language.

In all exchanges two capitals are employed and two profits result, in theory equal. If an Englishman sends a given product to France, he employs his capital at home and enjoys his profit. On the other side the Frenchman employs his capital and has his profit. Each country is equally benefited. Every one, protectionist or free trader, accepts this.

If now the exchange is made at home two capitals are employed instead of one, and two profits are secured instead of one. Home trade, then, is and must be just twice as profitable to the home country as foreign trade is. That country is passing all others in wealth that has the greatest volume of home trade.

The results of commerce depend upon the ease and rapidity with which exchanges are effected. If the merchant or producer can make two exchanges where he formerly made one, he doubles his profits. The other party does the same. Now here are four uses of capital and four profits at home instead of one which would accrue in the slow and distant foreign exchanges. And in the home trade it may sometimes happen, as Adam Smith suggests, that the parties are so near each other and have such facilities for quick exchanges that twelve may be effected at home to one with a distant country. In such case the home country would secure to herself twenty-four uses of capital and twenty-four profits to one in the foreign trade. Thus the ratio of the importance of the home market to foreign would be 24: 1. This is so plain that no one can question it unless it be some economic eccentric.

II. Protection aims at diversified industries as a potent factor in national prosperity.

Every new industry brings an addition to the home market. It supplies a want and it creates a demand upon other producers. If a country is given chiefly to agriculture its produce must seek a distant uncertain market. Such an agricultural people is always miserably poor, and with their poverty are usually associated ignorance stupidity, and degradation. We have a great number of industries that could not exist without a protective tariff. They are of unspeakable value to the whole country. A wise government will always encourage home industries as unseparably connected with the prosperity of the home market.

III. Protection calls into action dormant capital, skill, and labor.

Fawcett and other English writers admit that in no country is the whole of skill, capital, and labor, in full employment. This will always be so for many reasons.

When our government imposed a duty of \$28 per ton on imported steel rails, our benevolent English friends were charging us \$112.50 in gold. We had few establishments that wished to enter into any competition with the English manufacturer, knowing their system of killing foreign industries by underselling. But with protection no less than thirteen estab-

lishments sprang into being, and the price of Bessemer steel rails went down from \$112 to \$37, and our output in the four years 1881-84 exceeded that of England by 1,221,279 tons! In those four years the United States produced 5,362,946 tons of steel rails, which at an average of \$100 per ton would have been more than five hundred millions of dollars paid to English interests instead of our own. But who believes that the English price would have fallen one penny had this enormous demand been added to her own? On the contrary her prices would have risen with every new demand. The capital, skill, and labor called forth by this protective tariff has added immensely to our national wealth, given impulse to other industries, and vastly increased our domestic commerce. Many other industries might be quoted as illustrations.

IV. A protective tariff cheapens all the articles in common use.

Cotton cloth is protected by a tariff of six cents a yard and some qualities are sold at that price and even lower. Home competition has brought down the price of common cotton goods to the level of English prices. Last year it is said we exported 25,000,000 yards to England. Our common serviceable woolens, blankets, carpets, are nearly as cheap as in England, and have been made so by the competition called forth by protection. Higher qualities, less used, requiring more personal labor, cannot come under the same law of competition without a higher tariff. Many of our chemical products of extensive use have been cheapened in the same way. When chloroform began to be in demand, we paid the foreigner two dollars and fifty cents per pound. Our chemists could make a grand profit at that price. But they knew what the result would be. The foreign chemists would continually undersell them. With their great establishments and vast capital they could afford to do this at great loss in order to keep possession of their industry. The government imposed a protective tariff of one dollar a pound. Now if President Cleveland's assertion be true that the price of all imported articles "is raised by precisely the sum paid for such duties," the price of chloroform would have been increased to three dollars and fifty cents the pound. The

foreign importers were much too wise for that. Such a price would rouse intense competition. Consequently the price immediately fell, but home competition, backed by the tariff against foreigners, came in and brought the price down to sixty-five cents! This is the legitimate effect of a wise tariff to cheapen all articles of extensive use by securing capital, labor, and skill against foreign pauper labor and great combinations of foreign capitalists. President Cleveland's assertion in view of such facts does not increase the respect of intelligent men.

V. Protection would put no tariff upon things we do not produce.

Coffee, tea, spices, and all other similar articles, similar in being foreign to our soil, are free. Raw material generally should be free, but there will be difference of opinion as to its classification. Wool growing requires so much scientific knowledge, so much study of climate and treatment, and kinds of wool demanded for different products, and mixture of races and bloods, that it cannot be regarded as raw material. A vast amount of associated labor and wisdom and skill has been bestowed upon it. Everything in which foreign competition will not injure our interests should be free.

VI. Protection against foreign interference demands absolute free trade at home.

Our country presents the magnificent spectacle of sixty millions of freemen, as a whole the most intelligent, enterprising, and wealthy on the face of the globe. At the middle of this century the wealth of Great Britain was three times greater than ours. Our wealth now surpasses hers by ten thousand millions of dollars. Soil, climate, and population favor a great variety of industries, our rivers and railroads favor rapid and economical exchanges. It is one country and every part shares in the prosperity of every other part. It is a vast organism whose great arteries send the vital fluid into every part. It is this absolute freedom that has created such a vast home trade as to surpass by far the entire home and foreign trade of Great Britain united.

Just here our English free-trade friends, who have a most benevolent interest in our prosperity, turn upon us and say: "Why

stop at the boundaries of the Dominion of Canada? If free trade is good between Massachusetts and Pennsylvania, it must be equally good between those States and Canada. If you put on a protective tariff against Canada, then one State in the Union should have a tariff against its neighbor State." Now this appears to us very weak and silly, but it is difficult for an Englishman to look upon our great country as a unit, a political unit. Our States are as much under one government as London, Liverpool, and Manchester are. And yet eminent men, like Fawcett, Sidgwick, and Mill, have used this argument in apparent unconsciousness of its absurdity. Should an American maintain that one law should govern London and Paris, he would be laughed at. England and France are two separate political entities. Each has its own life to care for. Each pursues its own ends, and asks no counsels of its neighbor. If the financial greed of Great Britain should not lead to violence, her economic doctrines are of little value to us. The American system of absolute free trade at home and protection against the plans and plots of foreign capitalists has made this country by far the richest nation on earth. We are leaving England, who is always pointing us to her vast wealth, far in the rear; although we still foolishly, if not wickedly, allow her to send us her paupers, criminals, and lunatics to support.

VII. Protection would secure at all costs the production of all those manufactures that are necessary to the nation in time of war.

The duty of self-preservation overrides all questions of wealth. Our iron, cotton, and wool interests must be so secured that in case of war with England, or any other power, which may God avert, we should not find ourselves in the case of the Southern States in the late war.

President Garfield, who drew nothing but the purest milk of free trade from the breasts of his Alma Mater, in reply to Fernando Wood's free-trade bill, said: "I will defend a tariff that is national in its aims, that protects and sustains those interests without which the nation cannot become such. So important in my view is the ability of the nation to manufacture all those articles necessary to arm, equip, and clothe our people,

that if it could not be secured in any other way, I would vote to pay money out of the federal treasury to maintain government iron, steel, cotton, and woolen mills at whatever cost."

In reply to an eloquent appeal for commerce on the basis of universal brotherhood, he added: "For the present the world is divided into separate nationalities, and that other divine command still applies to our situation. If any provide not for his own, and specially for those of his own house, he has denied the faith and is worse than an infidel. Until that better era arrives, *patriotism must supply the place of universal brotherhood.*" (See "Garfield's Speeches in Congress.") Garfield's name is found among the American members of the Cobden Club, together with names of many college presidents and professors. That mighty and far-famed club, composed of the highest officials and the manufacturing millionaires of England, and whose "objectif" is free trade in the United States, should have disciplined the speaker for high treason to all the principles of the great association. It exists for one sole object, the overthrow of the American system of protection.

All the industries referred to by President Garfield have had the most rapid development under the protection of a moderate tariff, needing no special government patronage whatever. In 1859, American wool-growers produced 60,000,000 lbs. In 1888, they produced 800,000,000 lbs., far exceeding the British wool-growers, and steadily advancing by home competition to a level of cheapness with any foreign nation whatever. Our government reduced the tariff, and the wool-growers are going out of the business as rapidly as any free trader could desire. This is one step towards industrial vassalage to England.

VIII. Keep clear of all commercial treaties.

Every nation should be as little dependent upon other nations as possible, in order to enjoy peace, safety, and internal development. It must not be like a day laborer seeking the means of living here and there. Commercial treaties made with sagacious far-seeing governments, masters of craft and deception, always contain innocent articles that in course of time become annoying and injurious as interpreted by the stronger power. England has, with her wise and crafty and far-seeing policy,

deceived and caught in ruinous commercial treaties Spain, Portugal, Turkey, Egypt, China, Japan, and other nations inferior to her in political craft and intense greed. We have, in the Bulwer-Clayton treaty and in the fisheries question, a taste of her diplomacy. Goldwin Smith in two able articles in the "*Independent*" has set forth in clear colors the weakness, the incapacity, the stupidity of our politicians and diplomats in our foreign affairs. Sir Henry Bulwer at Constantinople used to make merry over the way he hoodwinked and victimized Clayton and the United States government. England essays to be the commercial, as Russia is the military despot of Europe. She is the only enemy we have to fear. The remedy for our humiliating position proposed by Goldwin Smith is peculiarly English and quite amusing. It is to yield everything to English demands in the Canada question. "Political divisions make no difference in commercial relations." Perfect free trade with us, access to all our coasting, carrying trade, and by necessity to our rivers as well, this is all that Goldwin Smith, LL.D., L.H.D., demands for Canada! And if our politicians yield all this they will be wise statesmen! Now, with such powerful European neighbors, who have centuries of inherited and cultivated skill and craft in treaty-making, our government should bind itself by no commercial treaty that may in the future embarrass our protective tariff, or take from us our entire freedom of managing our own affairs without begging permission of our mother country.

What excess of products we have we shall sell in any market that wants them, and we shall pay the duties they impose. We shall buy whatever other producers may bring us, and they will pay the duties we impose. This is the true reciprocity of foreign trade. No other will stand while governments have no regard for justice or humanity (witness the opium trade in China, and the liquor trade in the Congo Free State), and might and craft make right.

IX. Abolish the internal revenue laws.

A wise protective tariff is the simplest and easiest way of filling the public treasury. Take away the internal revenue which is a pure war relic, and is illegal, immoral, and unwise, and we

shall have no surplus which is not imperatively needed for clearing off the national debt and for national defense.

These are some of the first principles of protection.

They are obnoxious to the Cobden Club and to Englishmen generally. If English craft, and English gold, and English agents can help President Cleveland to sweep them all away, we shall then have an opportunity to know and enjoy all the blessings of unrestricted free trade, by giving up our industries to foreigners. But there is this encouraging fact that the principles of protection have been gaining ground in every civilized nation, England not excepted, during the last two decades. If the aberration of free trade mislead us, it will be like a blizzard, destructive yet transient; but, unlike this scourge of storm, it will never be repeated.

CYRUS HAMLIN.

Lexington, Mass.

COÖPERATION IN CHURCH WORK.

I.

SPEECH OF THE REV. DR. JOSIAH STRONG, SECRETARY OF THE EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE OF THE UNITED STATES, AT THE CHRISTIAN CONFERENCE IN WASHINGTON, DECEMBER 9, 1887.

THE application of steam and electricity has given a mighty impetus to civilization because they created vast possibilities of organization and co-operation. The progress of modern material civilization has been made chiefly by seizing upon these possibilities. These two correlative principles have been applied to commerce, to business, to transportation, to manufactures, to almost every form of industry; and thus the forces which are developing our material civilization have been multiplied many fold. But Protestant Christianity has not, as yet, laid hold of these two great principles which characterize the civilization of the nineteenth century. So far as organization and coöperation are concerned, Protestant Christianity is nearly a hundred years behind the age. It is still living in the eighteenth century.

There must be preserved a certain parity of growth between the material on the one hand, and the moral and spiritual on the other. So far as the former outstrips the latter, our civilization becomes materialistic, our prosperity becomes our peril. And this is the great peril which threatens our Christian civilization to-day. Its lower elements have outgrown the higher; hence a demoralizing, animalizing tendency. If Christianity is to control our future development, to overmaster the material and make our lusty physical life the servant of the intellectual and the moral, it must avail itself of these two great principles which have given such a marvelous impetus to our material civilization.

And exactly this, the inauguration of intelligent and comprehensive coöperation in aggressive Christian work, is the inspiration of this new movement of the Alliance. It seeks nothing for itself; but being, in the judgment of many eminent men, the medium through which this desired coöperation can be most fitly and hopefully sought, it has accepted this work as a solemn duty providentially laid upon it.

While studying the situation we consulted many wise men, and when our plans were sufficiently matured, we submitted them in outline to leading clergymen and laymen of all evangelical denominations. The indorsement which they received was so unanimous and hearty that we venture to offer them, by way of suggestion, to the Christian public.

It is proposed to invite the ministers and active laymen of each community to come together and form local alliances ; and through this point of contact between the members of all evangelical denominations can be secured, it is believed, —

I. Coöperation in the study of sociological and industrial problems and in the application of Christian principles to their solution.

II. Coöperation in reaching our entire population with the gospel, and

III. The coöperation of the Christian millions of the land for the accomplishment of needed reforms, and for the defense of cherished American institutions. Let us consider

I. Coöperation in the study of sociological and industrial problems, and in the application of the principles of the gospel to their solution.

The conflict, not between capital and labor, — each of which is the complement of the other, and which are as necessary to each other as are the two wings of a bird, — but the conflict between capitalists and laborers, shows that our industrial system has not been informed by Christian principles. The fact of estrangement between the well-to-do and the ill-to-do, the indifference and exclusiveness of the one class and the discontent and even bitterness of the other, together with the selfishness of both, are proof that the principles of the gospel have not yet permeated our social system. . . . May it not be that we are just now entering upon a new era in the history of the church and of civilization, viz., the era of *applied Christianity*?

There is evidence that this nation has been commissioned of God to lead the way. The meeting on our shores of all kindreds and peoples and tongues tends to make ours a cosmopolitan civilization ; and the fact that races which for centuries have inherited mutual antipathies are here commingling in their daily life, marks this as the land where first will take place a readjustment in the relations of man and man, based neither on the accident of birth nor on the incident of wealth, but rather on the broad basis of human brotherhood and Christian fellowship. The many rule here as nowhere else. Public opinion expresses itself in law, and makes itself felt in the modification or transformation of existing institutions, much more quickly than in other lands, even in those which are popularly governed. Moreover, our artisan classes are the most intelligent in the world ; and this fact is highly favorable to their intelligent coöperation in hastening a better day. . . .

It is suggested that the leading Christian men of each community come together statedly, not to speculate, not to develop new theories of society, but to study the problems of their own town, to find what are the real hindrances to its moral and spiritual progress, and devise practical means for their removal. Let them study the work and become inspired with the spirit of such men as Oberlin and Chalmers. Let them acquaint themselves with methods which in various instances have proved successful in reaching and elevating the masses. And whenever their experience throws new light on methods of dealing with pauperism, or preventing crime, or evangelizing city slums or neglected rural districts, when progress is made in adjusting

the relations between employer and employed on Christian principles, let the national Alliance have the light, and it will reflect it to all its branches. Thus through coöperation these branches will stimulate one another, and each will profit by the experience of all.

Local alliances can render important service by preparing reading-matter of the right sort and scattering it widely among workmen. The artisan classes are now largely left a prey to chimerical reformers, social quacks, and political charlatans, the results of whose teachings are deeper discontent and stronger class antipathies; popular lecture courses might be provided for workmen, acquainting them with the fundamental principles of political economy and such historical facts as bear upon living questions.

When state and county and local alliances have been formed throughout the land, their regular meetings, together with great national conferences like this, cannot fail powerfully to stimulate the study of such questions from a Christian point of view or to throw much light on methods by which the various branches of the church of Christ can best coöperate in applying His teachings to the entire life of every community. Thus coöperation through local alliances will afford a method of developing methods.

II. Again, through the local alliance, all evangelical Christians can coöperate in reaching the entire population with the gospel.

There are multitudes in our churches to-day who, so far as any aggressive Christian work is concerned, undertake nothing in particular, and succeed in doing it. This inactivity, however, is not always due to indifference. Not a few are interested and would gladly serve, but know not what or how to do. . . . Most people lack initiative. Whether in mechanical industries, or in commerce or art or war or government, it is the few who plan and the many who execute, the few who lead and the many who are led; and as long as human nature remains what it is, this must be true in Christian work as elsewhere. Our church members lack leadership. If work were apportioned and responsibility individualized, it would be accepted. There is abundant latent power in our churches to reach the non-church-going population. Let the local alliances organize this power, and make it active to that end. The method of organization for such work is given in detail in a pamphlet which the Alliance will gladly furnish on application. It describes the methods successfully employed in Oswego, N. Y., and was written by Dr. Russell of that city. . . .

The local alliance, in undertaking systematic work in behalf of the non-church-going population, will need an accurate knowledge of facts. How many people are there in the town or township not effectively reached by the churches? How many attend church only occasionally or not at all? What is the church preference of non-attendants? How many children are there not in Sabbath-school? How many are Roman Catholics? How many families are needy? How many persons are out of employment? How many sick? The number of saloons, houses of ill-repute, and gambling-places?

In order to gain this information and follow it up systematically, let the

local alliance appoint from each church efficient laymen—one for every hundred members, more or less—who shall direct the work. Let the pastors and these laymen select from their own church ten visitors for each director. Most of them ought to be women. Divide the community into as many districts as there are directors or supervisors, equalizing the work as nearly as possible. Divide each district into ten sub-districts and assign a visitor to each. It will be found generally on this system that each sub-district averages about ten non-church-going families; though in our great cities the number will be larger. In such cases it would be well to increase the number of visitors. After the first canvass has shown just where the non-church-goers are and how many they are, the work will be more equitably divided by re-districting; after which each visitor should retain the same sub-district for the year, in order that they may each become really acquainted with the people upon whom they call.

Before the canvass is begun, all the visitors meet the directors and pastors for instructions and prayer. When brought thoroughly into the spirit of the movement, made familiar with their duties, and supplied with uniform blanks, they enter upon their work; which will not be found so great but that each visitor can call on his entire charge mouthly.

The canvass will reveal non-church-goers, not a few, who are members of churches elsewhere, but who have failed to transfer their membership and have become negligent of Christian duty. Some who rarely or never attend church will express a preference for some minister or denomination. Each pastor is informed of his own and charged with the duty of finding them. Those who express no preference are cordially invited in the name of all the churches, to attend the nearest place of worship. If the first invitation is declined, perhaps the twelfth will be accepted.

Each visitor reports to his director, and the board of directors tabulate their facts at regular meetings. This board serves as a sort of clearing-house between the coöperating churches.

The visitors have a monthly meeting, in which they exchange experiences with mutual profit. Public meetings, at stated times, sustain the interest of the churches in the work and insure their sympathy.

The methods thus hurriedly outlined have proved entirely successful with a population as small as nine thousand, and with one as large as twenty-six thousand. It is believed they would prove equally applicable to a village, and, with certain modifications, to the largest city. In the latter case, it is suggested that there be formed a city alliance, which shall be auxiliary to the national organization. Let the city alliance form various branches in different districts of the city; and the churches of one district, containing a population of twenty-five or perhaps fifty thousand, can coöperate through their local alliance, and work their district as if it were a small city by itself. The relations of these various branches to each other and to the city alliance can be easily adjusted.

Nothing suggested is rigid. There is the greatest possible freedom of adaptation to the peculiar conditions of different communities. Experience

will improve on methods, and free intercourse will soon afford each branch the advantages of the best.

We recognize obstacles. There are difficulties to be overcome. But then, duty is often difficult ; it is never impracticable. Such coöperation as has been sketched may require more grace than is possessed by some brother, but not more than he can get. While he is awaiting a fuller supply he will perhaps offer some objections, which we may be permitted to anticipate. It is said that "the proposed undertaking is formidable." It certainly involves work ; but most things do that are worth the doing. Philadelphia has demonstrated that such a canvass can be thoroughly made in a great city. If one in ten of our evangelical church-membership will give a half day once a month to such work, the gospel can be carried to the home of every non-church-going family in the United States twelve times a year. It is objected that "ladies of culture cannot be induced to engage in such house-to-house visitation." They can be, if they have the spirit of Christ ; and if they lack it they will not be wanted. "But such work will be very expensive." On the contrary, it is found to be trifling.

It is asked, "Will not people resent such inquiries into their church habits ?" Yes, to some extent, but not so as to embarrass the work. Much will depend on the good sense of the visitors. I knew a visitor who gathered the desired facts concerning more than twelve thousand people of all sorts, and in only two instances met with the slightest rebuff.

"But," it is urged, "there are too many organizations already." Since whatever concerns the intellectual, moral, or spiritual welfare of the community that can be accomplished better through coöperation than by individual or denominational effort is germane to the local alliance, it will greatly simplify work and obviate the necessity of multiplied organizations.

"But are not pastors overworked already ; how can they undertake additional burdens ?" Yes, many pastors are being worked to death — killed, because they are trying to do their own duty and that of the church besides. And it is that for which the church pays the minister — to do the aggressive Christian work, which ought to be the *business* of every Christian. Every one knows that the work of the church is done by a very small minority of its membership. The great majority are under the impression that all personal Christian work may be commuted for a money consideration, that the pastor and a city missionary or two are employed to do such work in their stead. As well might a regiment of soldiers expect their colonel, with an aid-de-camp or two, to fight their battles. There are no substitutes in this war. Christian duty cannot be done vicariously.

It is this work, left undone by the many, which causes the chariot wheels of the church to drive heavily, and which is working so many ministers to their death. This new movement proposes greatly to increase the working force of the church. The membership undertakes a vast amount of personal work, now left almost wholly to the clergy. This coöperative movement will serve all the great ends for which the pastors are laboring. It at once stimulates the growth of congregations and Sabbath-schools. It meets

the three great prerequisites for reaching the masses ; that is, it arouses a desire to reach them, it furnishes the information necessary to sustain interest, and mingles the leaven with the meal. It increases the spirituality of the church. A large proportion of the membership cannot thus engage in systematic, personal Christian work without gaining to themselves and the church a rich blessing, and enjoying an outpouring of the Holy Spirit which has been the great need of the church in all ages. Surely the overtaxed pastor is the last man who can reasonably decline to enter so helpful a movement and lead his people into it.

The coöperation should not be confined to the churches which join hands in the local alliance. When a sufficient number of local alliances have been formed in the same State, they should come together and organize a state alliance. A secretary for the same should be secured who will push the work of local and county organizations. The county alliances could coöperate in finding and evangelizing the destitute neighborhood far removed from churches. There are many such neglected localities in the country as well as the city, especially in mountain regions, north as well as south.

Plans might be wrought out by which an inter-denominational committee of the state alliance could do something, perhaps much, towards securing a wiser distribution of churches, a better economy of men and means. The introduction of railways has shifted populations. Many villages in the older States have been depleted, so that churches perhaps once necessary, or at least justifiable, are now forced to struggle for existence and fall into competition. There are often three or four feeble churches where one or two could do the work as well, and hence better. Our frontier towns likewise suffer sometimes from a congestion of churches, while other towns and large city populations of twenty, forty, and even fifty thousand souls have but one Protestant church, and perhaps none at all of any kind. This is not doing the Lord's business on business principles. A comprehensive study of the whole field with reference to all the denominations at work in it, and a large-souled Christian coöperation among them, might do much to relieve both the famine in the ministry and that in home missionary society treasuries.

III. Through the local alliance can be secured the coöperation of the Christian millions of the land for the accomplishment of needed reforms, and for the defense of cherished American institutions.

Does any one doubt that the ten or twelve million members of evangelical churches in the United States could, if united in aim and methods, accomplish any moral reform within the range of possibility? There is now no facility for concert of action. If a measure of vital importance to public morals were pending in Congress or a state legislature, and the moral and Christian sentiment of the nation were a substantial unit for or against it, there is no organization through which it could promptly and effectively act. We must expect crises, state and national, when such an organization will be imperatively needed. Indeed, such exigencies are so clearly in sight, that such an organization ought to be near at hand. The enemies of the Christian Sabbath are organizing in several States for the express purpose

of breaking down our Sabbath laws. To a united front we need to oppose a united front. If we had local alliances in every community, a few days would suffice to cover a State with documents and bring to bear upon legislatures a pressure which would be irresistible.

Another illustration of the need of a comprehensive organization, which will make possible the coöperation of our Protestant churches, is the attack upon our public school system, the attempt to pervert public funds to the support of sectarian schools. The Alliance has abundant evidence that this is the fixed purpose of Ultramontaniam in the United States, a policy which is fraught with imminent danger to our free institutions.

The common school is the principal digestive organ of the body politic. It does more than anything else to assimilate the children of the immigrant. In the common school these children of European peasants are the peers of any. They breathe a new atmosphere of self-respect and independence, and are taught to think. With such a training there is little danger of their being made the minions of a foreign potentate.

The parochial school would build a wall around these children and separate them from Americanizing influences, would make of Irish children Irish *men*, of German children German *men*. Our land is broad enough for a thousand million *Americans*, born in whatever land, but not large enough for these diverse elements *among us* which refuse to be *of us*. . . .

II.

APPROVED METHODS OF COÖPERATION.

THE churches of Mansfield, Ohio, several years ago, and more recently those of Oswego, N. Y., carried into successful operation a method of coöperation equally adapted to other communities. The Rev. Dr. Frank Russell, who as a pastor was identified with the origin of the work in both places, has prepared, at the request of the Evangelical Alliance of the United States, the following suggestions for the organization of local Alliances.

I. SOME EXISTING CONDITIONS.

There is reason to believe that more than one half of the population never attend any church, and that regular attendants are much less than one half.

In our cities there are but few who own homes. A very large class move every year or oftener. They do not take root ecclesiastically or socially before they move again. Hence many families fall away from the church, and there are not a few, with unused church letters, prevented from forming church relations by their feeling of instability. Inquiry showed that in a certain district of one city forty per cent. of the non-church-goers were members of churches elsewhere.

In the country many are far removed from church services and too in-

different to make the necessary effort to attend. Careful examination of forty-four representative towns in Vermont recently showed that of those living two miles or more from church two thirds never attend.

The foreign element multiplies the number of non-church-goers; many foreigners being not simply indifferent but positively hostile to the churches.

The church membership as a whole feels no responsibility for the existing condition of things. The minister is expected to do the aggressive Christian work of the church. When the spiritual life of the church is revived, there is for a time a lay activity which is fruitful of good results, but exceptional efforts are soon discontinued and the churchless multitude are left to themselves.

The churches have no mutual understanding. Each claims to occupy the whole field, while there are scores and hundreds of houses to which the gospel is never carried. There is no intelligent coöperation, without which there can be no comprehensive and well-sustained effort to carry the gospel to the entire community. Meanwhile, notwithstanding all the growth of the churches, the number of the unsaved is constantly and rapidly increasing.

II. SOME PRINCIPLES.

The consideration of the following propositions has done much toward organizing the alliance of church members for local Christian work.

1st. *The very genius of the gospel* certainly contemplates that the churches shall be in earnest. The fields everywhere whiten for the harvest. "Why stand ye all the day idle?" He who has heard the call must himself say, "Come!" He must go into the very streets and lanes and persuade their inhabitants to come in.

2d. *The membership of the churches must rally to this activity.* They must do this because individual growth depends upon it, because the waving fields demand it, because the upbuilding of the church demands it. The membership of the churches must not relegate its appropriate gospel work to the lodges, reform societies, guilds, or any other associations. The churches must accept the responsibility of their own legitimate work.

3d. Neither can the churches clustered together in any given community do the work *separately*. No church can do its own work well unless it is also assisting the work of the other churches. The powers of evil easily unite; the churches, also, must unite in coöperation against the powers of evil. Nothing will so secure and maintain complete harmony, and show forth the strength of it, as associated Christian work. This is commonly seen to be the very force that brings precious results in revivals. The spectacle of such union in the community carries great power with it. "That they all may be one, that the world may believe that Thou hast sent me." New locations for the organization of Sunday-schools, missions, and churches will be better secured, and confirmed in the respective denominations, if the activity which has led to them is a true union of gospel forces.

4th. *The crowning point is individual effort.* The power of preaching is

largely lost in generalities; when personal persuasions follow it there is a revival. We count swarms of men everywhere seeking personal conference with people to sell them goods. The work of the gospel must also be hand to hand. The work must be done by the individual with the individual. In political contests the primary organizations poll every voter, learn the preference of each, and are able to give the entire list of doubtful ones. Personal effort in Christian work is equally effective and certainly more important.

5th. The work must be done *thoroughly*. It is not enough that we have churches, complete in their equipment; we must go out into the streets and lanes to bring in the people who now remain away. They must every one of them be found. They must feel the pulsation of the church life in their homes and through actual acquaintance.

6th. The work must be *perpetual*. If there is reason why it should be done during any month of the year, the same reason holds good for every month of the year. If there is any reason why the evangelizing work should be started, the same reason holds for its continuance. It is right to commence a thorough gospel work. It is right to improve on the same by wise changes, from time to time, but it is a great wrong to abandon it.

III. A PRACTICAL AND TESTED METHOD.

What is here attempted is to present an actual structure which may help toward a working pattern. It is not stereotyped, but flexible in every part. The aim has been, not to make a new organization, but, recognizing the churches as already the organization, simply to adjust a method of applying their existing forces with as little machinery as possible. The name Evangelical Alliance expresses the nature of what is now being accomplished. The results of more than ten years of careful application, in different places and under various phases, warrants the writer in assuming that the work is far beyond empirical limitations. He is frequently called upon to set forth the practical method of this coöperation or alliance of churches. This description is for that purpose.

The first step is for the ministers of a town, of some ward of a city, or of some country community, to unite with a firm and consecrated purpose for active Christian work. Let each one of them select from the membership of his own church one thoroughly active, zealous, and competent person for each hundred of his membership. If there be a remaining fraction of a hundred, over fifty, let him select one more. This will give a force fairly apportioned among the churches. These selected persons are to act as supervisors, each to have a district, and each to have a force of workers to visit in his district. Let each pastor call his own supervisors together, explain to them the work to be done, and see that they are thoroughly consecrated to the work which he shares with the other coöperating ministers. Each church may exercise whatever form of appointment may be most according to its own usages, in order that these supervisors may stand as representatives of their respective churches.

? If any churches in the vicinage decline to coöperate, they must simply be dropped and the utmost kindness maintained toward them. The Roman Catholic churches and, in rare instances, some others will not enter such alliance.

A meeting of the coöperating pastors and supervisors, who together constitute the working executive, appoints a committee to secure the division of their whole territory into districts which, as nearly as practicable, shall consist of one hundred dwellings each. It will be found that, on the average, the number of supervisors thus obtained and the number of such districts will be just about equal. In large Catholic populations the districts may as well count more than one hundred houses each, because the first canvass will reveal some houses which would better be omitted in subsequent visitations. The number of dwellings in a district will not be exactly one hundred each, but this should be aimed at. The next step is the distribution of these districts among the corps of supervisors. This may be done by lot or otherwise, as agreeable and best. Each supervisor will then make a sketch of his district, dividing it into ten fields, with the aim of showing ten dwellings in each field. This done, careful record, with duplicate, being made of the same, the whole field is ready for the workers. The force of workers must come *pro rata* from the members of the churches. The best way is for each pastor to sit down with his own supervisors, each one of them to have a list of the church members before him, and to designate, one by one, in rotation, until each has chosen a corps of fifteen. It is necessary to make choice of a larger number than will be called into immediate service. Some that are chosen likely cannot serve. Some will be temporarily interrupted, and a reserve corps will be necessary in each church. Then will each of these supervisors notify the persons on his list to meet the pastor for a conference of explanation and consecration. If there be three supervisors, this meeting will consist of the pastor, these three, and forty-five selected persons.

The pastor should then explain that this work is not burdensome; that each one of these forty-five visitors is to receive a list of houses lying together in some specified field, and will be asked to visit them in a friendly, social way once every month, with very much as to time, seasons, and method left optional with the visitor, only that a report be made according to the printed blank, to be returned every month. This whole service can be accomplished, if necessary, in one afternoon per month; so the duty is not onerous.

After such meetings in the respective churches, let there be a meeting of the pastors and supervisors, where a long list of all the visitors shall be brought. The name of each, with the address, and such initial as shall designate church relationship, should be placed upon a card. Let these cards be collected according to church relations, so that there shall be the Presbyterian package, the Baptist package, the Methodist package, and so on. Let the packages be placed in separate baskets and passed around to the supervisors, first one, and then the next, and then the next, until the names

have all been distributed. This gives to each supervisor his corps of workers, consisting of both men and women, carefully selected, and from all the churches, each denomination represented with the fullest fairness, and all profoundly consecrated to the gospel work of the community. This arrangement makes impossible to any one denomination an unfair advantage over the others.

Each supervisor is now ready to call together his corps of workers, assign to them, by lot or in any agreeable way, their respective fields, install them in the work of the same, and to explain to them the method of securing statistics according to the blanks which he places in their hands. These blanks are simply a list of facts desirable to be gained toward the help of unchurched families into Sunday-school and church attendance. The statistics with reference to the same should be made out each month. The visitor of course exercises discretion and option with regard to gathering the same. That the work may be thoroughly understood and done in a uniform manner, it is well that a card of suggestions should be given to the visitors. One important matter of immediate fruitfulness is that they ascertain from the families not connected with any church their denominational alliance, or their ministerial preference, and report the same, with name and address, immediately to the minister of the church preferred. The supervisors should have also a blank for the monthly summary, on which they tabulate the reports which their visitors have prepared. These reports should cover each calendar month. It is well also to have a card of suggestions for the supervisors, for the better regulation of their work. The general secretary will tabulate, from month to month, the district reports furnished by the supervisors, and thus gain reliable statistics from the entire community.

Repeated visits for friendly conversation on church and Sunday-school relations, and the matter of Christian living, will very soon develop facts of such deep and personal interest that visitors will be attracted to the work. Children will be gathered into the various Sunday-schools, and they and other members of the households will soon commence attending church. The pastors' lists of places where they are to call, on definite errands, lengthen. Many whom circumstances keep at their homes — the sick, the aged, the poor — rejoice that some one from the churches comes to talk with them, and many tell the experience of the sad dearth of such attention, stretching to even years of life within the sound of the church bells.

Meetings for the care of the work are perhaps best arranged as follows : On one week of the month the meeting of the executive board, which consists of the chairman, the secretary, the treasurer, the chairman of the finance committee, and likely a couple more appointed from the supervisors and ministers to act with them. This meeting reviews and plans the work, and makes the programme for the supervisors' meeting, to be held on the following week, when the supervisors and pastors shall come together for mutual conference and regulation of plans. This meeting completes the preparation of the programme for the next and larger meeting of the

month. Admission to this meeting is better by tickets given out to the visitors, the reserves, the supervisors, and pastors. At this meeting the general secretary makes his report of the work done the preceding month, and of such revisions in the plans as have been fixed upon, which are then fully explained. The visitors and supervisors also have opportunities for suggestions and the relation of experiences, which latter is of peculiar and blessed interest. Testimonies will be brought from many a home, that this work furnishes all the touch of gospel grace it has had, perhaps, for years. The revival spirit pervades this meeting. This general monthly meeting may be varied from time to time by an open meeting, where popular addresses may be made upon topics connected with the work.

The finance committee act on ways and means, and their duties are not onerous. Printing bills, some postage, and possibly some clerical work, aggregating only a moderate expense, are equalized pro rata upon the churches, and raised by the supervisors in the respective churches. This expense is not burdensome, and as the interest pervades the churches by the increased attendance in Sunday-school, prayer-meeting, and church service, it will be readily and cheerfully paid. With this simple machinery, so well and fairly adjusted to the working and wants of the churches, any desirable feature can easily be emphasized. The temperance work, the care of the poor, the sick, and the increase of Sunday-school attendance are easily and effectually carried forward, as may be planned by the pastors and supervisors.¹

It would be too much to expect that a work so thoroughly permeating the community in the interests of practical Christianity should be attended with universal favor. Some among the most ignorant will oppose it, some among the most depraved will oppose it, the indifferent outside the churches will have some to oppose it, the indifferentism within the churches will have some to oppose it, that kind of formalism in the churches which is unevangelical will oppose it, but as the fruits will soon begin to be gathered, and as the praying people, together with the ministers, witness these fruits, they will rejoice in them and increase their interest. This is a form of work which carries its own recommendation with it. It may move slow, but it is a broad, thorough, great, and continuous revival, and a revival of work which does not disturb the general habits or the autonomy of the respective churches. Such churches as at first decline coöperation will likely soon be won to the work. Their pastors will receive their share of the preferences expressed by households for denomination, church, or minister. These are scrupulously and promptly forwarded by the visitors to the appro-

¹ While most communities have some problems which are peculiar and local, and which must receive local study and exceptional treatment, they have others of a more general character whose solution would be most helpful to all cities or towns of the same class. Let each local alliance, therefore, send the results of its own careful study and experience to the national alliance, which, serving as a point of contact and bond of union between the branch alliances, will be able to afford to each the benefit of the experience of all.

priate minister, and the parties are encouraged to attend the churches of their preference. So that all churches receive the benefits, and the voice of unfavorable criticism will likely be well-nigh hushed. Yet there will be infelicities, doubtless, here and there, in the work of both visitors and supervisors, which, however, are soon lost, as faint ripples upon the sweeping tidal wave.

If pastors are indifferent or over-selfish, and shrink from firm, united, and continuous engagement in the work, it will be a failure.

If in a community, say, of twenty-four thousand population, of fifteen churches, ten of them coöperating, there be three hundred visitors, each visiting a field of ten dwellings, the reports aggregating the number of three thousand calls every month made upon families, with no households admitted, and made purely in the interest of our common Christianity, the building of the homes more and more into the life of the gospel, seeking all the poor, the lame, and the halt, and, what is a great matter, gaining the reflex good of the experience and training to the three hundred workers — such a work need not repine if unappreciated by some who do not understand it.

WOMAN AS PREACHER.

THE SPIRIT GIVETH LIFE.

CHRIST, not Paul, is the source of all churchly authority and power. What do we find Him saying? How did He deal with women? In the presence of the multitude, He drew from Martha the same testimony that He required of his apostles, and she publicly replied, almost in Peter's very words, "Yea, Lord, I believe that thou art the Christ, the Son of God, which should come into the world." He declared his commission to the woman at the well of Samaria, with an emphasis and a particularity hardly equaled in any of his public addresses, and her embassy was abundantly rewarded. What pastor would not rejoice to hear such words as these: "Now we believe, not because of thy saying, for we have heard Him ourselves, and know that this is indeed the Christ, the Saviour of the world."

It is objected that He called no woman to be an apostle. Granted, but He himself said that He chose one man who had a devil; is this a precedent? One is half inclined to think so, when one reads the long record of priestly intolerance, its culmination being the ostracism of Christ's most faithful followers from their right to proclaim the risen Lord, who gave to Mary the first commission to declare his resurrection. True, He did not designate women as his followers; they came without a call; from their sex He had his human origin; with the immeasurable dignities of his incarnation and his birth, only God and woman were concerned; no utterance of his marks woman as ineligible to any position in the church He came to found; but his gracious words and deeds, his impartation of his purposes and plans to women; his stern reproofs to men who did them wrong, his chosen companionships, and the tenor of his whole life and teaching, all point out precisely the opposite conclusion. Indeed, Luke explicitly declares (viii. 1, 2, 3) that as "He went

throughout every city and village, preaching and showing the glad tidings of the Kingdom of God, "the twelve were with Him, *and certain women*," among whom were "Joanna, the wife of Chuza, Herod's steward, and Susanna, and many others, which ministered unto Him of their substance."

What a spectacle must that have been for the "Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites." What loss of caste came to those fearless women, who, breaking away from the customs of society and traditions of religion, dared to follow the greatest of Iconoclasts from city to village with a publicity and a persistence nothing less than outrageous to the conservatives of that day.

Verily, Devotion, thy name is Woman !

"Not she with trait'rous kiss her Saviour stung ;
Not she denied Him with unholy tongue ;
She, while apostles shrank, could danger brave,
Last at his cross, and earliest at his grave."

Christ's commission only is authoritative. To whom did He give it after his resurrection ? until which time the new dispensation was not fairly ushered in. If we are to accept specific statements, rather than the drift and spirit of the inspired book, as conclusive of a question involving half the human race, let us, then, here take our stand on our Lord's final words and deeds. It is stated (Luke xxiv. 33) that the two disciples to whom Christ appeared on the way to Emmaus, "returned to Jerusalem, and found the eleven gathered together, and *them that were with them*, saying, The Lord is risen, indeed, and hath appeared to Simon." Be it understood that women used this language, the women "which came with Him from Galilee." It was "them that were with them" (*i. e.*, with the eleven), who were saying, "The Lord is risen indeed."

While they were thus assembled and talking of the wonderful experience of that day, Jesus appeared again, saying, "Peace be unto you." Let us turn to John xx. 19-23, where we have an account of this same appearance of Christ to his disciples, for it says explicitly (after stating that Mary Magdalene came and told the disciples that she had seen the Lord), "Then the same day at evening . . . Jesus stood in the midst and saith unto them, Peace be unto you ; as my Father hath sent me even

so I send you. And when He had said this, He breathed on them and saith unto them, Receive ye the Holy Ghost; whose soever sins ye remit they are remitted unto them, and whose soever sins ye retain they are retained." These, then, are his words spoken to the eleven and "*them* that were with them." He then "opened their understanding that they might understand the Scriptures," and declared that "repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name among all nations, beginning at Jerusalem," and declared, "*ye are witnesses* of these things. And behold, I send the promise of my Father upon you, but tarry ye in Jerusalem until ye be endued with power from on high. And He led them out as far as to Bethany, and He lifted up his hands, and blessed them. And it came to pass, while He blessed them, He was parted from them, and carried up into heaven. And they worshiped Him, and returned to Jerusalem with great joy."

Does any reasonable person suppose that his mother was not there, or that the other Marys were not? or the great company of women that had ministered to Him? But we are not left in doubt. Turn to Acts i. 13, 14. After stating Christ's command that they should not depart from Jerusalem, but wait for the promise of the Father, "For ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost not many days hence," after which "Ye shall be witnesses unto me unto the uttermost parts of the earth;" and after giving a brief account of the resurrection, this passage occurs: "Then returned they unto Jerusalem, and when they were come in, they went up into an upper room where abode both Peter and James and John . . . these all continued with one accord in prayer and supplication *with the women*, and Mary, the mother of Jesus, and with his brethren. And when the day of Pentecost was fully come, they were *all* with one accord in one place. . . . And they were *all* filled with the Holy Ghost and began to speak with other tongues as the Spirit gave them utterance." Then Peter said: "This is that which was spoken by the prophet Joel, I will pour out my Spirit upon *all* flesh, and your sons and *your daughters* shall prophesy, and on my servants and on my *handmaids* I will pour out my Spirit, and *they shall prophesy*." Paul proves that prophesying may be preaching when he says (1 Cor. xiv. 3): "But he that prophe-

sieth speaketh unto men to edification and exhortation and comfort." Well said Gamaliel of this new dispensation: "If this counsel or this work be of men, it will come to naught; but if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it lest haply ye be found to fight against God."

Let not conservative ecclesiastical leaders try to steady the Lord's ark; let them not bind what God hath loosed; let them not retain the bondage he hath remitted, lest haply they be found to fight against God!

"We want the earth," is the world-old motto of men. They have had their desire, and we behold the white male dynasty reigning undisputed until our own day; lording it over every heritage, and constituting the only unquestioned "apostolic succession." Only one thing can end the dire enchantment we are under, and that is to know the truth, for truth alone makes free. And the truth of God, a thousand times repeated by the voice of history, science, and every-day experience, resounds louder to-day than in all preceding ages: "It is not good for man to be alone!" Suppose it be admitted that the dual-natured founder of Christianity, in whose character the force that smote the money-changers of the temple was commingled with the love that yearned to gather Jerusalem as a hen gathers "her chickens under her wings," chose as his apostles the only ones who in that barbarous age would be tolerated in preaching it. Thoroughly reformed Protestantism recognizes the apostles as having had no successors. Hence, any argument built on man's primacy as related to them and the manner of their choosing falls to the ground. It is curious, considering certain exegetical literalism, that their method of choosing by lot should not have been insisted upon as a part of the divine order!

In the revolt from Roman license, the clergy early declared woman a delusion and a snare, banished her from the company of men who aspired to holiness, and, by introducing the denaturalizing heresy of a celibate clergy, made it impossible for the doctrine of God's eternal fatherhood to be so understood by the preacher that it should become vital in the hearer's heart. It is *men* who have defrauded manhood and womanhood, in the persons of priest and monk and nun, of the right to the sancti-

ties of home ; men who have invented hierarchies, enthroned a fisherman as God's vicegerent, lighted inquisitorial fires, and made the Prince of peace a mighty man of war. It is men who have taken the simple, loving, tender gospel of the New Testament, so suited to be the proclamation of a woman's lips, and translated it in terms of sacerdotalism, dogma, and martyrdom. It is men who have given us the dead letter rather than the living gospel. The mother-heart of God will never be known to the world until translated into terms of speech by mother-hearted women. Law and love will never balance in the realm of grace until a woman's hand shall hold the scales.

Men preach a creed ; women will declare a life. Men deal in formulas, women in facts. Men have always tithed mint and rue and cummin in their exegesis and their ecclesiasticism, while the world's heart has cried out for compassion, forgiveness, and sympathy. Men's preaching has left heads committed to a catechism, and left hearts hard as nether millstones. The Greek bishop who said, "My creed is faultless, with my life you have nothing to do," condensed into a sentence two thousand years of priestly dogma. Men reason in the abstract, women in the concrete. A syllogism symbolizes one, a rule of life the other. In saying this I wish distinctly to disclaim any attack upon the clergy ; any slighting allusion to the highest and holiest of callings ; I am speaking only of the intolerant sacerdotal element that has handicapped the church from the earliest ages even until now, and which has been more severely criticised by the best element in the church than by any words that I have penned.

Religion is an affair of the heart. The world is hungry for the comfort of Christ's gospel, and thirsty for its every-day beatitudes of that holiness which alone constitutes happiness. Men have lost faith in themselves and each other. Boodlerism and "corners" on the market, greed of gain, passion for power, desire for drink, impurity of life, the complicity of the church, Protestant as well as Papal, with the liquor traffic, the preference of a partisan to a conscientious ballot, have combined to make the men of this generation faithless toward one another. The masses of the people have forsaken God's house, and solace

themselves in the saloons or with the Sunday newspaper. But the masses will go to hear women when they speak, and every woman who leads a life of week-day holiness, and has the gospel in her looks, however plain her face and dress may be, has round her head the sweet Madonna's halo, in the eyes of every man who sees her, and she speaks to him with the sacred cadence of his own mother's voice. The devil knew what he was doing when he exhausted sophistry to keep woman down and silent. He knew that "the only consecrated place on earth is where God's Spirit is," and that a Christian woman's heart enshrines that holy guest more surely than many a "consecrated" pulpit.

Men have been preaching well nigh two thousand years, and the large majority of the converts have been women. Suppose now that women should share the preaching power, might it not be reasonably expected that a majority of the converts under their administration would be men? Indeed, how else are the latter to have a fair chance at the gospel? The question is asked in all seriousness, and if its practical answer shall be the equipping of women for the pulpit, it may be reasonably claimed that men's hopes of heaven will be immeasurably increased. Hence, one who urges the taking-off of the arbitrary ruling which now excludes woman from a choice portion of her kingdom may well claim to have manifested especial considerateness towards the interests of men.

The entrance of woman upon the ministerial vocation will give to humanity just twice the probability of strengthening and comforting speech, for women have certainly as much sympathy, reverence, and spirituality as men, and they have at least equal felicity of manner and of utterance. Why, then, should the pulpit be shorn of half its power?

To the exegesis of the cloister we oppose that of common life. To the Orientalism that is passing off the stage, we oppose modern Christianity. In our day, the ministers of a great church¹ have struck the word "obey" out of the marriage service, have already made women eligible to every rank except the ecclesiastic, and are withheld from raising her to the minis-

¹ The Methodist Episcopal, with two millions of members.

terial office only by the influence of a few leaders, who are insecurely seated on the safety-valve of that mighty engine, Progress. In our day, all churches, except the hierarchical Presbyterian, Episcopal, and Roman Catholic, have made women eligible as members of their councils, leaders in their Sunday-school systems, in several cases have set them apart to the ministry, and in almost all have opened their pulpits to them; even the slow-moving Presbyterian having done this quite generally in later years, and the Episcopal, in several instances, granting women "where to stand" in its chapels, outside the charmed arc of its chancel-rail.

Whoever quotes to the intelligent and devout women of the American church to-day the specific instructions given by Paul to the illiterate and immoral women of Corinth does so at the expense of sound judgment, not to say scholarship. An exegesis so strained and so outworn is on a par with that which would pronounce the Saviour of the world "a glutton and a wine-bibber," because the Pharisees, when he came eating and drinking, declared him to be such.

The lifeless prayer-meetings, from which women's voices are excluded, are largely given over to perfunctory, official prayers, and the churches that still quote "He shall rule over thee" as a gospel precept are deserted by the great humanity that beats its life along the stony streets. "Behold, your house is left unto you desolate" is the requiem of empty pews that would be full if men and women stood side by side at the church, as they are now fast learning to do at the home altars. For the "man of the house" to do all the praying is to deprive the children of one of life's most sacred ministries — that of their mother's voice in prayer and in the giving of thanks for daily food. Observation in a great variety of homes convinces me that this joint leadership in household worship is being largely introduced. Probably the extreme of masculine prerogative in this regard was illustrated in an Eastern town some years ago, when a boy of twelve was called in from his play to say grace over the lunch prepared between meals for his young lady cousin, a guest newly arrived. The incident is perfectly authentic, and the act was entirely consistent and devout, upon

the theory of man's divinely constituted primacy in matters spiritual.

"Behold, I make all things new" was the joyful declaration of woman's great Deliverer. "He hath sent me to heal the broken-hearted, to preach deliverance to the captives, and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bound." Above all other beings these words must refer to woman, who, without Christ, lies prostrate under society's pitiless and crushing pyramid. Whether they perceive it or not, it is chiefly ecclesiasticism and not Christianity that Robert Ingersoll and Elizabeth Cady Stanton have been fighting; it is the burdens grievous to be borne that men have laid upon weak shoulders, but which they themselves would not touch with one of their fingers. Christ knew that this would be; He had to place the treasure of his gospel in the earthen vessels of selfish human hearts. But that treasure is like the leaven that a woman took and hid in three measures of meal until the whole was leavened.

"Behold, I make all things new;" "the letter killeth, the spirit giveth life." These are his words, who spake not as man speaketh; and how the letter killeth to-day, let the sectarianism, the sacerdotalism, and the woman-silencing of the church bear witness. The time has come when those men in high places, "dressed in a little brief authority" within the church of Christ, who seek to shut women out of the pastorate, cannot do so with impunity. To-day they are taking on themselves a responsibility in the presence of which they ought to tremble. To an earnest, intelligent, and devout element among their brethren they seem to be absolutely frustrating the grace of God. They cannot fail to see how many ministers neither draw men to the gospel feast, nor go out into the highways and hedges seeking them. They cannot fail to see that, although the novelty of women's speaking has worn off, the people rally to hear them as to hear no others, save the most celebrated men of the pulpit and platform; and that especially is it true that "the common people hear them gladly." The plea, urged by some theologians with all the cogency of physiological illustration, that woman is born to one vocation, and one alone, is

negated by her magnificent success as a teacher, a philanthropist, and a physician, by which means she takes the part of foster-mother to myriads of children orphaned or worse than motherless. Their fear that incompetent women may become pastors and preachers should be put to flight by the survival of the church, in spite of centuries of the grossest incompetency in mind and profligacy in life, of men set apart by the laying-on of hands. Their anxiety lest too many women should crowd in is met by the method of choosing a pastor, in which both clergy and people must unite to attest the fitness and acceptability of every candidate.

Formerly the voices of women were held to render them incapable of public speech, but it has been discovered that what these voices lack in sonorosity they supply in clearness, and when women singers outrank all others, and women lecturers are speaking daily to assemblies numbering from one to ten thousand, this objection vanishes.¹ Lack of special preparation is but a temporary barrier. When we see Agnata Ramsay, an English lady but twenty years old, carrying off the Greek prize from the students of Cambridge University, Pundita Ramabai mastering Sanskrit and four other languages, and Toru Dutt, another high-caste Hindu, writing choice verses in French and English before she was twenty-one; when we study the consensus of opinion from presidents of universities as to the equality and even the precedence of the girls in scholarship, we see how flimsy is this argument.

But some men say it will disrupt the home. As well might they talk of driving back the tides of the sea. The mother-

¹ It is probably no more "natural" to women to have feeble voices than it is for them to have long hair. The Greek priests of the East, not being allowed to cut their hair, wear it braided in long cues, even as our forefathers wore theirs. "Nature" has been saddled with the disabilities of women to an extent that must make the thoughtful ones among them smile. The truth is clearly enough proved from the analogies of Creation's lower orders that this gracious and impartial dame has given woman but a single disability, namely, she can never be a father; and this she has offset by man's single disability, he can never be a mother. Ignorance, prejudice, and tyranny have put upon her all the rest, and these are wearing off with encouraging rapidity.

heart will never change. Woman enters the arena of literature, art, business, what you will ; becomes a teacher, a physician, a philanthropist, but she is a woman first of all, and cannot deny herself. In all these great vocations she has still been "true to the kindred points of heaven and home ;" and everybody knows that, beyond almost any other, the minister is one who lives at home. The firesides of the people are his week-day sanctuary, the pulpit is near his own door, and its publicity is so guarded by the people's reverence and sympathy as to make it of all others the place least inharmonious with woman's character and work.

When will blind eyes be opened to see the immeasurable losses that the church sustains by not claiming for her altars these loyal, earnest-hearted daughters, who, rather than stand in an equivocal relation to her polity, are going into other lines of work or taking their commission from the evangelistic department of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union? Or are they willing that woman should go to the lowly and forgotten, but not to the affluent and powerful? Are they willing that women should baptize and administer the sacrament in the zenanas of India, but not at the elegant altars of Christendom? Are they aware that thousands of services are held each Sabbath by white ribbon women, to whom reformed men and their wives have said : " We will come if you will speak. We don't go to church, because they have rented pews, and because we cannot dress well enough ; but we'll come to hear you." Have they observed that W. C. T. U. halls, reading-rooms, and tabernacles for the people are being daily multiplied, in which the poor have the gospel preached to them? Do they know that the World's W. C. T. U., with Margaret Bright Lucas, of England, at its head, is steadily wending its way around the globe, and helping women to their rightful recognition as participants in public worship and as heralds of the gospel?

To ministerial leaders who have been profoundly impressed by the difficulties of the question, " Shall women be ordained to preach?" another question is hereby propounded: " Shall women ordain themselves?" When Wesley urged the Bishop of London to send out a bishop to the Methodist societies in

America, that functionary turned aside with disdain — the societies were so few and the country so far. Wesley, loyal churchman though he was, then yielded to demands he could no longer ignore, and consecrated Thomas Coke a bishop, who in turn consecrated Francis Asbury, the first Methodist bishop in America. That decision of the intrepid founder of Methodism cost the Episcopal Church its future in the New World, as time has proved. History repeats itself. We stand once more at the parting of the roads; shall the bold, resolute men among our clergy win the day and give ordination to women, or shall women take this matter into their own hands? Fondly do women hope, and earnestly do they pray, that the churches they love may not drive them to this extremity. But if her conservative sons do not yield to the leadings of Providence and the importunities of their more progressive brothers, they may be well assured that deliverance shall arise from another place, for the women of this age are surely coming to their kingdom, and humanity is to be comforted out of Zion as one whom his mother comforteth.

The National Woman's Christian Temperance Union has a department of evangelistic work, of Bible readings, of gospel work for railroad employees, for soldiers, sailors, and lumbermen; of prison, jail, and police-station work; each of these departments being in charge of a woman called a national superintendent, who has an assistant in nearly every State and Territory, and she, in turn, in every local union. These make an aggregate of several thousands of women who are regularly studying and expounding God's Word to the multitude, to say nothing of the army in home and foreign missionary work, and who are engaged in church evangelism. Nearly all of this "great host" who now "publish the glad tidings" are quite beyond the watch-care of the church, not because they wish to be so, but because she who has warmed them into life and nurtured them into activity is afraid of her own gentle, earnest-hearted daughters.

The spectacle is both anomalous and pitiful. It ought not to continue. Let the church call in these banished ones, correlate their sanctified activities with her own mighty work, giving them

the same official recognition that it gives to men, and they will gladly take their places under her supervision.¹

There is hardly an objector who does not say, "I would be willing to hear Mrs. or Miss Blank preach, but then they are exceptions; if we open the flood-gates, we cannot tell what may happen." But have you ever opened the flood-gates to men? and certainly your dread of the unseemly behavior of Christian women (the most modest and conservative of human beings!) will lead you to greatly increased caution when their cases are being passed upon. The dominant sex has proved itself able to keep women-incapables out of the medical and the teachers' professions, and surely it will stand on guard with double diligence lest they invade the place where are declared the holy oracles. The whole difficulty is one of the imagination and vanishes when individualized, as it would necessarily be in practice, by the separate scrutiny of conference and synod upon each separate case.

"Oh, it must come, and let it come, since come it must, but not in our day." Why not in yours, my brother? The day in which it comes will be the most glorious one since Christ started the church based on his resurrection, by commissioning Mary to bear the gladdest tidings this dying world has ever heard: "Behold, He is risen!"

The time is hastening, the world grows smaller; we can compass it a thousand-fold more readily than could any previous generation. Within five years, so we are told by leading railroad authorities, we shall be able to go around the globe in forty days, and go accompanied by all the security and comfort of our scientific and luxurious civilization. Women can do this just as readily as men. Then let us send them forth full pano-

¹ The work of D. L. Moody and his associates is without a parallel in Christian annals, and constitutes the great exception to the rule of official church recognition. It is the writer's humble belief that the church would better lay her hand upon all these consecrated men for her own sake. What will India think of the importance of ordination if Mr. Moody, the most successful of preachers, comes to her without it? One thing seems certain, ordination will cease within a hundred years to hold the people's reverence, or the church will enlarge her borders to take in those whose whole lives are dedicated to ministerial work.

plied; let us sound in their gentle ears the "Take authority" of the church's highest tribunal, that untrammelled and free they may lift up the standard of Christ's cross on every shore, and fulfill that wonderful and blessed prophecy (Ps. lxxviii. 11): "The Lord giveth the word. The women that publish the tidings are a great host."

Of all graceless sights this is most graceless: the unseemly word-wrangle of a man against women, or a woman against men. In all that I have herein said, I would be understood as speaking only of men as they were, and as they doubtless had to be, in times passing and past. Few men are so great that official position does not diminish the sturdiness of their individuality and the fearlessness of their utterances. The air of libraries has less of ozone than that of outdoor life, and a great exegete is oftentimes made at the expense of a great man. But it would ill become me as a woman to forget that if men want the earth, women are enough like them to be content with nothing less than half of this bewitching planet; and that if we are coming to our kingdom, we have our brothers largely to thank, for is not possession nine points of the law, and did they not early foreclose the mortgage given at Eden's gate, and gain possession of the globe in its entirety?

It was our big brother, Man, who, at the banquet of Minerva, said to his sister, "Sit down beside me." And since he said it, we have gone dutifully to school. It was he who read our books and encouraged us to write more. It was he who listened to us on the platform and applauded every good thing we said; it is he who invites us to his counsels, ministerial, educational, medical, and philanthropic; he who must let us into the pulpit if we enter, as we know we shall, and that ere long; he who must swing wide the door to the throne-room of government, and bid us share his regal seat as joint rulers with him of this republic. In short, there are men — and men. Why should not those of largest magnanimity do all that they have done and more for us? Are not their wives and daughters women? Did not their earliest and holiest purposes dawn upon them in the mirror of a mother's loving eyes?

It has been my good fortune to be, by tradition and training,

largely moulded in thought by two co-education schools — Oberlin College and the Northwestern University, at Evanston, Illinois. Both of these institutions admit women to the study of theology, and Garrett Biblical Institute (the theological department of the latter) has women students now, and has given a woman its diploma, to whom her young ministerial classmates voted the valedictory. This Institute was founded by one woman, and its time-honored "Heck Hall" is named for another, who was the foundress of American Methodism. Women have been proverbial for their financial liberality towards schools of the prophets, little dreaming that they were but "laying up in store for themselves a good foundation against the time to come," when they should be prophets themselves.

But even my dear old mother-church (the Methodist) did not call women to her altars. I was too timid to go without a call; and so it came about that while my unconstrained preference would long ago have led me to the pastorate, I have missed of it, and am perhaps writing out all the more earnestly for this reason thoughts long familiar to my mind.

Let me, as a loyal daughter of the church, urge upon younger women who feel a call, as I once did, to preach the unsearchable riches of Christ, their duty to seek admission to the doors that would hardly close against them now, in any theological seminary, save those of the Roman, Episcopal, and Presbyterian churches; and let me pleadingly beseech all Christian people who grieve over the world's great heartache, to encourage every true and capable woman, whose heart God has touched, in her wistful purpose of entering upon that blessed gospel ministry, through which her strong yet gentle words and work may help to heal that heartache, and to comfort the sinful and the sad "as one whom his mother comforteth."

But there are many ministers and other thoughtful men who, while their mental outlook is not bounded by a traditional exegesis, find substantial difficulty in reconciling the vocations of minister and mother.

Perhaps no difficulty borrows its dimensions more largely from the imagination. It has not prevented women physicians, whose life is certainly much more exposed, from making a mag-

nificent success in their profession ; witness Dr. Mary Putnam Jacobi, Dr. Clemence Lozier, Dr. Sarah Dolley, and a hundred other noted names. It did not prevent Elizabeth Fry from taming the savages of Newgate prison, nor Mrs. Josephine Butler from traversing England, France, and Italy as an evangel ; nor Mary A. Livermore from dwelling in camps and hospitals during our civil war ; nor Hannah Whitall Smith from declaring to assembled thousands the unsearchable riches of Christ. We can trust the delicate instincts of a Christian mother to guard herself and her audience alike from the least unseemliness. But the sacredness of her vocation, the protection of the pulpit itself, the readiness with which she could procure the assistance of a temporary substitute, all render the circumstances even less difficult for a woman-minister than for most other women who enter upon public life. How small is the interruption involved by motherhood in the duties of healthy women, from the lowly estate of the laundress to the loftiness of the lady of fashion ; how little has it figured as an interruption of the menial duties of the Indian woman, the European peasant, or the wage-worker of our own land. Its colossal significance dawns upon the masculine mind only when mothers would invade territory hitherto consecrated to the privileged sex alone !

We have the testimony of a woman-minister, twenty-five years in the pastorate, the mother of several children, who lost less time than almost any other pastor in the same town. Physicians, whose opinions will be quoted on the other side, are apt to gauge all women by the invalids whom they attend, and to discount their fitness for varied pursuits by concentrating attention on the temporary disabilities involved in the pursuit of motherhood. But this is as unfair as if we judged childhood by its appearance at teething-time, or all men by the specimens we see in hospitals. Nor is it fair to take as a basis in this calculation the average American woman as she appears to-day, deteriorated by the corset habit and the senseless costume, of which high-heeled shoes and draperies equally hideous and unhealthful, are salient features. Perhaps no one progressive movement would do more to set before the people models of the modest and simplified toilet sure to be insisted on by candidates

for ministry and pastorate than the admission to the pulpit of such women. Possibly a reasonable dress reform will find its fortress there.

The influence of the two most exalted possible vocations — that of a mother and a minister — combined in one personality ought, by the laws of heredity and pre-natal influence, immeasurably to spiritualize and exalt the nature of her children. Of such might well be born philanthropists and poets. If the refinement, sympathy, and sweetness of the womanly nature, as men describe it, fits women especially for the sacred duties of the pastoral office, and these qualities are raised to their highest power by the relationships of wife and mother, as all must grant who have not forgotten the priestesses of their own early homes and present firesides, then other things being equal, that woman who is a mother and a wife is, above all others, consecrated and set apart by nature to be a minister in the household of faith. Viewed without prejudice, this position is invulnerable. Were the decision now to be made, for the first time, as to the being on this earth who could best comprehend and most movingly depict the mystery of God manifest in the flesh, conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary, who would not say that being was a mother? Were the pains of Him who died that we might live to be described in accents suited to melt the stoniest heart, who would not say that she who had felt eternity's damp breath upon her forehead while she suffered pangs untold that another life might be, was, of all human beings, the one prepared and consecrated for a mission so divine?

In the very nature of the case, incarnation and vicarious sacrifice — the two cardinal beliefs of Christendom — can never be so convincingly borne to the world's hearts as from the lips that have blanched with agony, while, with groanings that cannot be uttered, the speaker learned, even upon the purely human planes, what those words, incarnation and vicarious sacrifice, do really mean. The more it is studied, the more will it be proved that our holy faith can have no human ally so invincible as she who, with strong crying and tears, has learned the sublime secrets of pain and pathos that only mothers' hearts

can know. The heart of manhood will be stirred to its most sacred depths by preachers and pastors such as these, while the materialistic objector, who in thoughtless ignorance urged as a hindrance that which was the most heaven-given help, will go and beg his mother's pardon that he ever had a thought so thoroughly unworthy of herself and him.

On this subject a leading woman preacher writes as follows :

“ Is not motherhood an insuperable barrier to the pastorate and pulpit ? ”

“ An insuperable barrier ! assuredly not. A healthy woman ; mentally alert, capable, and well balanced ; educated for her profession, and intent upon pursuing it perseveringly but with good sense, might become the mother of many children within a quarter of a century, yet during that period accomplish a vast amount of excellent ministerial and pastoral work. For the following twenty-five years, the discipline and wisdom taught her by maternity with its prolonged lessons of self-abnegation and deepened sympathies, might fairly compensate her parish for any previous disabilities.

“ It is not the *kinds* or the *amounts* of work, but the *methods* of *working*, which must be reconstructed if mothers are to share practically in carrying on the various avocations and professions. A parish which demands forty-eight Sundays of work in a year, with due allowance of week-day ministrations, unintermittently bestowed through eleven working months, would hardly appreciate such spiritual gifts as an earnest matron might afford to any parish, with immense gain to her parishioners, to husband and children, and to herself.

“ Women cannot live by bread alone even when they themselves are bread-makers. Husbands and children starve also, year by year, on chaffy supplies which the house-mothers measure, ample in quantity, but profitless in quality. An average pastor's machine-sermons and machine-parish-routine nurture his flock in sterile pastures with no better fare than the average home-bread. Business everywhere becomes a machine-run-mania ; and the business world starves in its scramble for husks, which swine alone can thrive upon as a steady diet.

“ Now, can any one believe, as students of human nature, its possibilities and its needs, that a good and strong woman, privileged to rest in her own home, — sheltered, beloved, protected, outside of the worry, the turmoil, and the cares of life, — awaiting the ever new miracle of the coming life, may not be stirred to her soul's depths with thoughts grand, high, and holy enough to be worthy to overflow

into all the hearts around her, in streams of healing, comfort, or inspiration?

"The mother's privileges are exceptional. If required to be cook, laundress, seamstress, and nurse-maid; if burdened with urgent duties of any kind, she, her children, and the world are all defrauded. Saved from undue calls upon her strength, she ought to rise to clear and vivid perceptions of religious truth. The hopes, encouragements, assurances, and consolations of religion might well become a valuable reality to any parish through her interpretations, public or private. No man can be guided into the light of immortality through the same tender and solemn pathway.

"How unwisely, then, have mankind rejected the noblest development of the woman-nature! How suicidal to have steadily repressed both the exercise and the expression of her thoughts! Civilization has either forced her to wield the muck-rake, when she is fairly entitled to gather flowers in the spring sunshine; or it has filled her hands with shining bawbles, encouraging her only to prattle about her foolish treasures, and to think only of them to the hurt of her own life and the belittling of every trait of character in her children. Unborn generations have a right to demand of parents and of the community the best possible conditions for their development.

"A steady pastorate, a pulpit which she may supply or leave to other teachers, as she herself shall elect, possibly might offer conditions as favorable to the best powers of a well balanced young matron as any which can be devised.

"Every church also needs the lesson of self-helpfulness; and its members occasionally may be most edified by preachers from abroad, bringing with them a fresh breath of life from the wider world outside. The details will easily adjust themselves to the circumstances, as women, young and old, come more and more into the ministry. The example, if one could be happily set in this direction by ministers and people, with associated harmony, would help to make all business-life less an unending treadmill. Change, rest, a healthy variety of interests, is the most imperative need of the present busy generation.

"A barrier surmounted may rise into a fortress of strength when it becomes the background of future activities.

"ANTOINETTE BROWN BLACKWELL."

In Senator Henry W. Blair's new book on "The Temperance Movement," he states the general argument so well from another point of view that an extract is here made by his permission. It will be easy to trace the analogy between the

Senator's reasons why mothers should vote to the reasons why mothers should also preach — if they desire and are qualified to do so.

“ But it is said that *the duties of maternity* disqualify for the performance of the act of voting. It cannot be, and, I think, is not claimed by any one, that the mother, who otherwise would be fit to vote, is rendered mentally or morally less fit to exercise this high function in the State because of motherhood. On the contrary, if any woman has a motive more than another person, man or woman, to secure the enactment and enforcement of good laws, it is the mother, who, beside her own life, person, and property, to the protection of which the ballot is as essential as to the same rights possessed by man, has her little contingent of immortal beings to conduct safely to the portals of active life through all the snares and pitfalls woven around them by bad men and bad laws which bad men have made, or good laws which bad men, unhindered by the good, have defied or have prostituted, and rightly to prepare them for the discharge of all the duties of their day and generation, including the exercise of the very right denied to their mother. Certainly, if but for motherhood she should vote, then ten thousand times more necessary is it that the mother should be guarded and armed with this great social and political power, for the sake of all men and women who are yet to be. But it is said that she has not the time. Let us see. By the best deductions I can make from the census and from other sources there are 15,000,000 women of voting age in this country at the present time, of whom not more than 10,000,000 are married, and not more than 7,500,000 are still liable to the duties of maternity; for it will be remembered that a large proportion of the mothers of our country at any given time are below the voting age, while of those who are above it, another large proportion have passed beyond the point of this objection. Not more than one half the female population of voting age are liable to this objection. Then, why disfranchise the 7,500,000, the other half, to whom your objection, even if valid as to any, does not apply at all; and these, too, as a class the most mature, and therefore the best qualified to vote of any of their sex?

“ But how much is there of this objection of want of time or physical strength to vote in its application to women who are bearing and training the coming millions? The families of the country average five persons in number. If we assume that this gives an average of three children to every pair, which is probably the full number, or if we assume that every married mother, after she becomes of voting

age, bears three children, which is certainly the full allowance, and that twenty-four years are consumed in doing it, there is one child born every eight years, whose coming is to interfere with the exercise of a duty or privilege which, in most States, and in all the most important elections, occurs only one day in two years. That same mother will attend church at least forty times yearly, on the average, from her cradle to her grave, beside an infinity of other social, religious, and industrial obligations which she performs and assumes to perform because she is a married woman and a mother, rather than for any other reason whatever.

"Yet it is proposed to deprive women — yes, all women alike — of an inestimable privilege and the chief power which can be exercised by any free individual in the State, for the reason that on any given day of election not more than one woman in twenty of voting age will probably not be able to reach the polls.

"It does seem probable that on these interesting occasions if the husband and wife disagree in politics they could arrange a pair, and the probability is, that arrangement failing, one could be consummated with some other lady in like fortunate circumstances of opposite political opinions. More men are kept from the polls by drunkenness, or, being at the polls, vote under the influence of strong drink, to the reproach and destruction of our free institutions, and who, if woman could and did vote, would cast the ballot of sobriety, good order, and reform, under her holy influence, than all those who would be kept from any given election by the necessary engagements of mothers at home."

The average preacher almost never mentions women. "A man must do so and so;" "when a young man starts out in life his aim must be thus and thus;" "a youth should trust his father's God" — this method of discourse is familiar to women's ears as the doxology or benediction. But when women themselves speak, they represent not world-force so much as home force; the home includes both man and woman, youth and maiden, boy and girl; hence it is natural to women to make all feel themselves included in the motherly utterance that not only remembers but recognizes all.

FRANCES E. WILLARD.

A part of this article appeared originally in the December number of the *Homiletic Review*. In its present enlarged and corrected form it will be found as one of the chapters in *Woman in the Pulpit*, soon to be published by D. Lothrop Company, Boston.

PROFESSOR DRUMMOND IN THE AMERICAN COLLEGES.

IN May, 1887, Professor Henry Drummond of Scotland accepted the invitation of Mr. D. L. Moody to be present and assist him at the "College Students' Summer School for Bible Study," to be held at Northfield, Mass., from June 30 to July 12. The announcement of his coming awakened a lively interest among many college students who, through his book, had already obtained a glimpse of his personality. They desired a closer acquaintance. There were present at Northfield, during the thirteen days of this remarkable meeting, fully three hundred and fifty students from eighty-two colleges and universities, including a delegation from Cambridge University, England. Besides Professor Drummond, Mr. Moody associated with himself in the conduct of this school, Rev. John A. Broadus, D. D., of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary at Louisville, Ky., Professor L. T. Townsend, of the Boston University Divinity School, Rev. A. T. Pierson, D. D., of the Bethany Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia, Rev. Joseph Cook, Rev. H. Clay Trumbull, D. D., Editor of the "Sunday School Times," Mr. H. L. Hastings of Boston, editor of the "Christian," and Rev. Jacob Chamberlain, M. D., D. D., of the Arcot Mission, India, of the Dutch Reformed Church.

Professor Drummond made a most profound impression on the students. His charming manner, student air, and youthful appearance quite captured the boys from the start. Without any attempt at eloquence, and somewhat lacking in personal magnetism as a speaker, yet his luminous expression, candor, vigor and force of intellect, spiritual power and manly devotion to Christ, gave peculiar weight to every word that he uttered. His modest account of the recent religious movement among the students of the Scotch universities, in which he himself —

though he did not refer to this — was the principal factor, was deeply suggestive and inspiring. His off-hand talks and answers to questions in the meetings, his conversations and social contact with the students, who sought him at all hours of the day and night, were full of wise, manly, spiritual, and helpful stimulus. He was very approachable, and in these personal interviews with students had a refreshing way, acquired, doubtless, by his long habit of personal work, of getting to the bottom of his questioner's difficulty, and then meeting and removing it in a simple and natural manner.

But the strongest feature of Professor Drummond's work at Northfield was in his addresses, especially those on "Love the supreme gift" (1 Cor. 13th chapter), and "Modes of Sanctification." Stenographic reports of these addresses have been published, but it is impossible to describe the spirit of simplicity, the penetrating power, the manliness, and at the same time the deep spirituality, that characterized his utterances. At the close of the first-mentioned address an intimate friend of the beloved ex-president of Williams remarked to the writer that Professor Drummond reminded him more of Dr. Mark Hopkins than any man he had ever met. We would go farther than this and say that Professor Drummond combines in a remarkable degree the qualities of both Mark and Albert Hopkins; both the Christian philosopher and the enthusiastic winner of individual souls. Before leaving Scotland for Northfield Professor Drummond received a commission from the "Students' Meeting" of Edinburgh University to represent them in America, and to bear their greetings to the students of the American colleges. Four others, Professors Simpson and Greenleaf of Edinburgh, and Drs. Smith and Webster, representatives of that university, were selected to join Professor Drummond later in the season and to visit the colleges in company with him. They began their tour at Williams College on Saturday, September 10, and finished in New York city the last week in October. During that time visits were made to Williams, Dartmouth, Amherst, and Smith Colleges, Hartford Theological Seminary, University of Pennsylvania, Princeton College, Yale and Harvard Universities, Union College and

Columbia, and the medical colleges in New York city. These visits did not exceed three days in each college, with the exception of Princeton, Yale, and Harvard, where a longer time was given. They were greeted by large audiences of students, in some instances the whole college turning out to hear them. Professor Drummond's companions were helpful, especially in personal work, sometimes remaining for one or two days after their leader had gone to another college. Their presence also gave a more strongly representative character to the visit, not as that of an individual, but a "deputation," from the Scotch universities. But Professor Drummond was the central figure, and with him we are chiefly interested.

"He was a diplomatic ambassador," writes the president of a leading New England college, "full of his Master's spirit and wisdom. The number of students impressed by him here was very large. I include, of course, in that class, the religious men, of whom there were many, who were excited to a more earnest life. Of the irreligious, I should say that many were stirred and three or four effectually led to a Christian life. But many who were attracted by his manner of presenting things were not led to the decisive step in embracing Christ as their Saviour. My judgment is that Professor Drummond has great tact, great sweetness, great persistence, and if he had stayed here two weeks instead of three days, his single-minded purpose to win men for his Master might have been more signally attained. He could succeed in breaking into the ranks of the luxury-loving and self-indulgent, and not one in a thousand can. I could mention many successful with every other class, who cannot touch these. He can. The impressions made by him were, that a Christian life is the manliest kind of life; that religiousness is not religion; that simplicity and earnestness must find expression in work, not to become cant; that a religious faith does not hinder, but furthers success in every worthy pursuit; that no religious zeal should interfere with study. . . . I think him unequaled by any one I ever saw in the winning, persuasive presentation of some points, and I believe we are better for his coming."

Presidents of other colleges visited give similar testimony to the wisdom, healthfulness, and stimulating character of his work in their colleges. The general regret is that the shortness of his stay in any college made it impossible to much more than suggest the work, which all felt that he was peculiarly fitted to

do. From the students also, as well as the faculties, come positive statements concerning Professor Drummond's work among them. A student from another of our best colleges writes : —

"All the students are hearty in their admiration of Drummond. He appealed to a large class of men. He preached 'save your lives,' and crusaded strongly against cant and religiousness. A number of men in my own class have confessed Christ for the first time, men who in most cases were converted from religiousness. It is hard now to estimate results. I believe we shall see striking results later."

Another student, from one of our largest universities, writes :

"Drummond's first address greatly impressed the men who heard it (especially those who are inclined to be skeptical concerning religious enterprises) with the earnestness and practical character of the work done by the Scotch university men, through religious meetings in the colleges and settlements among the poor. At the week day evening meetings held during his stay, an audience of 200 or 250 students was gathered each night. The directness of the appeals by which Professor Drummond sought to rouse men to Christian activity and to set the Christian life before them in the true light, by removing prejudices and misapprehensions, produced a marked effect. His perfect candor and liberality, without anything that the closest critic could term 'cant,' and his acquaintance with science, together with the evident intensity of his own spiritual life, and the spirit of Christ that made him yearn to save men, were the things that chiefly enabled him to get hold of the fellows who were not Christians. As at other colleges, he met a number of men for religious conversation in private. At his last meeting he made a final urgent plea to those who were interested for greater effort to help and save men. Over a hundred remained at an after-meeting to talk over methods of work, and about eighty, many of whom had never been identified with religious work in the college, handed in their names as hearty sympathizers, and ready to coöperate in any plan of work that might be adopted."

It will be seen by these fragmentary and incomplete reports, that a great work was accomplished by Professor Drummond and his friends in the American colleges. Students have been converted to Christ, some from irreligious lives, others from lives of spiritual indolence, formality, and worldliness. The object lesson, also, of a scientist preaching Christ; a student

of nature insisting on the supernatural ; a man of literary fame throwing aside eloquence and talking earnestly and with studied simplicity of the things of the kingdom of God ; a busy man, needing rest and leisure, finding his rest in hard, gratuitous service for others, this object lesson is not the least of the impressions made by his visit, and will be felt for years to come. Another object lesson found apt pupils in the American college men. Professor Drummond and his friends came to our colleges *as a deputation*, and suggested that the American students undertake similar work among schools and colleges. This was not a new idea in our organized college association work. College associations have interchanged visits with great profit, and this form of work has been encouraged. But every precept needs an illustration, and as such this visit of the Scotch deputation had its effect, and this work was taken up by nearly all the colleges visited by them. Princeton, Yale, Amherst, Williams, and the New York colleges have been especially active in this direction, and with good results. A condensed statement of deputation work at Princeton will answer for all : —

“Professor Drummond and his party came to Princeton in the latter part of September, and held several meetings. At one of the last, on the evening of September 27, he asked those to remain who would like to hear more particularly of the movement in England and Scotland. After describing to us the system of work, it was decided that we ought to send men to speak in schools and in other colleges. Professor Drummond suggested that a paper be passed around for signatures ‘to do whatever turned up.’ About two thirds of the fellows present signed, making forty names in all. Our first delegation was sent the following Sunday, and from that time to the present some twenty delegations, of from two to six men each, have visited all the schools and colleges in our vicinity once or twice. In general, the reception of our men has been most cordial, and their entertainment most hospitable. We have received four delegations from other colleges, and the meetings have been very interesting and profitable. The results of this work are twofold. First, the effect upon the places visited ; second, upon Princeton itself. It is impossible to give the results in figures. The meetings at Princeton, conducted by the delegates from other colleges, have been very largely attended, better, indeed, than any series of religious meetings I have seen in college. The effect

upon those sent out is a great factor in the total of good results, and this, in fact, is one of the chief objects sought. At the close of this season of work in this new direction we feel deeply indebted to Professor Drummond. We know that the year has been one of great benefit to us, and, as far as we can tell, Princeton has now taken up the work as a part of the regular religious duty of the college."

The New York city student meetings during the past winter in Dockstader's Theatre, and the "student movement" of the New York city colleges, are direct outcomes of Professor Drummond's visit. Harvard has not been behind the other colleges in receiving stimulus and suggestion from the visit of the Scotch deputation. The following is from a representative student in Harvard:—

"The spirit of work left behind by Professor Drummond has manifested itself in various ways. Some of those particularly interested conferred with Professor Drummond and Professor Peabody on the last night of the former's visit. He advised us to take up some work outside of college as well as in it, mentioning deputation work, but adding that the conditions in each college must determine the particular form the work should take. After further discussion of the plan with some of the preachers, the series of Globe Theatre meetings was determined upon. A considerable number of men have been giving efficient help at the workingmen's temperance rooms of the Church Temperance Society, or have worked under the Associated Charities, or in mission schools in Boston. Another result of Professor Drummond's visit was the institution of college conference meetings, 'to discuss practical, ethical, and religious problems of college life.'"

Concerning the Globe Theatre meetings referred to, Rev. Charles F. Thwing says in an article in the "Congregationalist":—

"It would not have surprised me more when I was in college to see Memorial Hall tower floating in the Charles, than to see Harvard students holding public religious services in Globe Theatre, with eminent clergymen as preachers, and the president of the university bestowing the approbation of his presence. Some of the causes which have effected this revolution in Cambridge are at work in other colleges. The influence of Professor Drummond and his associates has been potent. His addresses and his private conversations with students in many

colleges have proved to have somewhat of that power which the series of sermons of the elder President Dwight had in expelling infidel opinions from Yale College."

The secret of Professor Drummond's influence with students is in his personality, his earnestness, and his subject. Of the two former we have already written. The latter is important. Professor Drummond magnifies and proclaims the living, historic Christ. He invites men "not to a system but to a Person," as potent in the historic present as in the past. His tour among the American colleges was not social but evangelistic.

Two thoughts occur to us in conclusion. *First.* Professor Drummond received his training and inspiration for Christian work largely through Mr. Moody, as his chosen companion and private secretary during the work of our great evangelist in England and Scotland. Is it not a fact of great significance and promise that hundreds of our own students are gathering each summer at Northfield, for several weeks of Bible study and fellowship with the same great leader? *Second.* Where is the American Drummond? There are gifted men in many of our American colleges, who, constrained by an unselfish purpose and touched by the Spirit of God, could become instrumental in winning hundreds of the strong men in our colleges to a living faith in Christ. Fully sixty per cent. of the one hundred and fifty thousand students in our country do not even profess allegiance to Christ, and of the forty per cent. many of us know how little their profession means with the majority. May God raise up men for this great work!

C. K. OBER.

*International Committee of the Young Men's Christian Association,
New York City.*

GOD OVER ALL.

1. Now the Moon walks from her cloisters,
Pale and penitent and fair;
Saying soft her pater-nosters
On the trembling, evening air.
Star by star, she, mounting, tells them,
Bead on bead, in God's ear spells them;
Gone the twilight,
Sapphire skylight!
Hark the curfew's call,
Care's release,
Sleep in peace,
God is over all.
2. God is over all, our Father,
Night the shadow of His wing.
As a brood of fledglings gather,
With their filial murmuring,
One by one, beneath their mother
All their mundane fears to smother,
To God kneel we,
Low appeal we.
Hark the curfew's call,
Care's release,
Sleep in peace,
God is over all.
3. God is over all, Creator!
All the worlds wheel round His throne,
And He counts them, less and greater:
Thus He counts, on earth, His own.
In His councils, He includes them;
With His wings, protects and broods them;
Great Defender,
Kind and tender!
Hark the curfew's call,
Care's release,
Sleep in peace,
God is over all.

J. E. RANKIN.

BOSTON HYMN.

CHRISTUS CONSUMMATOR.

SUNG AT TREMONT TEMPLE,
AT THE 197TH BOSTON MONDAY LECTURE, FEBRUARY 20, 1888.

1. IN the thunder, live and loud,
In the sunlight and the cloud,
Thou dost dwell and souls are free;
We the waves and Thou the sea —
God, our Lord and Saviour be.
2. God who wert and art to come,
Of all spirits source and home,
Life of life and soul of soul,
In Thy breath the heavens roll —
In Thy mercy make us whole!
3. As the air enswathes the cloud,
So dost Thou all souls enshroud;
As within the cloud the air,
Thou indwellest everywhere —
Lord, returning rebels spare!
4. God, O God, our guilt remove,
What Thou lovest make us love;
Presence unescapable,
Thou to us art Heaven, or Hell —
Lord and Saviour, in us dwell!
5. By Thee filled, as air with light,
Absolute and Infinite,
We by Thee shot through and through,
Bliss or woe in Thee renew —
Fill us, Lord, as light the dew!

JOSEPH COOK.

BOSTON MONDAY LECTURES.

THIRTEENTH YEAR. SEASON OF 1888.

PRELUDE III.

CHARLES DARWIN AND ASA GRAY IN CONTRAST.

A GREAT audience was present at Mr. Cook's 197th Boston Monday Lecture. The Rev. Dr. Gordon presided and the Rev. Professor Upham of Drew Theological Seminary offered prayer. The original Boston Hymn, entitled "Christus Consummator," was sung by the audience, which contained, as usual, large numbers of ministers, students, teachers, and other educated men.

AGREEMENTS AND CONTRASTS OF DARWIN AND GRAY.

It is only a few days since we laid at rest, till the heavens be no more, a leader in science who called himself at once an evolutionist, a theist, and a believer in the Nicene Creed. Asa Gray forms such a contrast to Charles Darwin in the religious use which he made of the theory of evolution that it is eminently fitting that we should pause long and often at the side of his grave for devout meditation on the duties of those who would be true, on the one hand, to science in its best forms, and, on the other, to revelation.

Darwin's life, 1809-1882, nearly coincides with Gray's, 1810-1888. It is now thirty years to a year since papers by Charles Darwin and Alfred Russell Wallace were simultaneously presented to a learned society in London broaching the theory of evolution. Our modern thought has been revolutionized in many departments by that theory. Nevertheless, I suppose the judgment of the soundest minds is that theism under the attack of the philosophy of evolution is to suffer not destruction, but only reconstruction. This was the judgment of Asa Gray; and it will be instructive for us to notice the con-

trasts between his positions and those of Darwin, especially as Darwin himself admits that no one understood the theory of evolution better than our great American botanist. Over and over in letters to Asa Gray, Darwin recognizes him as the best expounder of the philosophy of evolution. "I have always said," he wrote to Gray, June 5, 1874, "that you were the man to hit the nail on the head." "I said in a former letter," he wrote September 10, 1860, "that you were a lawyer, but I made a gross mistake, I am sure that you are a poet. No, I will tell you what you are, a hybrid, a complex cross of lawyer, poet, naturalist, and theologian. Was there ever such a monster seen before?" (*"Life of Darwin,"* vol. ii. p. 131.) Only such many-sided minds are fit to match the wants of our complex age.

AS TO THE ARGUMENT FOR DESIGN IN NATURE.

1. Asa Gray had a strong and Charles Darwin only a weak grasp on the argument for design in nature.

In 1860, Darwin writes to Gray this very significant piece of autobiography: —

"I grieve to say that I cannot honestly go as far as you do about Design. I am conscious that I am in an utterly hopeless muddle. I cannot think that the world, as we see it, is the result of chance; and yet I cannot look at each separate thing as the result of Design.

"To take a crucial example, you lead me to infer that you believe 'that variation has been led along certain beneficial lines.' I cannot believe this; and I think you would have to believe that the tail of the Fantail was led to vary in the number and direction of its feathers in order to gratify the caprice of a few men. Yet if the Fantail had been a wild bird, and had used its abnormal tail for some special end, as to sail before the wind, unlike other birds, every one would have said, 'what a beautiful and designed adaptation.' Again, I say, I am, and shall ever remain, in a hopeless muddle." (*"Life of Darwin,"* vol. ii. p. 146.)

Asa Gray, although not preëminently a philosopher, seems to have had a far stronger grasp upon philosophical truth, strictly so-called, than Darwin, who abhorred metaphysical arguments.

Gifted with probably a keener insight into the laws of the physical world than any man of his generation, more capable of

observing minute facts and the laws indicated by them than any man since Newton, Charles Darwin often became confused and lost his way utterly in the region of first truths. He seemed to have little or no grasp upon the self-evident truth that every change must have an adequate cause ; and so that life can proceed only from life, thought from thought, and will from will ; that evolution must proceed from involution, and that adaptation of means to ends can be explained only as the result of Design.

AS TO THEIR COMPANIONS.

2. Charles Darwin had agnostic companions ; Asa Gray, theistic.

Mr. Huxley has been perhaps more influenced by Darwin than Darwin by Huxley ; but the agnosticism of Huxley, and especially the combativeness of this great observer and theorizer, I cannot say great philosopher, must have influenced Darwin. The circle which Darwin met as guests in his country-place, and especially the circle in which he moved when he went up to London from Down, was agnostic in conviction, and that creed was far more fashionable a few years since than it now is. In Darwin's later period it attained, perhaps, the climax of its power. Huxley called himself an agnostic, and so did Darwin, although at times leaning far toward theism. Darwin says of himself that when he wrote his book on the "Origin of Species" he deserved to be called a theist, but "now I prefer to call myself an agnostic." That was his final statement in the year 1881, the year before he died.

So far from agnosticism being the creed of learned men in London at the present time, Professor Huxley has been succeeded as president of the Royal Society at the Burlington House by the Rev. Professor Stokes, a man of the most earnest Christian convictions. When Professor Drummond was in this country last summer, he said to me that no election was so much coveted by men of science in London as one to that presidency, and that the appointment of Professor Stokes, with his well-known progressive Christian positions, was one of the most significant signs of the times as to the attitude of philosophy of the esoteric kind in the circles of scientific men in the metropo-

lis of the world. At Harvard University, however much the Spencerian philosophy may have been echoed in one or two quarters at Cambridge, there has never been a predominant school of agnosticism. Our great teachers of philosophy yonder on the Charles have been good theists, and undoubtedly Asa Gray was influenced by his companionships. When twenty-five years ago it was my fortune to study in Cambridge, I used to see there men who appeared to walk in the presence of the Invisible. There were at least seven men moving to and fro in the classic shades of Harvard who appeared to have seen God in natural law. They were Asa Gray, Jeffries Wyman, Professor Cooke, Francis Bowen, Benjamin Peirce, President Hill, Louis Agassiz. All these men held a philosophy which taught that natural law is only the constant method of the divine action. Agassiz, indeed, resisted the tendency of scientific men to accept some form of the theory of evolution. He regarded it as scientifically discredited by the absence of any remains of the missing links between earlier and later species. Darwin's reply was that the geological record was imperfect, and on that ground debate turned twenty-five years ago. There has been a reaction at Cambridge against any little ripples of agnosticism which have rolled across the sea of University thought there. One or two younger men, who were proud of the creed of mere agnosticism ten or fifteen years ago, have now become very reverent theists, to say the least.

"Our dear and admirable Huxley
 Cannot explain to me why ducks lay,
 Or rather, how into their eggs
 Blunder potential wings and legs.
 Who gets a hair's-breadth on by showing
 That Something Else set all a-going ?
 Farther and farther back we push
 From Moses and his burning bush ;
 Cry ' Art Thou there ? ' Above, below,
 All nature mutters *yes* and *no* !
 'T is the old answer : we 're agreed
 Being from Being must proceed,
 Life be Life's source."

LOWELL, *Heartsease and Rue*, p. 186.

AS TO THEIR ATTENTION TO RELIGIOUS TRUTH.

8. Not only as to their companions were Darwin and Asa Gray a striking contrast, but also in the degree of their attention to religious truth.

Through his whole life Asa Gray was a student of religion and of theology. His brain never became atrophied from disuse on these themes. But Darwin says in words here before me: "I have never systematically thought much on religion in relation to science or on morals in relation to society; and without steadily keeping my mind on such subjects for a long period, I am really incapable of writing anything worth publishing." (Vol. i. p. 276.) "I feel in some degree unwilling to express myself publicly on religious subjects, as I do not feel that I have thought deeply enough to justify publicity." (Page 275.) Darwin's son says of his father: "He did not give continuous systematic thought to religious questions." (Page 274.) There was a great contrast between Darwin and Gray in their use of Sunday. Through a large part of his mature life, Darwin worked seven days each week, and every now and then was obliged to give himself vacations. He made little distinction between Sunday and any other day, and in the agnostic circle which was nearest him perhaps he might have been sneered at had he made the distinction.

4. There was a difference, of course, world-wide, between these two men in their faith in revelation.

Darwin was early educated according to the fashions of the Anglican establishment, but he wrote to a German student, in a hasty letter penned in his declining years: "For my part I do not believe there has ever been a revelation made."

On the contrary, the theistic form of the theory of evolution, as held by Asa Gray, never disturbed his luminous Christian faith. He was a revered member of the historic church standing yonder under Washington's Elm in Cambridge, and was everywhere recognized as a Christian of great earnestness and even of aggressiveness, in spite of his familiarity with the attitude of skeptical thought throughout the world. His eloquent pastor and friend, the Rev. Dr. Alexander McKenzie, lately said of Asa Gray, in a memorial discourse: —

"The faith of his boyhood broadened into the faith of his manhood, but was true to itself in all its course. He enjoyed books of theology, and studied the questions of religious philosophy with the keenest delight. He was called to be the instructor of theologians, and with absorbing interest they hung upon his words, to have darkness changed to light, and fear to confidence, as he opened his commentary on science and religion. He entered the church here when he entered the college, and he taught in its school. He was faithful and reverent in its services. He read the Holy Scriptures, while he said, "It cannot be that in all these years we have learned nothing new of their meaning and uses to us, and have nothing still to learn; nor can it be that we are not free to use what we learn in one line of study to limit, correct, or remodel the ideas which we obtain from another." He was happy when in the East he found illustration of the Book, as the shepherd going before his flock, which knew him and followed him. But his own life gave him continual illustration of its precepts. He felt that 'as brethren uniting in a common worship, we may honorably, edifyingly, and wisely use that which we should not have formulated, but may on due occasion qualify.' As he held that 'revelation in its essence concerns things moral and spiritual,' so did he hold that the essentials of worship are spirit and truth. He believed 'that revelation culminated, and for us most essentially consists, in the advent of a divine person, who, being made man, manifested the divine nature in union with the human; and that this manifestation constitutes Christianity.'

"Thus he made up his life of accomplishments and piety, 'with gladness and singleness of heart, praising God, and having favor with all the people.' It was good preparation for the years which have no end. The snow was white about his grave, and the winter sky was clear and cloudless over it, when we laid him to his rest, with the living green around him. We knew he was not there. 'For Thou, Lord, hast made me glad through thy work; I will triumph in the works of thy hands.'

"He knew the constancy of truth, and he liked the creed which the faith of centuries has hallowed."—*Sermon in Appleton Chapel, Harvard College, February 12, 1888, pp. 28-30.*

Of Benjamin Peirce, one of Asa Gray's companions, and the foremost American mathematician of our time, the venerable Dr. Peabody, formerly preacher of Harvard University, says:—

"He always felt with adoring awe that the mathematician enters, as none else can, into the intimate thought of God. He was a theist

and a Christian. Conversant with the various phases of scientific unbelief, and familiar with the historic grounds of skepticism, he maintained through life an unshaken belief in the Supreme Creator and in his self-revelation in Jesus Christ." — *Harvard Reminiscences*, p. 186.

AS TO THE GROWTH OF SOUL IN OLD AGE.

5. As to the growth of the soul in old age, these men stand in profound contrast.

Darwin lost his interest in nearly everything except observation of physical facts. Music and poetry became almost nothing to him. He says of himself that his insensibility to distinctively religious emotion and argument is not to be quoted against that kind of evidence, any more than the insensibility of some people to different colors is to be quoted against the universal perception by the human race of such colors. His self-culture was by no means as well-balanced as Asa Gray's. Giant as Darwin was, he to some extent became one-sided through long devotion to a single specialty. The mind of a mere specialist has only sectional completeness. I would say no word against specialists; they should be revered as the men who mine far into the earth; but it is not best always to live at the bottom of a well. Sometimes they should come to the curbstone and look abroad upon the earth and the stars. [Applause.] Asa Gray did that oftener than Darwin, and so retained on the whole a better grasp upon modern thought.

AS TO LEADERSHIP IN THE PHILOSOPHY OF EVOLUTION.

6. It is Asa Gray as a theist, rather than Darwin as a bewildered agnostic, that the advance of science lifts to a position of leadership of a new generation in the discussion of the philosophy of evolution.

What I want to emphasize chiefly is the position of the new generation which has arisen since evolution was broached as a philosophy. Here is a book entitled "The Ethical Import of Darwinism," which I am very glad to recommend to every young student of metaphysics or ethics. It is by a distinguished teacher of Cornell University, Professor J. Gould Schurman,

recently a professor in the University at Halifax in the British Provinces, where I once happened to be his guest. He was a pupil of Martineau and Lotze. This book is dedicated to Martineau in most beautiful words. The keenest defender of Darwinism could not accuse Professor Schurman of unfairness in his representation of that scheme of thought. This book shows the position of the new generation, certainly so far as it has been led by Lotze and not by Spencer. After thirty years of discussion what have we to criticise in the Darwinian theory? What we insist upon now in the new generation is that Darwinism shall give us an account not merely of the *survival* of the fittest, but of the *arrival* of the fittest, and that, except in the form in which Asa Gray held the theory, it never has done. [Applause.]

Professor Schurman, in a highly suggestive passage, writes as follows:—

“Natural selection produces nothing; it only culls from what is already in existence. The survival of the fittest is an eliminative, not an originaive process. And yet it is the explication of this apparently subsidiary process that constitutes Darwinism. The fact of variations in organic beings having been demonstrated from the experience of breeders, the sphinx of science was the problem of their accumulation into specific characters. It was not the business of biology to consider what the fact of variations implied. That falls to philosophy, whose function it is to examine the starting-points and first principles with which the various sciences uncritically set about their specific task.

“*The survival of the fittest, I repeat, does not explain the arrival of the fittest.* Natural selection is a term connoting the fact that of the innumerable variations occurring in organisms only the most beneficial are preserved, but it indicates nothing concerning the origin or nature of these variations. As in them, however, is *enveloped* all that is subsequently *developed*, they form the sole ground for philosophizing in connection with Darwinian science.

“Professor Huxley goes on to say, ‘It is quite conceivable that every species tends to produce varieties of a limited number and kind, and that the effect of natural selection is to favor the development of some of these, while it opposes the development of others along their predetermined line of modification.’ This limitation of the number of variations and the predetermination of their character are conceptions,

foreign, I believe, to Darwin's habitual mode of thought, but they may now be considered tenets of the school; and Professor Asa Gray, adopting categorically the suggestion of Professor Huxley, declares, 'The facts, so far as I can judge, do not support the assumption of every-sided and indifferent variations.'" (Professor Schurman, "The Ethical Import of Darwinism," pp. 78-83. See also Professor Cope on the "Origin of the Fittest.")

THE ARRIVAL OF THE FITTEST, EXPLAINED ONLY BY THEISTIC EVOLUTION.

Variations occur in individuals, those individuals struggle for existence, they compete with each other, the fittest survives. How do the variations originate? That is a fair question, and it has never been treated with any great candor by Darwinian philosophers. Even Huxley passes over it in a rather furtive manner. And Darwin says, when asked how the variations originated, that they came into existence spontaneously. What does he mean by that word? Does he intend to inculcate the proposition that the universe is governed by chance? By no means. Professor Huxley says: "Variations we call spontaneous, because we are ignorant of their causation." [Laughter.] "When Darwin uses the word spontaneous concerning the origin of variations, he merely means that he is ignorant of the cause of that which is there dormant." But, years ago, Asa Gray said: "A sufficient cause and rational explanation of organic forms must include that inscrutable something which produces, as well as that which results in the survival of the fittest." Asa Gray taught years ago precisely what Professor Schurman teaches now, that the survival of the fittest does not explain that inscrutable something which causes the arrival of the fittest. But he said also, and Darwin was pleased with the remark: "Let us recognize Darwin's great service to natural science in bringing back to it teleology; so that instead of having morphology *versus* teleology, we shall have morphology wedded to teleology." ("Life of Darwin," ii. p. 367.) In the final outcome of their lives, however, this great service to the philosophy of evolution was performed by Gray rather than by Darwin. It was Asa Gray who affirmed that these variations contain

the whole gist of the matter and that they have been "providentially led along beneficial lines of design." (See "Darwiniana," by Professor Asa Gray, especially Article xiii. on Evolutionary Teleology.) It is this thoroughly theistic doctrine which has survived examination and contest. Asa Gray and Hermann Lotze, therefore, are much more nearly the leaders of the new generation in philosophy connected with natural history than are Charles Darwin and Herbert Spencer.

HERMANN LOTZE ON GOD IN NATURAL LAW.

Hermann Lotze was never carried off his feet by the fashionable, crude forms of agnostic speculation in support of the theory of evolution. Here at the side of Asa Gray's last resting-place, let me read a few of Lotze's great sentences on the most vexed philosophical question of our age. Last summer at Lake George, under the beeches of my native acres, I spent much time on Lotze's "Microcosmus," and copied out epigram after epigram that I might pin them to the walls of my study, and refresh my thoughts occasionally by reading wisdom which I believe to go to the centre of this modern discussion as to evolution : —

"Whatever mode of creation God may have chosen, none avails to loosen the dependence of the universe on Him, none to bind it more closely to Him." ("Microcosmus," i. 527.)

"All the laws of mechanism in nature are but the very will of the universal soul." (i. 396.)

"The nature of things and their capacity of action are a nonentity without God." (ii. 132.)

"Nature never works without the concurrence of God." (ii. 133.)

"The sphere of mechanism is unbounded, but its significance everywhere subordinate." (ii. 724.)

"The whole sum of nature can be nothing else than the condition for the realization of Good, can be as it is only because thus in it the infinite worth of the Good manifested itself. The unsearchable wisdom of God is the source of all finite forms." (i. 396, 397.)

This is a philosophy as old as Leibnitz, as old as Aristotle, as old as the Holy Scriptures, and yet quite abreast of the latest modern thought.

England never has been great in philosophy strictly so-called. Scotland has been great; Germany has been great; it remains to be proved whether America will be great. My conviction is that it is safest for you to look to Germany or Scotland and not to England, for philosophical instruction. England is great in physical science, and in political science, and in ruling a large part of the world; but for some reason, while England develops Newtons and Shakespeares and Chathams, she develops no Kants, no Leibnizes, no Lotzes. The fogs of London appear to interfere with the grasp on first principles. [Laughter.] This is a very significant fact when you remember that it has characterized ten generations of English thinkers. Great as England is in every other department, she is a pigmy compared with Scotland or Germany in the discussion of fundamental, philosophical truths. We shall outgrow Spencer; but not in my time, nor in the time of the youngest here, shall we outgrow Hermann Lotze.

At Asa Gray's grave, therefore, in this solemn hour, and looking as he did, the whole scientific world in the face, let us each repeat his holy creed:—

“I believe in one God, the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible.

And in one Lord Jesus Christ.

And I believe in the Holy Ghost, the Lord and Giver of life.

And I look for the resurrection of the dead, and the life of the world to come. Amen.”

This was the attitude of Asa Gray thirty years after the arrival in the world of the Darwinian theory. The arrival of the fittest is to be explained only by the action of God's right hand. [Applause.]

LECTURE III.

THE SUPERNATURAL IN CHRISTIANITY AND CHRIST.

SUPERHUMAN ELEMENTS IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.

THE necessity of a vicarious atonement is, intrinsically, a loftier thought than ever occurred to Plato. The philosophy of the plan of salvation overtops the highest results of both ancient and modern speculation as the sky does the sea. There is something palpably superhuman in the scheme of the doctrines found in the New Testament concerning an atonement as the divine method of securing man's deliverance from both the love and the guilt of sin. The ranges of thought in the New Testament are undoubtedly the highest to which man's mind has ever been admitted. The doctrines of this book seem worthy of God. It is not contrary to the fitness of things that miracles should have been performed, as attestations of their divine origin.

A superhuman philosophy must flow from a superhuman source. There certainly exists in the New Testament literature a philosophy of man's relations to God so utterly unmatched elsewhere in depth and loftiness and in spiritual fruitfulness, age after age, that it strikes the ablest men as superhuman. "The Sermon on the Mount," Daniel Webster said, on his death-bed, "cannot be a merely human production. This belief enters into the depths of my conscience. The whole history of man proves it." He caused these words to be inscribed on his tombstone. "The gospel," said Rousseau, "has marks of truth so great, so striking, so perfectly inimitable, that the inventor of it would be more astonishing than the hero. If the life and death of Socrates are those of a sage, the life and death of Jesus are those of a God." "Who among the disciples of Jesus, or among the proselytes," asks John Stuart Mill, "was capable of inventing the sayings ascribed to Jesus, or of imagining the life and character revealed in the Gospels. Certainly

not the fishermen of Galilee; as certainly not St. Paul." (*Essays on Theism.*)

Divine ideals of life must proceed from a divine source. The New Testament is full of ideals of character that dazzle all others. The necessity of the new birth, the possibility of human pardon, the brotherhood of men, the Fatherhood of God, the bliss of self-sacrifice, the balanced ecstasy of the life of man in God and of God in man are ideals which have been justified in the experience of the ages as no others have ever been.

These amazing doctrines, these astonishing ideals, are actually in the New Testament. No amount of critical hardihood can obscure the fact that they are really there.

Whose were these doctrines? Whose were these ideals?

They were the doctrines of Him of whose life the four Gospels are historically known to contain a Portraiture.

They were the ideals which He taught, and which, according to the Gospels, His life exemplified.

The height of a fountain indicates the height of its source. The character of these doctrines and these ideals exhibits the character of the soul from which they proceeded. These are the doctrines. These are the ideals. Once they did not exist in history. Their coming into existence was an event requiring an adequate cause. That cause must be a Source higher than the Fountain which flows from it. But there is the Fountain. We touch and handle it in the New Testament doctrines and ideals. It plainly overtops humanity.

Giving to criticism, therefore, all latitude and freedom that any reasonable investigation can claim, these two stupendous historic facts remain, as I hold, completely unassailable, and indeed, it may almost be said that they are now no longer seriously assailed: —

1. The literature of the New Testament is proof that Christ spoke as never man spake.

2. It is also proof that He was what never man was.

But, if no more than these two propositions could be established, it would follow from them that —

3. In the person and teaching of Christ we have an example of both revelation and inspiration.

ONE GOSPEL BEFORE THE FOUR GOSPELS.

What was Christ's testimony concerning himself? Do the four Gospels accurately transmit to us that testimony?

As He left no writings, we must learn from the institutions He founded and from his apostles what Christ's testimony concerning himself was.

1. There is no doubt that the Christian church began its career not many days after the crucifixion, and based itself upon the doctrines and ideals of Christ and upon the assertion that these had been supernaturally attested by his resurrection.

2. There is no doubt that the church of Christ held at the outset, in outline, the doctrines and ideals it holds to-day.

3. The oldest known Epistle written to one of the Christian churches, namely, that of the Apostle Paul to the Galatians, begins, as we have seen, with the equivalent of a legal oath, and ends with an autographic attestation of its genuineness.

4. It contains the whole substance of the history recorded in the Gospels.

5. Its date is about 54 to 58, and it carries back the Apostle's testimony to the time of his conversion to Christianity, or about 34 to 38, that is, to within a very few years of the crucifixion.

6. This Epistle, as we have seen, contains evidence that the Apostles James, Peter, and John gave to Paul their fellowship, so that his testimony becomes their testimony to the chief facts on which Christianity was founded.

7. One of the very earliest written accounts that exists of the origin of Christianity is in this Epistle of St. Paul to the Galatians, and is so attested by three other apostles that we may say that *the Gospel according to the Four Apostles was in existence in written form before the Gospels of the Four Evangelists.*

8. In this state of the facts, the question as to the exact date of the four Gospels, within the limits of a generation, is a comparatively unimportant one, for it is certain that the substance of the Gospels was taught by the four apostles at the very outset of the career of the Christian churches.

The literature of the New Testament, according to the best authorities, all of it came into existence between the years 50 and 100. Three of the Gospels were almost certainly in existence before the year 70. But St. Paul's letter to the Galatians was in circulation before the year 60, and its testimony to what he taught goes back to 38 or possibly 34.

ONE GOSPEL AFTER THE FOUR GOSPELS.

9. St. Luke affirms that many undertook to write out the record of the origin of the faith of the churches. No doubt there was an oral transmission of testimony for some few years, but, while the apostles lived, no important parts of the history can have been lost or distorted, for they justified it jointly and minutely and in all the churches.

10. It must be that Paul and Peter and James and John taught the same truths, for, except on the supposition that they did so, we cannot account for the unity of the early Christian churches in their faith, and that unity is a great historic fact. It was a unity often assailed, a unity that triumphed over skepticism, over internal schisms, and maintained itself until the canon of the New Testament was fixed.

11. The four Gospels were finally approved by the very churches which the apostles taught and by those who knew the facts. These Gospels could not have been esteemed canonical and lifted to the position of a rule of faith and practice if they had been contrary to the testimony of the apostolic eye-witnesses.

An apocryphal New Testament was sloughed off by the early church. There was a very careful sifting of documents in those early years. It was a time following Tacitus and Livy. There were plenty of libraries. Christianity did not arise in a corner. The eye-witnesses of the life of our Lord must have testified to that which they saw and heard, and their oral testimony circulated through the churches would have been itself an authority. When combined with written records it would have yet greater authority. When combined with apostolic power of working miracles, it must have been received as of infallible authority. The continuity and unity of the apos-

tolic testimony leads up to the adoption of the four Gospels as authoritative. The early church was so careful in sifting the evidence, that the highest scholarship is authorized, on the basis of the continuity and unity of the apostolic testimony, in asking you to stand without a tremor on the canonical gospels as having behind them the authority of a multitude of eye-witnesses.

12. As De Wette, once called the universal doubter, said on his death-bed, there is more evidence of the historic reality of the resurrection than we could have expected, even in view of the importance the Christian church gives to the reality of that event. There is more evidence than we could have expected concerning all the facts as to the origin of Christianity. And I will say deliberately with De Wette that, although there may be a mystery in the mode and manner of the resurrection, we can no more bring the fact of the resurrection into doubt by historic evidence than we can the assassination of Cæsar. [Applause.]

STORRS AND MARTINEAU ON THE SUPERNATURAL IN CHRISTIANITY AND CHRIST.

Do you say that the resurrection was a miracle and recoil from the demand it makes on your respect for evidence? I hold in my hand the most eloquent book on the Christian evidences that America has thus far produced. Chrysostom, had he lived in our time, could not have spoken in more golden phrase than Dr. Storrs has here of the divine origin of Christianity. The chapters roll on like great anthems, musical, devout, learned; nowhere inflated, everywhere candid. If you are shocked as you come face to face with miracle, will you notice what you are obliged to face when you admit only the accuracy in outline of this historic portraiture in the Gospel. There is the picture of the character of Christ, and in his wisdom, the consistency of his course, and most especially in his sinlessness, He is in himself the supreme miracle. Should we not expect miracles in connection with the career of a Person so superhuman? Dr. Storrs, however, brings forward the whole history of Christianity from the crucifixion to the present hour, as attesting our Lord's prophecy that if He were raised up He would draw all men unto Him. Our Lord did assuredly make that

prophecy in the darkest hour of an incomprehensible career. The prophecy was made and it has been fulfilled.

"If," says Dr. Storrs, "one could walk along some luminous bridge of star-beams, up to the orb in which the strange effluence has its source, he could not be surprised to find there, at last, the original effulgence in an unwasting splendor. If one walks along the path, over many lands, through darkened centuries, which Christianity has brightened with glowing lights, and on which she has strewn astonishing victories, he can hardly be amazed when he finds at the outset the deaf hearing, the blind seeing, the dumb made to speak, and the poor hearing the word of life. It will be to him harmonious as music, though loftier than the chiming suns, to see the Lord of this religion arising from the grave, and ascending in illustrious triumph to Heaven!" (Lectures on "The Divine Origin of Christianity," p. 354.)

If you say that is an evangelical presentation of the theme, let me read side by side with it, and I do so deliberately for the sake of contrast, James Martineau's equally eloquent recognition of historic fact; I cannot say equally profound, for he does not appear to me to go to the extent which his premises should lead him. But if you go as far as he does you will admit inspiration, for you will admit a revelation of God in Christ. James Martineau, now the foremost ethical philosopher of the English-speaking world, uses this language, which, once heard and understood, will not soon be forgotten: —

"The grand objects of the physical universe, discernible from every latitude, look in at the understanding of all nations, and secure the unity of Science. And the glorious persons of human history, imperishable from the traditions of every civilized people, keeping their sublime glance upon the Conscience of ages create the unity of Faith. And if it hath pleased God the Creator to fit up one system with one Sun, to make the daylight of several worlds; so it may fitly have pleased God the Revealer to kindle amid the ecliptic of history One Divine Soul, to glorify whatever lies within the great year of his moral Providence and represent the Father of Lights. The exhibition of Christ as his Moral Image has maintained in the souls of men a common spiritual type, to correct the aberrations of their individuality, to unite the humblest and the highest, to merge all minds into one family, — and that the family of God." ("Miscellanies," Boston, ed. 1852, p. 280.)

Let London and Paris and Berlin and Boston rise to the height of this outlook of Martineau and there will follow such new breadth of vision that the ages will need no other proof than open spiritual eyes will give that Christ was in himself a Revelation and that He spoke by Inspiration of the Most High. [Applause.]

How does the New Testament depict the personality of Christ? As existing *before* his incarnation, as revealing God *during* his incarnation, as entering upon an eternal kingdom *after* his incarnation. Martineau, in the language which I have read to you, sees in Christ only a human soul, utterly obedient to God, and so revealing the Divine image. And yet as this and as no more Martineau would make Christ the centre of our moral system. He has the right to do so. But we who receive what we hold to be the undiluted teaching of the New Testament, regard the personality of our Lord as extending from eternity to eternity. You say that these thoughts are too overwhelming for philosophy. They are in the Scriptures; they are nowhere else. They are in no other scheme of religious thought. From eternity, He was one with God and was God, so we think the New Testament teaches. And as conscience always demands to be obeyed unconditionally, and as no human creature ever did obey conscience thus, it would seem that the creation itself was not perfect until God brought into existence one who did obey conscience perfectly. Christ, then, was the creation at its climax, because He was man at his climax. And yet, as such, He was not man merely; He was God manifested in completeness in moral and religious respects, so far as human needs extend. And after this incarnation an eternal kingdom begins. The Holy Ghost is as much Christ present in us as his breath, when He breathed upon the disciples, was his own. "He breathed upon them and said, 'Receive ye the gift of the Holy Ghost.'" This act no more revealed the personal activity of our Lord than the day of Pentecost did, or than the successive days of spiritual refreshing have done in the history of the church age after age.

Our Lord is not three, and Orthodoxy does not believe that there are three Gods. It is juvenile to say that Orthodoxy con-

tradicts itself and says that there are three Gods and yet that there is only one God. It is self-evident there cannot be three Gods in the same sense in which there is but one. We believe that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost are one God, and yet that each has a peculiarity incommunicable to the other. Thought, choice, and emotion are in one soul, although each has a peculiarity incommunicable to the other. This is a very poor illustration on many points, but a good one on one point. There may be unity, there may be trinity, in one personality.

We conceive of our Lord as having had authority to make prophecies as to the success of Christianity, as having had authority to affirm that He had yet many things to teach his disciples, and to promise that He would be with his followers to the end of time.

THE FULFILLED PROPHECIES OF OUR LORD.

There was a prophecy, not merely of the outpouring of the Holy Spirit, a prediction fulfilled at Pentecost; but there was a prediction of the crucifixion and of the resurrection itself. There was a prophecy concerning the career of Judas; there was a prophecy concerning the destruction of Jerusalem; there was a prophecy concerning the ultimate universal triumphs of Christianity. Who doubts that the predictions of Christ concerning the destruction of Jerusalem were made before the event and were fulfilled to the letter? You have read in the pages of Josephus how men swallowed gold to preserve it, in the siege of Jerusalem by Titus, and were torn in pieces by the Roman soldiers that the gold might be recovered. You have read of the mother who in that siege ate the flesh of her own infant. There was one who said: "Daughters of Jerusalem, weep not for me, but weep for yourselves and for your children." After repeated visits, when I stood alone on the Mount of Olives and shut my eyes in the fullness of the light of the noon, and recalled the history of the siege of Jerusalem, I often felt myself approaching a fever through the power of the historical associations. "There shall be such suffering in those days," our Lord said, "as has not been before from the beginning, and except the Lord should shorten those days, no flesh should survive."

He gave his disciples distinct directions what to do in that siege. They were to escape; they were to pray that their flight might not be on a Sabbath, — a little incident, by the way, showing that our Lord intended that the Lord's day should be observed as a day of rest.

The fulfilled prophecies of our Lord is a topic that haunts me.

It has been well said that the fulfillment of prophecy is a kind of evidence peculiarly well fitted to convince those who are the most unwilling to admit the reality of the supernatural. The fact that a prediction has been made at a certain date and by a certain person may be established like any other fact of history. The fact that events in the field of the prophecy have taken a certain course may be established in the same way. There is nothing supernatural in either of these facts, taken alone. When they are placed side by side and found to correspond as prediction and fulfillment, then the supernatural appears. The fulfilled prophecies of Christ were among the chief forces which gave the apostles their faith and courage. According to the Gospels, He who made these prophecies intended that they should become, when fulfilled, an impregnable basis of confidence in his testimony concerning himself. "Now I have told you before it has come to pass that when it is come to pass ye may believe." These words of his show what He who spake as never man spake thought of the evidential value of prophecy considered as definite prediction.

The external and internal evidences of the supernatural origin of Christianity are the two sides of an arch which have, as their key-stone, the veracity of Christ's testimony concerning himself. Even if the Gospels are at first received as an authentic record of that testimony only in outline, there can be no reasonable doubt on three points of supreme moment:—

1. He and only He through whom the superhuman doctrines and ideals of Christianity came into the world exemplified them in his life.

2. He whose sinlessness and wisdom are the supreme miracles of history, himself made the claim that He wrought miracles and taught by Divine authority.

3. The prophecies which the Gospels record as having pro-

ceeded from Him, as well as those of the earlier Scriptures, which He interpreted as having reference to Himself, have been fulfilled.

But whoever admits these points and retains his reverence for evidence will go farther and attain, if both logical and devout, the full and rejoicing faith of the Christian centuries.

Our conclusion, now that the mythical theory concerning the origin of the four Gospels has been completely overthrown, is and must be that the historic actuality of the events recorded in these amazing documents stands forth as the supreme proof of the reality both of Revelation and Inspiration. The fact that the Gospels contain a trustworthy account of Christ's testimony concerning himself is established. That testimony is a part of the historic Portraiture which the Gospels delineate and which has transformed the ages.

The supreme evidence on which faith in Christianity rests is not only the veracity of Christ, but the veracity of God in Christ.

Age after age the doctrines and ideals of Christ, when reduced to practice, have produced wholly unparalleled beneficent results. Under heaven and among men there has been discovered no way in which, without violence to self-evident truth, deliverance may be obtained from the love and the guilt of sin, except that method which He taught when He proclaimed himself the Way, the Truth, and the Life.

God is in the Bible as in no other book, for the Bible, as no other book, brings us to God. But Christ is the Commencement, the Continuation, and the Consummation of all the Scriptures. God is in Christ's words as in no others; for Christ's words as no others bring us to God.

I therefore stand on the historic fact of the self-revelation of God in Christ through prophecy, through superhuman wisdom, through sinlessness, and I say that here God spake authoritatively to men. In Christ is infallible spiritual guidance, unless God means to mislead us, as to the Way of salvation. Such Divine attestations,—is it conceivable that God would have put them upon a lie? Ye believe in God; ye do well. Believe also in Christ whose Divine mission God hath attested.

NATIONAL SABBATH REFORM.

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled :

We, the undersigned, citizens of the United States, respectfully petition your honorable bodies to forbid "interstate commerce" on the first day of the week, by railroad trains.

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled :

We, the undersigned, citizens of the United States, hereby respectfully petition your honorable bodies to pass a law instructing the Postmaster-General to make no further contracts which shall include the carriage of the mails on the first day of the week, and to provide that hereafter no mail-matter shall be collected or distributed on that day.

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled :

We, the undersigned, citizens of the United States, respectfully petition your honorable bodies to forbid military drills, musters, and parades of United States cadets, soldiers, and marines on the first day of the week, in times of peace, as interfering not only with the soldier's right to the day of rest but also with his rights of conscience.

To the National Conventions of the Democratic, Republican, Prohibition parties :

GENTLEMEN, — The undersigned respectfully petition you to insert in your platform a declaration in favor of protecting our imperiled American Sabbath against the invasion of liquor-sellers and amusement-venders, who would sacrifice to greed and lust, the day whose rest of body and mind, whose culture of intellect and conscience, have been the chief agencies in making our people capable of permanent self-government ; also a declaration against the requirement of needless Sunday work from the employees of the national government in the mail and military service, by which the nation, as an employer, sets a bad example, robbing its workmen of their right to rest, and their rights of conscience ; also a declaration, in furtherance of recent interstate commerce reforms, in favor of forbidding all such commerce on the Sabbath, and so emancipating half a million workmen from the slavery of Sabbathless toil.

To the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church :

DEAR FATHERS AND BRETHREN, — The undersigned earnestly petition you, as the representatives of the largest denomination of American Chris-

tians, to take the initiative in forming a national Sabbath committee, by appointing several persons to serve in your behalf on such a committee, with instructions to ask other religious bodies, in your name, to appoint representatives to serve on the same committee, in order that the invasion of our day of rest and worship by the united forces of the liquor traffic and its allies may be successfully resisted by the united forces of American Christianity, in the interest alike of the church and of the nation, of morality and of liberty.

AN ADDRESS BY REV. WILBUR F. CRAFTS, AUTHOR OF "THE SABBATH FOR MAN," DELIVERED IN WASHINGTON, APRIL 6, AND IN NEW YORK, APRIL 8, ALSO, IN PART, AT A HEARING BEFORE THE SENATE'S COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR, IN BEHALF OF THE FIRST THREE OF THE ABOVE PETITIONS, APRIL 6, 1888.

1. *A national evil requires a national remedy.* This key-note of Senator Blair's unanswerable argument for national prohibition is equally appropriate as a key-note for national Sabbath reform. His argument—substituting "Sabbath desecration" for "intemperance," and "Sunday laws" for "temperance laws," would serve almost as well in our American fight against the continental Sunday as in our fight against its Siamese twin, the continental saloon. These are inseparable parts of one imported curse; kill either, and the other must soon die. Intemperance, Sabbath-breaking, impurity, anarchy, and political corruption are sympathetic strands in a cable that will strangle American liberty and morality unless it is cut by the strong hand of the nation. The war on all these evils must be national, for they are all as national as slavery was; indeed, they constitute a new slavery that extends through North and South alike, from which we must have a new and national emancipation. Anarchy, and its nurse, Monopoly, must be exiled by national commercial reforms. Political corruption calls for national reforms in civil service and suffrage. The growth of polygamy, divorce, and impurity calls for a national marriage law. The assaults of intemperance upon liberty and the home call for national constitutional prohibition. The invasion of our land by the corrupting holiday Sunday of European despotisms calls for national Sabbath reform.

2. Local option as a doctor for national evils, strange to say, has only recently died, so recently indeed that some have not

heard of his decease. Nevertheless, it is a fact that local option is as dead as the much-lamented Cock Robin. The recent decision of the Supreme Court that a prohibitory State cannot prevent the importation of liquors into its towns was his death sentence. The Interstate Commerce Act, in another department of reform, had previously dug his grave, and the Utah agitation is tolling the bell.

3. We are just awaking to the consciousness that we are not a "town-heap" or a "state heap," but a Nation, an *American Nation*. Nothing more fitly embodies the new watch-word, "America for American institutions," than the defense of the American Sabbath, to whose quiet leisure for rest and thought, to whose culture of mind and conscience, to whose mingling of rich and poor as equal sons of God we owe, more than to anything else, the fact that we are not, like France, a republic "good for this day only," lying uneasily in the crater of a not extinct volcano.

4. Sabbath reform, like the other reforms named, needs not only nationalization but also individualization. This double result is accomplished, to a good degree, by securing signatures to the petitions for National Sabbath Reform. After a sermon or conversation on Sabbath observance, it is a great advantage to have the nebulous sentiment solidified into signatures that definitely commit the signers to Sabbath defense.

5. When the signature is not that of an individual, but of a labor union or a temperance society or a religious conference, there is an additional gain in the discussion invoked, for "agitation is education."

6. Petitions of more than a million adult Americans against Sunday mails, Sunday parades, and interstate Sunday trains — partly from organizations partly from individuals — have already been marshaled and sent to Washington by the Women's Christian Temperance Union, through its Sabbath observance department, of which Mrs. J. C. Bateham, of Painesville, Ohio, is the efficient superintendent. But this is only the vanguard of a larger army of petitions to Congress that is being recruited in every congressional district of the country, through the Illinois State Sabbath Association (Hon. G. P. Lord, Elgin, Ill.,

Secretary), which significantly recognizes that in our intricate civilization the bitter streams of Sabbath desecration that flow through a State can be sweetened only by salting its springs at the nation's fountain-head. Why should Congress wait, like a wheelbarrow, for the pressure of the people behind it for these Sabbath reforms to become resistless, before it moves in this matter, when the very purpose, in the division of labor, of setting apart men for legislators, is to give them time to think on public matters, and so to *lead*, not simply *record* public sentiment.

7. It is very significant that these petitions for national Sabbath reform have been referred to the Senate's committee on education and labor. The Sabbath is a national educator, hardly second to the common school, and its most valuable supplement. Twenty-one years of quiet Sabbaths give to the mind as much time for thought as the studying days of a college course. The British American Sabbath is the workingmen's college without which toilers could not qualify themselves for self-government, but would remain, like the adult infants of continental despotisms, content to take amusement instead of liberty. Reforms of illiteracy cannot wisely ignore the relation of quiet Sabbaths, protected against both greed and lust, to the diffusion of knowledge and of conscientiousness, without which our suffrage is our doom.

Hon. Carroll D. Wright, in his report on Sunday labor in Massachusetts, shows from the standpoint of the very master of labor reform that it has no other department more important than the protection of employees against the Egyptian bondage of Sabbathless toil, which already enslaves at least one and a quarter million ("Sabbath for Man," appendix, note 181) of our countrymen, an average of one to every nine families. A national law forbidding Sunday work in the government's mail and military service, and its wider domain of interstate commerce, would release a majority of all these slaves at a stroke, as one turn of a bar opens a whole row of prison cells. The pending eight-hour law for employees in the postal service is only the first step toward freeing Congress from the just charge of being the very Pharaoh among employers. Certain horse cars, on which men were worked eighteen hours a day, except

the three intervals for meals, were appropriately called by the employees of the line, "man-killers." That corporation has reduced its hours to twelve, leaving the title of man-killers for the United States post-offices, at which carriers are in some cases expected to report at 6 A. M., and kept at work until about 9 P. M., besides night-watching and Sunday work. Some postal employees are on duty sixteen hours a day, the average being thirteen hours. These hours should certainly be reduced. That would be better than buncombe Congressional resolutions in favor of workingmen. But no eight-hour law can take the place of a six-day law, as one whole day for rest and home and thought is better than an equal amount of fragments doled out daily in the seven-day slavery.

Many facts go to prove that no financial loss would result to either employers or employees in the end through working six days instead of seven. ("Sabbath for Man," p. 214; "North American Review," 1888, "The Workingman's Sabbath.")

Germanizing our American Sunday would mean more Sunday work as well as more Sunday play, as appears very clearly from the recent investigations of the German government, which has ascertained that in that country fifty-seven per cent. of those engaged in manufacturing, and seventy-seven per cent. of those engaged in trades and transportation, work seven days in the week. It is easier to prevent than to repent.

8. The argument for Congressional action against interstate Sunday trains is neither long nor intricate. We have been impressively reminded of late that the national government alone has jurisdiction over interstate commerce. In the recent railroad reforms in Connecticut, which leads all the States in this matter, forbidding all excursion and freight trains for the whole of Sunday, and all others also except such morning and evening trains as the railroad commissioners think are required by laws of necessity and mercy,—in these reforms, by which 10,000 men have been emancipated from Sunday toil, the interstate difficulty of national jurisdiction was "met at every point." Some railroad managers claim that they cannot refuse to hurry on freight and passengers received Sunday without being liable for damages, unless protected by a national law against interstate

Sunday trains. This would protect them against competitors also, and enable all to rest without loss.

The recent reforms in interstate commerce forbidding railroads to become executioners for monopolists, by charging more for a "short haul" than a "long haul," were chiefly for the protection of honest manufacturers and merchants against dishonest competitors. The bill recently introduced by Senator Ingalls proposes to extend these interstate commerce reforms to protect the homes of prohibitory States against the liquor dealers of license States. A law against interstate Sunday trains would add to the interstate commerce law now in force, whose benefits, as I have said, are chiefly for employers, a labor reform of the first magnitude for the benefit of the employees, emancipating half a million railroad men from the seven-day slavery in which they are now held.

Sunday trains are run simply and only to make money for their owners, to fatten the bank account of millionaires already too much favored by our laws. If *any* work for gain (not also work of necessity or mercy) is to be allowed on Sunday, equity requires that *all* such work should be allowed. The law that forbids a poor widow to sell wholesome books on the Sabbath and permits a millionaire to sell railroad tickets is itself a crime. Anarchy fattens on such injustice.

Five hundred men who "demand" a Sunday train, with cash in their hands, have more influence with a railroad magnate than 50,000 who petition him against it in the interest of the employees and of public morality.

Most of those who use the trains — some of them careless Christians — would gladly forego the occasional convenience of such trains, in order to emancipate the great army of railroad men, whose cars are cars of Juggernaut, crushing both health and conscience before the god of greed.

That legislator is deaf indeed who does not hear in the railroad riots, now increasingly frequent, a "demand," loud as the roar of Waterloo, for the abolition of this demoralizing Sunday slavery of railroad men.

How quickly train-men become train-wreckers! The railroad rioters need only what was recently threatened — a word

of command from the railroad king Arthur ordering a general strike of the engineers to plunge the whole nation into commercial and social anarchy, of which 1877 and the Chicago bombs and the New York blizzard were but gentle hints. The despotism of national railroad pools, not of managers only but of employees also, next to the saloon, is the chief peril of the nation. There is abundant evidence in the testimony of railroad men themselves of the fact that their Sabbath-breaking is closely related to their train-wrecking. Most of the railroad work is not only a sin against God's law, but also a crime against civil law. It is a perilous thing to allow men to be started in law-breaking.

The only reason that more frequent appeals for Sunday rest are not made by railroad men is that past appeals have been in vain. The plea of 450 engineers of the New York Central Railway, a few years since, for their right to Sunday rest and their rights of conscience, for their own physical benefit and the moral benefit of their families ("Sabbath for Man," p. 294), stands as the perpetual and pitiful appeal of all Sunday toilers for their lost Sabbath; and, though that appeal was rejected by the railroad company to whom it was sent, it should be heeded by Congress, one of whose chief functions is to save our citizens from being crushed between the upper and nether mill-stones of competing corporations with hearts of rock. Congress should take up that rejected plea to defend not only the workingmen, but also the imperiled nation against the Sunday trains.

Such a law would be welcomed by not a few of the railroad managers themselves, most of whom lack the moral courage to stop their Sunday trains while such trains are run on rival roads. The Delaware, Lackawanna and Western has dared to stand alone among the great trunk lines in Sabbath-keeping.

General A. S. Diven, an experienced railroad manager, has recently shown in letters to the "Christian Union" (January 5; February 16) that the suspension of all Sunday trains is entirely feasible. His propositions are: "1. The traffic will be substantially the same per week, whether moved in 168 or

144 hours. 2. It can be moved in 144 hours. 3. The extra cost will be fully compensated by improved service. 4. There is no public necessity requiring Sunday service." This is but one of many like opinions. ("Sabbath for Man," p. 298, ff.)

The president of the Michigan Central Railway, May 14, 1883, said over his own signature: "If all railroad companies competing for the same class of traffic from and to common points were in accord, it would be practicable, to a very large extent, to abandon the running of railway trains on the Sabbath."

Only a national law against interstate Sunday trains can bring them into this desired "accord," and keep them there.

In response to some "demand" there has been a reduction of railroad trains in recent years not only in Connecticut, but also on the Pennsylvania Railroad, and some others. What is needed is a national law that takes Sunday rest for railroad men out of the realm of local or individual caprice and guarantees it impartially to all who are within reach of a national law, thus removing the chief obstacle to the extension of this Sunday rest to those who are in the domain of state laws. "The liberty of rest for each demands a law of rest for all."

As to Canada's competing trains, they are allowed there only "because of American competition," and would be quickly stopped as almost the only form of Sabbath-breaking there tolerated, as soon as their apology was removed.

The nation itself is the soulless corporation on which rests the responsibility for introducing Sunday railroading, with its train of evils, for the first train on most railroads, and the only one still on some, is the mail train; and the Sunday opening of stores is also in part due to the evil example of the nation in opening the post-offices. The million and a quarter who work on Sunday owe it chiefly to the nation's evil example.

9. That *some* improvements of the national postal law in reference to Sunday work are needed will not be denied by any just or humane man who knows the facts I have gathered by correspondence from post-offices all over the land. Postmaster-General Dickinson agrees with me in my first proposition, namely, that the law now leaves *the adjustments of Sunday work and Sunday opening too much to the discretion or indis-*

cretion of the local postmasters. For instance, the law allows the local postmaster, if he chooses (and some of them do choose), to open the mails at the very hour of church service, and so make the post office the competitor of the churches. The postal laws (sec. 481) says, "If it [the mail] be opened during the time of public worship, the opening of the post-office will be delayed until services have closed." The law would be more consistent to ignore the churches altogether, rather than recognize them only to leave room for the post-office to antagonize them, as can be done and is done when the mail arrives a few minutes *before* church time, in which case the loose law allows the postmaster to keep open "an hour or more." Twenty-four hours is "more" than "one," and the law is so construed in some offices. We do not believe in "church and state," nor do we believe in state *against* church. The Postmaster-General agrees with us that the law ought not to leave it optional with postmasters whether they shall open at the hours of church service. A law forbidding the opening between ten and twelve would accomplish this, and would be better than nothing; but we want more.

The clerk in charge of a city branch office changed the hours of Sunday work for his carriers, when there had been no change in the arrival of mails, from Sunday afternoon to the hours of morning church, telling me as his reason that he thought the men might like the afternoon for Sunday excursions, thus discriminating against the churches in favor of Sunday picnics, as the best preparation for honest handling of the mails. A law forbidding any handling of Sunday mails at such hours as would interfere with church attendance on the part of the employees would be better than nothing; but we want more than this.

Postal employees at best are unfairly discriminated against as compared with other employees of the government in being required to do Sunday work at all; but this inequity is aggravated by the fact that the Sunday work required is often twice or three times as great in one office as in another of the same grade, depending wholly on the caprice of the individual postmaster. Why should the stamp clerks of New York and most other large cities work as usual on Sunday when Postmaster Judd of

Chicago finds it practicable to suspend the sale altogether? "Stamps may be sold" (sec. 481) should have a "*not*" inserted.

The local postmasters should also be deprived of their present "liberty" to send out special delivery carriers on Sunday (sec. 688). Carrier delivery, of one kind of mail, if tolerated, will almost inevitably lead to general carrier delivery, which the European countries are now trying to get rid of. There can hardly be a serious argument in favor of handling circulars and packages on Sunday. These last-mentioned inequalities might be corrected by such changes as were recommended in the "Report" from the select committee on Sunday postal labor to the House of Commons, August 10, 1887, namely, that the Sunday handling of all printed matter except newspapers be discontinued, and that all postal employees should be entirely free on alternate Sundays. The report also recommends the principle of local option in deciding whether a local post office shall be open at all on Sunday, which we should welcome as better than nothing as a wholesome incentive to local agitation; but we desire more than this.

What has been said thus far about Sunday mails relates to abridging the undue powers of the local postmasters; but *we need also some limitations of the autocratic powers of the Postmaster-General*. His department is a monarchy but not a limited monarchy. In 1828-29, 467 petitions from twenty-one States against Sunday mails were presented to the Postmaster-General. The petitions seemed to express the desires of a majority of the nation. But the Postmaster-General, in the spirit of a Russian autocrat, and in the rhetoric of a western editor replied: "So long as the silver rivers flow, and the green grass grows, and the ocean tides rise and fall on the first day of the week, so long shall the mails of the republic be circulated on that day."

Postmaster-General Jewell ordered a Sunday morning delivery by carriers in New York. The storm of indignant protest from Christian business men prevented its continuing a second Sabbath. So also when Postmaster-General Vilas ordered the special-delivery carriers to be on duty on the Sabbath, Christian sentiment quickly caused a partial revocation of the order by

way of the White House. It is contrary to the spirit of our popular government to leave the Sunday rest of an army of carriers and of the public so largely at the mercy of one man. A law forbidding all carrier delivery of mail on Sunday would be better than nothing ; but we want more than that.

What we ask is a law authorizing the Postmaster-General to make no further contracts which shall include the carriage of the mails on the Sabbath, and to provide that hereafter no mail-matter shall be collected or distributed on that day.

Toronto and London, large cities of two grades, are proof that business prosperity does not require that business letters should be handled on the Sabbath. Toronto's postmaster informs me that his office is closed to the public from 7 P. M. of Saturday to 7 A. M. of Monday, and that even the inside handling of mail stops at midnight of Saturday and is not resumed until after midnight of the Sabbath. Its population is 140,000. If a larger city is wanted take this : " Within a radius of five miles from the general post-office, London, no inland letters are collected, carried, sorted, or dispatched on the Lord's day." ("Sabbath for Man," pp. 286.)

If all mail trains stopped over the Sabbath and the day were made in fact a *dies non*, it would be equally fair to all competitors, and give a man the same average mail on Monday morning as on Saturday, instead of flooding him with a double portion. The watchman is the only postal servant whose Sunday work can be justified on the principles of either Divine or American law.

10. Sunday parades of United States troops in time of peace should also be prohibited, if for nothing else, for the sake of a consistent national example in regarding an employee's rights of conscience. Parading is a soldier's work, his work for gain, and even when it disturbs no one else it ought to disturb him. The fearful record of courts-martial for drunkenness in our army of late years shows that the culture of conscience, which a properly adjusted Sabbath in camp would afford, is more needed than Sunday parades.

11. Whatever is going to be law must first be politics. Therefore, petitions to the national conventions of all political parties asking that in their platforms national Sabbath reform,

as well as other reforms, may be favored, are in order. Do you say, "Keep the Sabbath out of politics?" It is already in. Its enemies have attacked it on the field of politics. If we do not defend it on the same field our Sabbath laws will be destroyed. The Democrats of California, in 1872, made the repeal of the Sabbath a plank in their platform — and kept their promise. On the other hand, the legislature of Ohio, with a Republican majority, gave liquor dealers Sunday afternoons wherever a city council should choose to order it. In five Northern States and Territories and in one southern State such Sunday liquor-selling is legal on the Sabbath. If respectable Democrats would convince us that the anti-sumptuary is not an anti-Sabbath plank, let them say so in their next platform in unmistakable words. If Republicans would persuade us that their Raster resolution is not what its author says it is, an anti-Sabbath plank, let them say so in words that cannot be misunderstood. This issue is a good one with which to settle those two supreme questions of party politics. Is the foreign whiskey-seller to dominate the Democratic party and doom the Sabbath? Is the foreign beer-seller to dominate the Republican party and doom the Sabbath? The Labor party, who profane the Sabbath by discussions of land and politics, surely need to discuss this question until they see, as clearly as British workingmen, that everything which secularizes the Sabbath — even a labor union or labor party meeting — helps to break down the bars that protect its rest.

12. Christianity is the foundation on which all reformatory laws must rest, and so a national Sabbath committee representing the religious organizations of the nation will be necessary to secure clear convictions on this subject among Christians and also the enactment and enforcement of wholesome Sunday laws. It is as unwise to depend wholly on local and denominational Sabbath committees here and there, as it would have been for the North to have attempted to defend the Union by the soldiers of separate towns and States acting without any uniting authority. When the whole liquor traffic of the nation concentrates its forces to destroy a state Sunday law, such a national Sabbath committee could unite the friends of the Sabbath; also speaking and printing can both be done to better advantage as to

quality and cost by such a central committee to which all local committees are directly or indirectly auxiliary.

This National Sabbath Committee should be appointed by the churches and its chief work at first should be with the nebulous consciences of the church. If Christians could be shown that it is their duty to withhold their stock and patronage from railroads running Sunday trains, and their advertisements and sanction from Sunday newspapers, and their indorsement from Sunday mails, all these would soon become as disreputable as tippling, and laws against them would be secured with no more difficulty.

As the original concrete foundation of the great Washington monument was found to be too weak to hold the whole monument and had to be replaced by rock, so we must put under our Sabbath observance the granite of Sinai, the perpetual and universal obligation of the fourth commandment, for nothing weaker can stand the pressure of our nineteenth century temptations to Sabbath desecration.

The Sabbath is "the golden clasp" that binds together not only the week but also the home and the nation. It is related of an ancient king who engaged enthusiastically in beautifying his capital, that he ordered the pulling down of an antique structure offensive to his newly-conceived ideas of taste. As his workingmen proceeded with the destruction of the building, they suddenly exposed to view these startling words, "*Claustra haec, cum patria sua, stantque caduntque*" — "*These gates, with their country, stand and fall.*" Astounded, the monarch withdrew his hand and let the ancient edifice stand. Let not the nation, let not the church, let not the patriot help to destroy the Sabbath citadel of our liberty and religion, for "**THESE GATES WITH THEIR COUNTRY STAND OR FALL.**"

BOOK NOTICES.

HEARTSEASE AND RUE. By JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1888. 12mo. Pp. 218.

It seems to his interpretive readers that Lowell is always young, and yet this book is given to the world by a poet whose next birthday will be his seventieth. An assured place has belonged to him so many years in both prose and song that his new and large honors in the field of international statesmanship appear like a crown of common laurel superimposed upon two crowns of sacred bay. It is not the crowns of the man of letters or of affairs, however, that the world reverences most, but rather the aureole and spiritual halo which ripening years throw about the soul of the poet in his loftiest moods. There is nothing in this volume, there is little in recent literature, that has moved us more than these words, which are dated 1887 :—

“ Past my next milestone waits my seventieth year.
I mount no longer when the trumpets call ;
My battle-harness idles on the wall,
The spider's castle, camping-ground of dust,
Not without dints, and all in front, I trust.
Shivering sometimes it calls me as it hears
Afar the charge's tramp and clash of spears ;
But 't is such murmur only as might be
The sea-shell's lost tradition of the sea,
That makes me muse and wonder Where ? and When ?
While from my cliff I watch the waves of men
That climb to break midway their seeming gain,
And think it triumph if they shake their chain.
Little I ask of Fate ; will she refuse
Some days of reconciliation with the Muse ?
I take my reed again and blow it free
Of dusty silence, murmuring, ' Sing to me ! '
And, as its stops my curious touch retrieves,
The stir of earlier instincts I surprise, —
Instincts, if less imperious, yet more strong,
And happy in the toil that ends with song.

“ Home am I come : not, as I hoped might be,
To the old haunts, too full of ghosts for me,
But to the olden dreams that time endears,
And the loved books that younger grow with years ;
To country rambles, timing with my tread
Some happier verse that carols in my head,

Yet all with sense of something vainly mist,
 Of something lost, but when I never wist.
 How empty seems to me the populous street,
 One figure gone I daily loved to meet, —
 The clear, sweet singer with the crown of snow
 Not whiter than the thoughts that housed below !
 And, ah, what absence feel I at my side,
 Like Dante when he missed his laurelled guide,
 What sense of diminution in the air
 Once so inspiring, Emerson not there !
 But life is sweet, though all that makes it sweet
 Lessen like sound of friends' departing feet,
 And Death is beautiful as feet of friend
 Coming with welcome at our journey's end ;
 For me Fate gave, whate'er she else denied,
 A nature sloping to the southern side ;
 I thank her for it, though when clouds arise
 Such natures double-darken gloomy skies.
 I muse upon the margin of the sea,
 Our common pathway to the new To Be,
 Watching the sails, that lessen more and more,
 Of good and beautiful embarked before ;
 With bits of wreck I patch the boat shall bear
 Me to that exhausted Otherwhere,
 Whose friendly-peopled shore I sometimes see,
 By soft mirage uplifted, beckon me,
 Nor sadly hear, as lower sinks the sun,
 My moorings to the past snap one by one."

The well-known noble ode on the "Death of Agassiz" is the leading poem in this collection, and contains incidentally some of the severest strictures that the poet has made upon the defects of American political example : —

" I scanned the festering news we half despise,
 Yet scramble for no less,
 And read of public scandal, private fraud,
 Crime flaunting scot-free while the mob applaud,
 Office made vile to bribe unworthiness,
 And all the unwholesome mess
 The land of Honest Abraham serves of late
 To teach the Old World how to wait."

The keen words of "Tempora Mutantur," written in 1872, are here placed by the poet under the head of Humor and Satire.

" The world turns wild ; democracy, they say,
 Rounds the sharp knobs of character away . . .
 Since office means a kind of patent drill
 To force an entrance to the public till,
 And speculation something rather less

Risky than if you spelt it with an *s* ;
Now that to steal by law has grown an art,
Whom rogues the sires, their wilder sons call smart."

We do not regret, as Lowell rather complains of his friend Curtis for doing, the frequency and the incisiveness of Lowell's satires of the vices of the times, for he who writes these criticisms is also the author of "The Present Crisis" of 1845, and of the "Commemoration Ode" of 1865.

"I looked to see an ampler atmosphere
By that electric passion-gust blown clear.
I looked for this; consider what I see —
But I forbear, 't would please nor you nor me
To check the items in the bitter list
Of all I counted on and all I mist.
Only three instances I choose from all,
And each enough to stir a pigeon's gall :
Office a fund for ballot-brokers made
To pay the drudges of their gainful trade ;
Our cities taught what conquered cities feel
By sediles chosen that they might safely steal ;
And gold, however got, a title fair
To such respect as only gold can bear.
I seem to see this ; how shall I gainsay
What all our journals tell me every day ?
Poured our young martyrs their high-hearted blood
That we might trample to congenial mud
The soil with such a legacy sublimed ?
Methinks an angry scorn is here well-timed :
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For never land long lease of empire won
Whose sons sate silent when base deeds were done."

In the poem entitled "Credidimus Jovem Regnare" there is much delicious satire of atheism and agnosticism and of an unwarranted use of the theory of evolution to justify various vagaries of speculation among skeptics.

"Our dear and admirable Huxley
Cannot explain to me why ducks lay,
Or, rather, how into their eggs
Blunder potential wings and legs
With will to move them and decide
Whether in air or lymph to glide.
Who gets a hair's-breadth on by showing
That Something Else set all agoing ?
Farther and farther back we push
From Moses and his burning bush ;
Cry, 'Art thou there ?' Above, below,
All nature mutters *yes* and *no* !
'T is the old answer : we're agreed

Being from Being must proceed,
 Life be Life's source. I might as well
 Obey the meeting-house's bell,
 And listen while Old Hundred pours
 Forth through the summer-opened doors,
 From old and young. I hear it yet,
 Swelled by bass-viol and clarinet,
 While the gray minister, with face
 Radiant, let loose his noble base.
 If Heaven it reached not, yet its roll
 Waked all the echoes of the soul,
 And in it many a life found wings
 To soar away from sordid things.
 Church gone and singers too, the song
 Sings to me voiceless all night long,
 Till my soul beckons me afar,
 Glowing and trembling like a star.
 Will any scientific touch
 With my worn strings achieve as much ? "

CHURCH AND STATE IN THE UNITED STATES ; or, the American Idea of Religious Liberty and its Practical Effects, with Official Documents. By PHILIP SCHAFF, D. D., LL. D., Professor of Church History in the Union Theological Seminary at New York. Charles Scribner's Sons. 1888. 8vo. Pp. 171.

Forty-three years' residence in the United States, education at the feet of the best German masters in theology and history, a varied and prolonged experience in the chair of theological instruction, and a dozen visits to Europe have made Professor Schaff the best American Internationalist. In all his recent works, his outlook embraces Europe as well as America, and has in it nothing of the insular provincialist.

When he was inaugurated as Professor of Church History in Union Theological Seminary, September 22, 1887, in place of the greatly lamented scholar and eloquent preacher, Dr. Roswell D. Hitchcock, Professor Schaff delivered an address on "Church and State in the United States," which has since been expanded into the compact work named above, and is now reprinted from the papers of the American Historical Association. It is replete with information and ideas vitally important to the successful solution of many of the most urgent problems of American and European reform. It deserves careful study from all who discuss such topics as the Bible in schools, the religious and civil sanctions of marriage, of Sunday laws, and of the judicial oath, the exemption of church property from taxation, the abolition of religious tests, the results of the voluntary system in the support of American churches, and especially the progress of religious freedom in Europe.

Dr. Schaff thinks (p. 38) that the omission of the Divine name from the national constitution "was a sin of omission, if a sin at all, but not of com-

mission, or intentional slight," and is far from justifying the charge of political atheism against that great document. The efforts of the national association organized under the presidency of Justice William Strong, of the United States Supreme Court, for the purpose of securing a religious amendment to the constitution, Dr. Schaff, we think, undervalues, when he says: "Our chief objection to such an amendment, besides its impracticability, is that it rests on a false assumption, and casts an unjust reflection upon the original document, as if it were hostile to religion." (Page 39.) But he exposes with most incisive facts and arguments the futility of the infidel programme to expunge from the national constitution every trace of Christianity. (Page 43.) He maintains that "the separation of church and state, as it exists in this country, is not a separation of the nation from Christianity." (Page 53.)

"This seems paradoxical and impossible to all who entertain an absolutist or utopian idea of the state, and identify it either with the government, as did Louis XIV. (according to his maxim: *L'état c'est moi*), or with the realization of the moral idea, as Hegel and Rothe, or with the nation, as Bluntschli and Mulford." (Page 53.)

"The nation is much broader and deeper than the state, and the deepest thing in the nation's heart is its religion.

"The American nation is as religious and as Christian as any nation on earth, and in some respects even more so, for the very reason that the profession and support of religion are left entirely free.

"Alexis de Tocqueville, the most philosophic foreign observer of American institutions, says: 'There is no country in the whole world in which the Christian religion retains a greater influence over the souls of men than in America, and there can be no greater proof of its utility, and of its conformity to human nature, than that its influence is most powerfully felt over the most enlightened and free nation of the earth.'

"I fully agree with De Tocqueville. I came to the same conclusion soon after my immigration to America in 1844, and I have been confirmed in it by an experience of forty-three years and a dozen visits to Europe. In Roman Catholic countries and in Russia there is more outward show, in Protestant countries more inward substance, of religion.

"The United States equal and even surpass most Christian countries in religious energy and activity of every kind. The rapid multiplication of churches, Sunday-schools, Young Men's Christian Associations, religious and charitable institutions all over the country, by voluntary contributions, without any aid from the government, has no parallel in history. Nowhere are churches better attended, the Lord's Day more strictly observed, the Bible more revered and studied, the clerical profession more respected, than in North America." (Pages 54-56.)

"A total separation of church and state is an impossibility, unless we cease to be a Christian people.

"There are three interests and institutions which belong to both church and state, and must be maintained and regulated by both. These are monogamy in marriage, the weekly day of rest, and the public school. Here the American government and national sentiment have so far decidedly protected the principles and institutions of Christianity as essential elements in our conception of civilized society.

"Monogamy, according to the unanimous sentiment of all Christian nations, is the only normal and legitimate form of marriage. It has been maintained by Congress, with the approval of the nation, in its prohibitory legislation against the new Mohammedanism in Utah, and the Supreme Court of the United States, the highest tribunal of our laws, has sanctioned the prohibition of polygamy as constitutional. The Mormons have to submit, or to emigrate to more congenial climes.

"All the States uphold monogamy and punish bigamy. But some of them, unfortunately, are very loose on the subject of divorce, and a reform of legislation in conformity to the law of Christ is highly necessary for the safety and prosperity of the family. It is to the honor of the Roman Catholic Church in our country that she upholds the sanctity of the marriage tie.

"The Christian Sabbath or weekly day of rest is likewise protected by legislation, and justly so, because it has a civil as well as a religious side; it is necessary and profitable for the body as well as for the soul; it is of special benefit to the laboring classes, and guards them against the tyranny of capital. The Sabbath, like the family, antedates the Mosaic legislation, and is founded in the original constitution of man, for whose temporal and spiritual benefit it was instituted by the God of creation. The state has nothing to do with the religious aspect of Sunday, but is deeply interested in its civil aspect, which affects the whole domestic and social life of a people.

"The federal constitution, in deference to the national sentiment, incidentally recognizes Sunday by the clause (Art. I, Sect. 7): 'If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (*Sundays excepted*) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law in like manner as if he had signed it.' Congress never meets on Sunday, except of necessity, at the close of the short term, to complete legislation if the third of March happens to fall on a Sunday. The President is never inaugurated on a Sunday. The Supreme Court and the federal courts are closed on that day. And if the Fourth of July falls on a Sunday, the great national festival is put off till Monday. The revised statutes of the United States sustain the observance of Sunday in four particulars. They exempt the cadets at West Point and the students of the Naval Academy from study on Sunday; they exclude Sunday, like the Fourth of July and Christmas Day, from computation in certain bankruptcy proceedings; and provide that army chaplains shall hold religious services at least once on each Lord's Day.

"Most of the States protect Sunday by special statutes. These Sunday laws of the States are not positive and coercive, but negative, defensive, and protective, and as such perfectly constitutional, whatever Sabbath-breaking infidels may say. The state, indeed, has no right to command the religious observance of Sunday, or to punish any one for not going to church, as was done formerly in some countries of Europe. Such coercive legislation would be unconstitutional and contrary to religious liberty. The private observance and private non-observance is left perfectly free to everybody. But the state is in duty bound to protect the religious community in their right to enjoy the rest of that day, and should forbid such public desecration as interferes with this right." (Pages 69-71.)

QUESTIONS TO SPECIALISTS.

REPLY BY THE REV. R. B. HOWARD, SECRETARY OF THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY.

22. *What have been the chief results so far, in America and England, of the visit of the British Peace Deputation to the United States?*

In America, the official and parliamentary character of the individuals composing the deputation — representing, as they did, the 234 M. P.'s who signed the memorial in favor of a permanent Anglo-American treaty of arbitration and the hundreds of thousands organized in trade-unions, and a large body of clergy, noblemen, and business men from whom they brought sympathetic letters, insured a favorable reception by American officials and public men.

The courteous response of President Cleveland and the speeches of Senator George F. Hoar and others in Boston and Washington reflected the popular feeling. The Englishmen came on a worthy errand and received a sincere and generous welcome.

This was followed by weighty memorials to Congress from the States of New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts (in which States alone direct action was taken), signed by men who fairly represent those States officially and otherwise. A large delegation of the Society of Friends in America and Europe presented a memorial in favor of the treaty, January 30, 1887. They were assured by the United States senate committee on foreign affairs, before whom they appeared, that a joint resolution representing the desire of Congress for the President to negotiate such a treaty was in preparation. This is consonant with the definite request made by David Dudley Field, Andrew Carnegie, Mayor Hewitt, and others of the New York memorialists.

The Irish antipathy to the British government; the opposition aroused by the new fishery treaty now pending; the sensitiveness of all politicians on the eve of a presidential election, have been appealed to, but no direct or organized opposition has shown itself. The considerations mentioned may defer but cannot prevent final, and we think favorable, action on the part of our government. This will, however, largely depend upon the public sentiment manifested. Hence those who feel the importance of Anglo-American arbitration in the interest of universal and perpetual peace are putting forth every possible effort to secure petitions and other expression of interest on the part of the masses of the people. Public meetings are held not only by the various peace societies, but also by the W. C. T. U. committee

on peace and arbitration. Sermons and addresses are given, especially in colleges and literary institutions. Prizes for essays, corresponding to the Sumner prize at Harvard, are being offered, publications are multiplied to meet the vastly increased demand, and the press of the country, outside the periodicals especially devoted to this reform, is used as far as possible to advocate it.

In England much the same course has been pursued. The deputation has been welcomed home by great public meetings, and its object has been indorsed by most of the leading newspapers. The proposed fishery treaty does not seem to be in Great Britain an obstacle to the far more comprehensive measure which the deputation asked for.

REPLY BY MRS. M. H. HUNT, NATIONAL SUPERINTENDENT OF THE W. O. T. U. FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF SCIENTIFIC INSTRUCTION.

23. *What is the present position of the Blair Bill for the assistance of elementary education by national funds?*

We are here again confronting the question, "Is this a government of the people or of committees?" The governments of minorities in other countries are called monarchies.

In trying to get a vote in the lower house of Congress on the Blair Education Bill, we are learning that under our system, called the government of the people, a minority may obstruct the will of overwhelming majorities.

The Blair Education Bill, which proposes to take from the surplus in the national treasury funds for the education of illiteracy that is locally helpless, has three times passed the United States Senate, but never been allowed to come to vote in the House, because a few men claim not to approve of it.

The bill, as you know, passed the Senate with a majority of ten on the 15th of February, over a month ago, and has since then been in the House committee on education, where it is referred to a sub-committee of the same, and the country is anxiously waiting for a report.

Rumor says that one party does not honestly wish the bill to pass, but at the same time shrinks from taking the responsibility of defeating it by a square vote in open discussion before the people in the House, and imagines, like the ostrich with her head in the sand, that it will escape unseen and unhurt, if the measure is smothered in committee.

As far as the policy of either party is concerned, this may be only political gossip, without foundation in truth. At any rate the bill is yet unreported from the sub-committee, which so far is singularly unfortunate in not being able to command a quorum at its various meetings, some of its members (not all of them) from one excuse or another being absent, while the country is waiting to hear their verdict on this grave question, involving national existence itself, namely: Shall its seven and a half millions schoolless children grow up to a manhood and womanhood of illiteracy, to their destruction, and our national peril, for the lack of money to provide them schools, while we do not know what to do with the money in the national treasury?

This bill is not so hopelessly buried as was the Temperance Education Bill two years ago, in the same committee, which was resurrected at the voice of the people.

Abraham Lincoln said, "This government depends on public opinion, and whoever can change public opinion can change the government." If Senator Evarts was right in saying in the Senate the other day that "the people of the United States have made up their minds that there shall be no ignorance in this land where it is in the power of the State or the United States to prevent it," then public opinion for this bill is already formed, and now is the time for its voice to be heard at the door of this sub-committee room.

The latest apology of the objector for his position is the claim that federal aid for public schools will induce mendicancy. Usually the member of Congress who makes this point hurries back to his legislative duties to work with all his might, and to vote, for an appropriation from the national treasury for a public building in some small, and before unheard-of place, and for the improvement of some river or harbor, all in his district, with evidently no fear that such gifts may pauperize the people receiving them. Why should money from the same source for the improvement of future men and women be so much more demoralizing? This enigma is not without its parallel in other circles. College presidents, whose success in collecting outside aid for higher education in their institutions has made us all their debtors, now say to our utter amazement that common-school education would be injured by outside aid, which would destroy the spirit of self-help in the people. In other words, an ignorant community must, unaided, educate itself, to secure the best results.

This reminds us of the child's experiment of trying to lift his own weight by the handles of the bushel basket into which he had himself climbed.

But what we now ask is that all these objections may be fully discussed on the floor of the House, before the representatives of the whole people, and a vote there taken on the merits of the question. Petitions for this are pouring in.

REPLIES BY MR. COOK AT TREMONT TEMPLE, FEBRUARY 20.

25. *What should be said of Mr. Spurgeon's protest against the New Theology?*

First. It is not hasty. As I happen to know from some personal intercourse with Mr. Spurgeon several years ago, he has been for years disturbed by tendencies among English non-conformists to very eccentric and superficial teaching.

Second. It must be said that his protest has received no adequate answer. I have delayed the consideration of this question until I could state what the Baptist Union would say in view of the protest. It sent a protest to Mr. Spurgeon, after his return from his vacation at Mentone, in the south of France, and that resulted in no change in Mr. Spurgeon's attitude. The Baptist Union, hearing the report from its committee, passed a resolution to the effect that Mr. Spurgeon's charges were very serious, that he refused to give names of individuals who taught loose doctrines, and that, therefore,

his charges ought never to have been made. So the resolution reads ; and there the matter for the present has been dropped.

Now, Mr. Spurgeon has said that he received legal advice not to give the names of individuals to the public, for had he done so, he would have been liable to be dragged through every court in the kingdom for libel. He has assured the world that his only reason for not naming the individuals he has in mind is that he prefers to avoid contentions before the courts. This is the only answer thus far made, except by loose and misleading journals like the "Christian World." No substantial reply has been made to Mr. Spurgeon's assertion, that there are those recognized as in good and full evangelical fellowship who teach what is no more Christianity than chalk is cheese.

26. *What is Mr. Spurgeon's chief objection to the New Theology ?*

It may interest some of us in New England to listen to Mr. Spurgeon's latest statement in the "Sword and Trowel : " —

"The main question is : *Does the Baptist Union hold the doctrine of future probation ?* Many of its members avow it. Members of its high-handed council glory in it. It could somewhat clear its blurred reputation if it passed a resolution setting forth that it rejected the dream of future probation and restoration as unscriptural, unprotestant, and a stranger among Baptists. If it does not do so, we may expect to hear a full-blown purgatory preached, and prayers for the dead will follow as a matter of course. Friends are welcome to say what they like about Spurgeon, but what about the gospel ? and what about those who are preaching new doctrines ?

"We consider Universalism to be the most deadly of all the errors which have plagued the church of God. If it were true, it would render the gospel of to-day a superfluity, because its neglect would involve a loss too small to be likely to arouse any man's fear, while its acceptance would secure a present gain scarcely worth the pains involved in the trials of the spiritual life. Why men should preach at all when once they receive this theory, we cannot tell ; certainly, we see no reason why anybody should be at the trouble of hearing them."

I read this language here because it is the main question here as well as in London. Mr. Spurgeon has declared he will not recognize as within the bonds of sound evangelical fellowship those who teach that it may sometimes be safe for a man to die in his sins, and yet he has said also that he cares for nothing but the gospel, that merely denominational positions are of little interest to him, and that he would be satisfied with the broad creed of the Evangelical Alliance. One of our eminent American preachers has said that prayers for the dead ought to be offered by all who believe in future probation. For one, I rejoice in Mr. Spurgeon's protest, and do not expect to see it withdrawn. [Applause.]

EDITORIAL NOTES.

We have received from Miss Willard a summary of the positions taken on leading questions of Reform at the recent memorable Conference of Women at Washington. National and International Associations were formed, and the following officers were elected : International Council : President, Millicent Fawcett, England ; vice-president, Clara Barton, America ; corresponding secretary, Rachel G. Foster, America ; recording secretary, Kristine Frederiksen, Denmark ; treasurer, Isabelle Bogelot, France. National Council : President, Frances E. Willard, Illinois ; vice-president, Susan B. Anthony, New York ; corresponding secretary, May Wright Sewell, Indiana ; recording secretary, Mary F. Eastman, Massachusetts ; treasurer, M. Louise Thomas, New York.

In the report to the delegates the Committee on Organization, of which Miss Willard was chairman, presented the following strong arguments in favor of such a federation : —

Mindful of the high duties intrusted to its care, your Committee has earnestly addressed itself to the problem of a National and International Council of women — first, as to the practicability of forming two such great organizations, in which should be included the organized working forces of the world's womanhood, and, secondly, as to their object and method.

As a result of our deliberations, we respectfully report.

First. We are strongly in favor of such a federation — National and International — believing that it will incalculably increase the world's sum total of womanly courage, efficiency, and *esprit du corps* ; that it will widen our horizon, correct the tendency to an exaggerated impression of one's own work, as compared with that of others, and put the wisdom and expert experience of each at the service of all.

Secondly. We suggest that the form of organization be the simplest possible, following the general plan of the present Council, and to this end we offer a form of constitution, equally adapted to a National and to an International Council of Women : —

PREAMBLE.

We, women of the United States (Great Britain, France, or whatever country) (for the International "All Nations," it would read) sincerely believing that the best good of our homes and nation will be advanced by our own greater unity of thought, sympathy, and purpose, and that an organized movement of women will best conserve the highest good of the family and the state, do hereby band ourselves together in a confederation of workers committed to the overthrow of all forms of ignorance and injustice, and to the application of the Golden Rule to society, custom, and law.

Miss Willard says : —

It may be generally stated, from individual impression, that this council, representing thirteen nationalities, thirty national societies, and addressed by eighty speakers, was unitedly in favor of removing every artificial disability from women, by opening to her all the opportunities and positions of industrial, educational, and professional life, politics, philanthropy, and the church. It was held that the question should never be asked in relation to these positions and opportunities, "Is the person asking them a man or a woman?" but only, "Is the person trusty and capable of the undertaking proposed?"

This seemed to be the cardinal doctrine of the council set forth with wonderful variety of argument and illustration, and in a spirit of good will toward men. It was evidently believed that this attitude of society toward woman would do more than anything else to help hasten the day of one standard of personal purity in the habits of both sexes, since woman, from her position of dependence, now lacks power to enforce that high standard among men which men's power enables them to enforce among women.

International arbitration looking toward universal peace seemed to be the earnest desire of all. Upon the temperance question there was not one word adverse to the positions of the Women's Christian Temperance Union frankly and fully expressed by our representatives on Temperance evening, but it is only fair to say that a minority is known to dissent from those positions.

One of the most eloquent and best received addresses of the council was from Mrs. Leonora Barry, chief woman leader of the Knights of Labor. Three thousand women met to hear addresses at the session devoted to the social purity question, no men being admitted. It was a time of intense earnestness and great solemnity. Mrs. Laura Ormiston Chant, of London, England, made a most profound impression by her account of the wonderful reform going on there.

A resolution denouncing Free Rum on the Congo was warmly indorsed by one of the largest audiences, and about sixty of the leading women of the Council united in the following petition to the House of Representatives :—

"WASHINGTON, D. C., April 2, 1888.

"To the Members of the House of Representatives :

"GENTLEMEN, — We are earnestly watching the action of the House on the Blair Education Bill, having followed its history from the beginning with unflagging solicitude and interest in this great and beneficent movement, which seeks so to provide for the education of the nation's youth, that they may be prepared to be a blessing and not a curse as citizens.

"We pray you each to use your utmost influence and to give your vote for this bill."

It is hoped and believed that the next great council to be held, probably in 1890, may have representatives from all the Women's Home and Foreign Missionary societies, and may include all organized women workers in a bond that shall assert the solidarity of the sex in its endeavor to lift up and bless Humanity.

OUR DAY:

A RECORD AND REVIEW OF CURRENT REFORM.

VOL. I. — MAY, 1888. — No. 5.

THE USE AND ABUSE OF CREEDS.

AN ENGLISH NOTE. — A fuller interchange of knowledge and sympathy between England and America is the great want of the times. In a lively consciousness of this necessity I hail *OUR DAY* with delight and thankfulness, and predict for it the reward of solid success. May I venture to throw out a suggestion or two for the opinion of my American brethren, premising that my recollections of their courtesy and genuine kindness are such as to enable me to be frank and confiding in the expression of my opinions. I write under the full expectation that my views will kindle a fire upon the earth and send forth a sword long and sharp. But fire and sword are as often needed as zephyr and benison.

IT becomes clearer to me year by year that the authority of Opinion must be defined and modified if Christian society, or the Christian church, is to be preserved and turned to the highest uses. What is the unchangeable or permanent quantity in the church? History shows that Opinion is not unchangeable; by so much, therefore, the answer is simplified. If Opinion is necessarily and happily changeable, then all formal creeds, catechisms, and standards¹ are also changeable, as expressions of human judgment upon Divine or spiritual questions. They have, of course, transient importance as indicating points of progress or phases of education, but they can have no finality, and therefore no abiding authority. The "fathers" have never been allowed to think for us on astronomy, chemistry, biology, or navigation, except in the usual temporary sense, and more than this

¹ See Note 1.

should not be claimed for them in questions theological and spiritual. They never claimed more for themselves. The very fact that either by correction or enlargement Protestant theologians have amended former creeds is proof enough that they recognized the liberty of others to advance upon what they themselves had done. They would not have amended what they believed to be Divine; that they did not believe human creeds to be Divine is proved by the fact that they amended them. I have to submit that Opinion by being put into a false position has been clothed with factitious authority, and that not until Opinion has been properly defined and limited can wise and useful union be established,—in other words, that Christian life and co-operation are now suffering from a misplacement of emphasis.

Our supreme question should be: What would the Founder of Christianity do were He to return to the church? I cannot but feel that He would at once banish every formal and pedantic theologian from his altars. Scribes and Pharisees were always excluded from his approbation. To make theology a science is to make the church an academy. From my point of view the church is better represented by the term hospital than by the term college or university, and if there is any better term than hospital it is the term nursery.¹ All pomp of ceremony, all grandeur of institutionalism, all technicality of learning, seem to be foreign to the spirit and purpose of Jesus Christ; indeed, all organization other than brotherhood may easily become a stumbling-block in the way of vital progress. Why? Because it has its monopolies, its vested interests, its stubborn precedents, its official successions, and its sensitive remunerations. Mechanical organization easily lends itself to the service of skilled hands. Christ never carried organization farther than Divine communion and mutual edification. His disciples were meant to be living men who had living answers to living questions. That living-ness, if I may so say, is the unchangeable and permanent quantity in the church. The church that wants to mould the nineteenth century by opinions that were suited to the fourth century will be justly relegated to the antiquity whose very spirit it has failed to interpret. We are only true

¹ See Note 2.

followers of Christ in proportion as we are filled with his spirit. What was his spirit? We recognize its holiness, nobility, and beneficence, more clearly perhaps than we recognize its revolutionariness, its onward pressure, its vehement and unquenchable aspiration. We have deposited our theology in the Court of Arches or the Court of Chancery, whereas Christ lived his theology and embodied it in the uplifted and enriched lives of other men. We write our doctrines in trust-deeds, Christ wrote his in the human heart. Christ lived evermore towards the present and the future, we live dreamily and superstitiously in the past. Can anything be farther from true veneration for Christ? But this is always so. Men memorialize Luther, and wish to live quiet lives. Men give monumental brass to heroes dead, and denounce all living heroes as demagogues. So with Christ; in history He is heroic, in present action He is a convenience or a compromise. What, then, would Christ do were He to come again? The most of our institutionalism He would burn as with fire; our endowments and funds, our investments and securities, our parchments and our protections, He would consume as stubble.

It is at once irrational and hopeless to suppose that all men can be united in opinion upon subjects which relate to things infinite and eternal, yet it is equally irrational to suppose that there is no solid ground of true and practical union. It will be asked, How can two walk together except they be agreed? But, I answer, agreed in what? Is the agreement in opinion or in something deeper? And again, what is "walking together"? Is it identity or complement of thought? Is the one companion a voice and the other an echo? Has it been made possible by some unheard-of miracle that two men see everything from the same point of view, use words with identical color and emphasis, keep together *pari passu* in all intellectual movement, and practically cancel each other's identity by mutual fusion? This would be miracle enough, but what would it be in the case of two more, and two hundred, and two thousand, and two million. In some such way we may enable ourselves to see that unity in mere opinion is not a miracle but an impossibility.¹ In some other direction must unity be looked

¹ See Note 3.

for. True unity must be found in true feeling. All the higher sentiments may be said to yearn for unity. Veneration, tenderness, religious consciousness, aspiration, felt need of sympathy, assured kinship with higher life than we have yet realized, the instinct of human brotherhood, and all the action of moral discipline and service, — along this living line men may meet in helpful and enduring fellowship, even when their opinions are in open conflict. Yet the war of opinion will be chastened and probably sanctified by the influence of holy and gracious feeling. A tender heart will soften an exasperated tongue. Far be it from me to suggest the suspension of intellectual activity ; I would change its centre, or enlarge its orbit, or purge its vanity, but certainly not discourage its reverent ambition. I would submit the proposition that a religious doctrine is larger than any form in which it can be expressed, and that consequently the form cannot be regarded as sufficient and final. To this I would add, that orthodoxy should not be judged by the form, which is temporary because imperfect, but by the doctrine which is indestructible because essential. Let us look at instances.

One theologian says that the impenitent wicked are sentenced to conscious torment throughout eternal duration ; another says that they die, it may be after a certain period ; another says that remedial ministries operate beyond the grave, and that a time will come when all souls will find restoration through obedience. Can these opinions ever be reconciled ? Clearly not. Who shall say which of them is right, since each of the three theologians is armed with chapter and verse ? If one of them was an interpreter of the Bible, another the inventor of religious philosophies, and a third a good-natured sentimentalist, it might be easy to decide which to follow ; but this is far from being the case ; each blames the other for not understanding the Bible ; each has his lexicon and grammar ; each claims to represent the very thought and purpose of God. Is there, then, any *modus vivendi* available to all three, and consistent with genuine and useful unity ? From my point of view there is. They all agree in the condemnation of sin ; they all agree that sin must undergo punishment ; they all agree that the punishment due to sin must be inflicted

by God and not by man; agreeing upon all these vital points they might complete their agreement by saying, submissively but confidently, let us leave the rest with God, he will do that which is right, the one absolute certainty is that sin cannot escape punishment.¹ Surely in this agreement there is no lack of energy, and no lack of solemn inspiration in the work of seeking the immediate salvation of the world.

Look at the various theories of the Atonement. One theory is known as substitutionary or vicarious; another as moral and exemplary; another is revelatory of a certain economy of Sacrifice which is supposed to pervade the universe. Are these theories reconcilable? Possibly not. Yet each theorist has his chapter and verse. One blames the other for not taking the plain words of Scripture. In this instance, as in the former, let us see how many points of agreement there are;—each agrees that sin must be divinely or supernaturally treated; each agrees that Christ came into the world to bear away its sin; each agrees that by Christ alone is human redemption possible; why not rest there? Let each man see Christ's work in his own way; let him even change that way from time to time according to varying light; the one thing that is never changeable is that the Atonement comes from the divine side, not the human, because it is in the power of God alone to deal with human sin. Here we return to the proposition that the doctrine of the Atonement is greater than any form in which it can be expressed; it may, indeed, include all forms, and having included them all may overflow them all. In other words, unity will be found in the doctrine, not in any one method of its statement.²

About the Bible itself there is no lack of diverse opinion. To some minds its punctuation is inspired. Every jot is immediately from heaven. To others there is no mechanical inspiration, or inspiration that assumes final mechanical form. Some do not hesitate to distinguish between the Bible being the word of God, and the word of God being found in the Bible. Others are satisfied with the view that the Bible is an inspired presentation of the development of the religious instinct, and of God's action upon the human mind. Some believe that human-

¹ See Note 4.

² See Note 5.

ity, not mere individuality, is inspired. These opinions never can be brought into harmony. But there is no need to harmonize them if we accept the doctrine that the greater should rule the lesser. Once more look at the points of agreement, — it is agreed that revelation is possible; it is agreed that revelation is actual; it is agreed that as in no other book God speaks to man in the Bible; it is agreed that in the Bible every form of human experience is anticipated and provided for.¹ Here is basis enough for intelligent and cordial union. The men who accept such a basis cannot yield themselves to any merely wanton liberty, for by the very admissions they have made they have shown that any liberty they claim must be regulated by reverence and must contribute to the consolidation of the central doctrine. The quality of character assumed in all this discussion is too high, and too sacred, to admit the frivolous supposition that the man can be at once earnest and licentious in thought. When such men claim liberty, their claim is limited and specialized by their character.

I have said that Christian life and coöperation are now suffering from a misplacement of emphasis. Take the Sabbath question as an illustration. Some persons contend that Saturday should be observed as the Sabbath; according to others the Sabbath extends from the twilight of one day to the twilight of another; others concern themselves with the quality and degree of work permissible on the Sabbath day; — these are questions which cannot be authoritatively settled, so the result of their discussion is disappointment and irritation. The emphasis is directed to the wrong points. The thing that is universally and heartily conceded is the need of *rest*, and all beyond that is matter of locality, convenience, or expediency.² If any man insists that all the days of the week should be spent in labor he is a heretic; on the other hand the man who claims one day in seven for rest is by so much a true disciple of Christ. Why not magnify the point of agreement, and leave details to be adjusted by special conditions? In the need of rest find the law; in the method of profiting by it find the sphere of liberty. But even in the method of profiting by it there may be another division into law

¹ See Note 6.

² See Note 7.

and freedom ;— one man will have early communion, another will have liturgical prayer, another will have extemporaneous service, another will invoke the spirit and invite the solaces of nature ; is there any point in which such men can agree ? If there is, then that is the point to which all emphasis should be directed. Compared with that, all other points are unimportant. The point of unity is in the avowed need of *worship*, — the outgoing of the soul towards personalities or ministries above us, yet accessible to aspirations eloquent or speechless. “ Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind.” One man wants much church, another wants little ; one man haunts with delight the sanctuary of a parish, another pines for the freer communion of what he calls nature. Be it so. No man can be damned for loving and studying the marvelous works of God. Personally I cannot accompany that man. I need something other, — warmer, closer, tenderer, something which more deeply affects my moral moods. What I want I could not find in nature, and what the other man wants he could not find at church, yet we both agree in our conscious need of rest and in our aspiration after something beyond and above. Why not magnify the point of agreement and then cede to one another the right of private judgment.

This course of reasoning necessarily ends in such a modification of formal creeds as amounts to their practical extinction as vital instruments. Nor is such extinction to be deplored, because (1) authoritative or official creeds virtually close all theological inquiry ; as for private judgment, it is simply deposed with contempt : the church becomes an organization, with an organized creed, an organized orthodoxy, and an organized tribunal ; and thus individual criticism or individual dissent is robbed of the dignity of conviction and degraded to the level of impertinence. There is the creed, how dare you question it ? There is the deliverance of the elders, why cavil against it ? There is the united judgment of the age, why not thankfully accept it ? Not only is inquiry prohibited, but (2) brotherhood is weakened and impeded by suspicion. A thinker is easily mistaken for a heretic. Worse than this, mechanical repetition is easily mistaken for steadfast sincerity. A creed comes to be regarded as

a species of ecclesiastical currency, and therefore to clip it, or enlarge it, or rewrite its superscription, is an offense against the papal mint which must be severely punished. (8) The maintenance or defense of literal creeds often means the subordination of the spirit to the letter, and by so much becomes a protest against all intellectual progress. Ecclesiastical history may be cited in witness. If creeds could keep hypocrites out of the church, they would serve a useful purpose; but the contrary is the fact, for the greater the knave the less difficulty will he have with any creed. But hypocrisy is not the only evil to be dreaded. Between sincerity and hypocrisy there is a middle zone full of spiritual danger, namely, the zone of mental reservation,¹ — ground rank with the creeds of parentheses, foot-notes, marginalia, ambiguities, and modified emphasis. What can be more destructive of moral health? Yet how subtle is the temptation to take refuge in that middle zone! See what may be involved and risked by a fearless policy — income, social credit, fraternal confidence, official promotion, popular applause! What, then, is to be done? Admitting the evil, what is the remedy? To so bold an inquiry I will not return a timid reply. In my judgment the remedy is to put all creeds, catechisms, articles, and standards into the category of landmarks which have served their historical purpose, and to deplete them of all authority and living influence. By them, the dead rule the living, which is not only a solecism but a peril and an injustice. Is not Christ dead? Are not the apostles dead? No. They would have been dead if they had embodied their teaching in literal or mechanical forms, but this they never did. Theirs was a ministry of principles, of practical beneficence, of universal propositions, of profound and aggressive reforms, so it stands to-day the model of all action that proceeds by illumination and that responds to immediate necessity. Hence I venture to submit the suggestion. The Bible grammatically and sympathetically interpreted should displace all creeds, and at once guarantee and regulate all spiritual liberty. The church need not always talk religion, but it should talk every subject religiously. At all times and everywhere the church should

¹ See Note 8.

enlighten ignorance, relieve poverty, denounce oppression, and uphold justice ; it should, too, be the friend of all progress, — in art, in music, in science, in letters, — then when it discourses upon the ineffable mysteries of its most holy faith, it will do so with that sacred majesty and elevating effect which never fail to crown and glorify well-tested honesty and impartial beneficence.

To Scotland I confidently look for the beginning of a movement that will secure a readjustment of the whole question of creeds. Scotland is reputed to be the stronghold of orthodoxy, and therefore is qualified to take the initiative in this sacred and most useful revolution. No heretic can do it. No violent mind should attempt it. Erudition, age, sobriety, zeal, should be united in the self-forgetful reformer, — man or church. A revolution of this kind cannot be accomplished without a strenuous battle, principally because many persons cannot see that to remove a creed is not to impair a faith. Such persons imagine that the creed and the Bible stand upon the same level, and consequently live or die together. Probably in this instance revolution will begin with revision. That will be enough. The beginning will necessitate the end. Is it too much to ask that a creed should be periodically revised? Does not language change in force and color? Does not research discover new practices of thought and faith? Does not every human framework sooner or later fall into dilapidation? Better that the elders should proceed with characteristic tranquillity than that the juniors should rush upon the work with one-sided impetuosity. Scotland could at this moment constitute as brilliant and powerful a council of revision as probably ever assembled in the history of the modern church, a statement which I justify by the citation of such names as Charteris, Cairns, Rainy, Candlish, Flint, Milligan, Caird, Marshall Lang, and Marcus Dods, — names, along with many others, held in universal honor and confidence. The one question which might be left to such a council is, How far do the creeds of the church express the religious thought and faith of to-day?

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The editors of *OUR DAY* are by no means responsible for all of the opinions expressed in this article, many of which have become very familiar both by their characteristic defenses and their unfortunate practical results in the Unitarian controversy in New England. The use and abuse of creeds, however, is a large and timely theme, and the views here given of an eminent London preacher no doubt represent very accurately the mood of Liberal Nonconformity in its present somewhat uneasy relations to the aggressively evangelical elements both of the Established Church and of its rivals. The following Notes intimate our own views of creeds.

NOTES.

NOTE 1. The church is a company of reasonable men. Being reasonable they have opinions. Having opinions they have a right to express them. The church professes to be a company of pious men. These men do not hold their opinions because they were taught by the fathers, but because they were taught by the Head of the church. The men are conscientious in their belief that the Bible reveals a certain system of doctrines. Therefore the men express their belief in those doctrines. The expression of their belief is their creed. On other subjects men have their creeds. The majority of the citizens of the United States express their belief in our national constitution. This is their creed. Can it ever be changed? It may be changed when a certain number of our citizens believe that it is wrong. The question whether a church ought to have a formal creed is entirely distinct from the question whether it may ever change its creed.

NOTE 2. "To make theology a science is to make the church an academy. From my point of view the church is better represented by the term hospital than by the term college or university, and if there is any better term than hospital it is the term nursery," p. 362. There are some infelicities in calling the church a "hospital." The apostle says: "For this cause many among you are weak and sickly" (1 Cor. xi. 30), but he reproves them for not being in health of spirit. There are also some infelicities in calling the church a nursery. The writer to the Hebrews reprimands them for having "become such as have need of milk and not of solid food. For every one that partaketh of milk is without experience of the word of right-

eousness; for he is a babe" (Heb. v. 12; 1 Cor. xiii. 11; xiv. 20).

On the other hand, there are some felicities in calling the church a school or college. It is composed of "disciples" who are learners. It is presided over by ministers who are "teachers." The apostles taught "not in the words which man's wisdom teacheth, but which the Spirit teacheth," and the Head of the church was "a teacher come from God" (1 Cor. ii. 13; John iii. 2).

Dr. Parker admits that the ministry of the apostles was "a ministry of principles," and "at all times and everywhere the church should enlighten ignorance," p. 368. Having this office "at all times and everywhere," the church is well called an educational institution, a "*university*." Its creed is its statement of principles. Its principles are Theism rather than Pantheism, the sure truth rather than the doubtful authority of the Biblical teachings.

NOTE 3. "Union in mere opinion is not a miracle but an impossibility," p. 363. Can there not be unity enough for allowing men to form a creed in favor of a republican, rather than a monarchical, form of government? Can there not be unity enough for allowing the church to express its belief that murder is a crime? The expression of this belief would be, so far forth, the creed of the church. Men disagree, however, in regard to the import of the words murder and crime. Some intelligent and pious men believe a certain act to be murder, and other intelligent and pious men believe that it is not murder. Shall the church, therefore, abstain from expressing its belief that murder is a crime? But if it should have a creed excluding murder from the list of innocent practices, may it not exclude other violations of the ten commandments? It may have a creed insisting on the authority of these commandments, on the authority of the Sacred Scriptures as an entirely trustworthy rule of faith and practice. When the question is asked, Why not leave every man to his own opinion in regard to the Christian Sacraments, Baptism and the Lord's Supper? we may ask another question: Why not leave every man to his own opinion in regard to the propriety of having a church at all? If a

church should not have a creed, why should it have a preacher? What would become of the ten commandments if there were no preaching of the gospel? If the minister preaches against theft and profanity, why may not his church publish its creed that the laws of the Bible are yet in force?

NOTE 4. Theologians do not all agree in the belief that sin cannot escape future punishment. Some believe that neither in this life nor in the future is there any punishment distinct from chastisement. Some believe that all the sins of all men have been punished already in Christ. Some believe that our Creator is too merciful to inflict any punishment equal to the desert of any sin. Why then should the church express any belief on the subject of punishment? Instead of saying: "Let us leave *the rest* with God," why not say: "Let us leave the *whole* subject and every other subject with God." Instead of saying: "The one absolute certainty is, that sin cannot escape punishment," why not say: "The one absolute certainty is, that we are not certain of anything on the matter of punishment or on any other matter, and therefore we have no creed on anything."

NOTE 5. "Unity will be found in the doctrine, not in any one method of its statement," p. 365. What doctrine? There must be *some* statement of *some* doctrine. It is the doctrine of the atonement. What is the statement of this doctrine? There is no one statement of it in which all agree. It "will be found," then, that there is unity in the church with regard to *some doctrine or other* which cannot be stated "in any one method." Why then is this doctrine called "atonement"? Theologians do not coincide with regard to the meaning of the word, the propriety of using it, the Biblical sanction of any such term. Why shall not the believers yield to the dissentients; the majority to the minority of pious men? Why shall not every man have a *veto* on every church?

NOTE 6. Some theologians believe that the Bible is a demoralizing book; that its general circulation among the people is more harmful than helpful. Some believe that some parts of the New Testament are true and salutary; other parts not; and that the larger part of the Old Testament is mythical or false or immoral. Many learned theologians believe that the God of

the Old Testament is capricious, jealous, revengeful, and deserving to be abhorred rather than worshiped. What will be the character of a church that refuses to express its belief in the Bible as an infallible guide in morals and religion?

NOTE 7. We have heard men contend that the beer-garden and the opera-house are the most appropriate places for Sabbath *rest*. We have heard others contend that one day in ten would be preferable to one day in seven for *rest*. Does any man believe that there would be more religious "aspiration," more Christian peace, if our churches should express no opinion in regard to the importance of the Sabbath day? Does not the keeping of the Sabbath result in the mental activity of a nation, the purity of its morals? "The practical extinction" of creeds as "vital instruments" in sustaining the law of the Sabbath would be the "practical extinction" of multiplied agencies essential to the welfare of the state. This is the *consensus* of the most considerate statesmen.

NOTE 8. "Between sincerity and hypocrisy there is a middle zone, full of spiritual danger, the zone of mental reservation," etc., p. 368.

The best things in the world may be abused. The church is said to be a hospital. Now a hospital may be founded by allopathists, and its funds given on the condition that its patients be treated on allopathic principles. If a homœopathist takes the allopathic creed, and practices homœopathy in opposition to the creed of the hospital, he injures his own character, but proves nothing against the creed of the hospital. The church is compared to a nursery. If a nursery be founded by homœopathists, and if the creed of the nursery requires that the little children be treated on homœopathic principles, and if an allopathist insinuates himself into one of the professorships, and deluges the infants with heroic drugs, he proves himself to be dishonorable, but proves nothing against the homœopathic creed which he has promised to make his guide. If a man dislikes the creed of one church, let him unite with another. If he dislikes the creed of the other, let him unite with a third. If he cannot live a Christian life with *any* church already formed, let him unite with some other Christians in a church coinciding

with the dictates of his conscience. No man is compelled to unite with a church condemned by his conscience. No man is entitled to demand that a church abandon its own cherished principles for his accommodation. No man can be justified in saying he believes in a creed which he inwardly rejects. No man ought to reason from the *abuse* of a creed against the *use* of it.

Since the preceding Notes were in type, we have received the following comments on the article of Rev. Dr. Parker.

"The fathers have never been allowed to think for us on astronomy." Assuredly they have. Kepler, Newton, thought God's thoughts, and ever since after them the world has humbly thought their thoughts. The opinions these fathers held concerning planetary motion and the law of gravitation have been a finality, an authoritative creed.

"Christ's disciples were meant to be living men who had living answers to living questions." Yes; and every such answer is an opinion, a creed; *e. g.*, "How shall man be just with God?" "By the deeds of the law there shall no flesh be justified in his sight." "The just shall live by faith." How shall faith come to London by hearing? "Build a City Temple, with Joseph Parker, a Tabernacle with Charles Spurgeon, to preach the Word of God," are the opinions many disciples give as their living answer.

"Our supreme question should be, What would the founder of Christianity do, were He to return to the church? The most of our institutionalism He would burn as with fire: our endowments and funds, our investments and securities, our parchments and protections, He would consume as stubble." What? Burn the City Temple, and the home of the Congregational Union, hard by; the Tabernacle, and Mr. Spurgeon's Training School for Ministers, and his Orphanage? Consume as stubble the London Missionary Society, and the American Board? These institutions and endowments, and hundreds like them, are the living answers of Christians to the living questions of the hour, the organized charity, the crystallized good sense of living disciples. They are instinct with the efficiency of a living present Saviour. Why should his personal presence destroy what

his spiritual presence builds, and mightily energizes to the salvation of myriads of souls? Worldly people neglect and decry such things, Christians are expected to cherish, perfect, and extol them.

"In the case of two men, two hundred, two thousand, two million," "Unity in mere opinion is not a miracle but an impossibility." Yet millions upon millions passionately sing,

"All hail the power of Jesus' name,"

and are cordially united in the opinions that He is, and that sinners should crown Him, "Lord of all."

"True unity must be found in true feeling." But all feeling is founded in opinion, and bounded by it. Professor Robert Flint, one of those to whom Dr. Parker would refer these discussions, says ("Theism," p. 82), "Religion is man's belief in, etc., with the feelings and practices which flow from such belief." There is no feeling which does not flow from belief in an opinion. To be united in a feeling men must first be united in belief of the opinion which occasions the feeling. Not one of the feelings instanced, "veneration, tenderness, the instinct of human brotherhood," but is absolutely dependent on an idea, an opinion concerning the object of veneration or of tenderness concerning the fact of human brotherhood. First knowledge, then feeling, then choice, always and necessarily.

"One theory of the atonement is known as substitutionary, or vicarious." Not in the Bible. Professor H. B. Smith well states "the great revealed Scriptural fact about Christ and his sacrifice" in these terms: "The very nature and essence of the sufferings and death of Christ is that they are an expiation for sin. This is the fact and not a theory about it. Theories of the atonement have for their object to show how this fact, viz: that the expiatory death of Christ is the means of pardon to the guilty, is to be understood in its entire relations to, etc. When we say that the death of Christ was instead of our punishment, and that it made expiation for our sins, we are not stating theories, but revealed facts." ("Theology," pp. 455, 461.)

The magnificent and impetuous generalizations which have so often electrified us in listening to the great London preacher,

especially in his practical discourses, seem not to serve him well in treading here this dangerous ground, among these important distinctions. In this brilliant article the author's whole difficulty arises from his spelling opinion with a capital O. When he says, "If Opinion is necessarily, and happily changeable," one has to ask, What opinion? The opinions that there is a holy God, that man is a sinner, that they must be reconciled to abide in peace together, are necessarily, and happily *unchangeable* among Christians. In so far forth, and a great deal farther, Christians have a creed, and it is not a "landmark which has served its historical purpose," but a living answer to living questions, a fixed finality as far as it goes, — an authoritative rule. Does our author confound positive knowledge with exhaustive knowledge? Because finite minds cannot know anything exhaustively, can they therefore know nothing certainly? Suppose they cannot agree in knowing everything in all its relations, can they not agree in knowing some things in some of their relations. Their agreement may be definite upon central facts if not upon outlying particulars. Nor does the degree of present disagreement fix the measure of future agreement. Differences often yield to friendly discussion, and the boundaries of established truth are enlarged. And everything is not in a state of flux. Man has some imperishable truths; he apprehends them if he does not comprehend them. Or, as Mr. Gladstone says, "Our hands can lay hold of truth, though our arms cannot embrace it."

His words on "Authority in Matters of Opinion" are pertinent here, especially in view of the well-known friendship between the statesman and the preacher. "I contend that Christianity must in reason be understood to include a doctrinal, as well as a moral and a symbolical system. I am not so desirous to fix the exact particulars of that doctrinal system, as to show that, when we speak of Christianity as having received the favorable verdict of the portion of mankind alone or best qualified to judge in such a matter, we do not mean the mere acknowledgment of a name, but we mean, along with other things, the acceptance of a body of truths which have for their centre the person and work of Christ. And my contention is that, whatever

be the momentary fashion of the day in which we live, that same tradition and testimony of the ages which commends Christianity to us has not been a chimera or a chameleon, but has had from the first, up to a certain point of development, one substantially definite meaning for the word, a meaning of mental as well as moral significance ; and has, as a matter of history, expressed this meaning in the creeds. This Christianity has shed off from it, on this side and on that, after debate and scrutiny, and furthermore after doubt and even, sometimes, convulsion, all the conceptions irreconcilably hostile to its own essence, by a standing provision as normal as are the reparatory processes of material nature ; and has been handed on continuously in uniformity of life, though not, it may be, in uniformity of health. It is in this sense what the visible church also claims to be, a city set on a hill ; not, indeed, a city within walls that can neither grow nor dwindle, but yet a city widely spread, with a fixed heart and centre, if with a fluctuating outline ; a mass alike unchangeable, perceptible, and also determinate, not absolutely or mathematically, but in a degree sufficient for its providential purpose in the education of mankind."

THE RELIGIONS OF INDIA.

AN ADDRESS BEFORE THE SOCIETY OF ARTS, LONDON, FEBRUARY 24, 1888, BY SIR WILLIAM WILSON HUNTER, AUTHOR OF "THE IMPERIAL GAZETEEER OF INDIA."

I LATELY read in a newspaper that the average cost of educating each student in a certain college at Oxford is £6,481. The calculation was, from an arithmetical point of view, unassailable. The revenues of the college were correctly given, and when divided by the number of so-called students they showed this enormous expenditure. The ingenious statist had, however, overlooked the fact that the income of that college is not applied to educating students, but to strengthening the teaching staff of the other colleges, or of the University, and to the endowment of research. No one, so far as I am aware, took the trouble to expose the miscalculation, and it passed as an amusing example of the abuse of figures. There is a miscalculation, similar in kind, but fraught with more serious consequences — sometimes heard on English platforms, and reiterated in the press — which saddens the hearts of thousands of earnest men and women in this country, and which carries discouragement to hundreds of devoted workers in distant lands. When I hear the result of Indian missions estimated by dividing their expenditure among the number of their conversions, and then giving the cost of each new convert at so much a head, the same effect is produced on my mind as by the statement regarding the average expenditure on each of the so-called students at that Oxford college. There may be initial periods of missionary effort among the Polynesian and African races, to which a calculation of this sort can be properly applied. On that point I do not presume to offer an opinion. But speaking of the country in regard to which my own experience enables me to speak, the country which in our times forms the great field of missionary labor, I declare that no true ratio exists between missionary expenditure or missionary work in India and the number of new conversions. I affirm that calculations based on the assumption of such a ratio are fundamentally unsound. It has been my duty to inquire into the progress of the various religions of India. The inquiry discloses a rapid proportionate increase among the native Christians, unknown among the Muhammadan and Hindu population; but it also proves that the increase bears no direct relation to the new conversions from orthodox Hinduism and Islam. For this misapplication of statistics the friends of missionary enterprise were originally in some sense responsible. The great outburst of evangelistic effort in India took place during the upheaval of Dissent against lukewarm orthodoxy in

England. The first idea of our missionaries was to make converts from the established religions of India, as some of our Dissenting bodies at home hoped to swell their numbers at the expense of the Established Churches of Great Britain. During the past fifty years this idea has been modified. Experience has shown that a vast increase of activity and usefulness among the English and Scottish sects outside the Established Churches is not only consistent with, but has actually proved concurrent with a vast increase of activity and usefulness within those churches. It has also shown that the progress of Christianity in India is compatible with the progress of Hinduism and Islam. For as the Dissenting bodies of Great Britain have in our century won their great successes not by a large absorption of good churchmen, but by their noble labors among the encompassing masses on the outskirts of religious life, so the missionaries in India have chiefly made their converts, not from the well-instructed Muhammadans and Hindus, but among the more backward races, and from the lower castes, who are destitute of a high faith of their own. There have been many conspicuous exceptions to this rule. But the rule has been so general, and the possibility of common progress is so evident, that a violently aggressive attitude towards the native religions is felt to be unsuitable in India, very much as the old *odium theologicum* between the Established Church and Dissent is felt to be an anachronism in England. In both countries it is the poor that have had the gospel preached to them. In both countries the leaders of Christian thought have read again the opening words of the first missionary sermon, and recognized that in every nation he that feareth God and worketh righteousness is accepted with Him. In India, especially, a religion must be judged, not by its alarms and incursions into other encampments, but by the practical work which it does for its own people. For in India religious organization plays a part in the social structure which it has long ceased to discharge among the more consolidated nationalities of Europe. The religious bond has to do in India for a dense population — subject to the overwhelming calamities of the tropics, and destitute of any poor law — what a highly developed system of state relief does for England. It has also to take the place of the innumerable charitable organizations which in England supplement and humanize state relief. The religious bond in India has to exercise the constraining moral influences on a multitude of self-contained communities which the cumulative force of public opinion exerts in more homogeneous nations. The religious force in India had, until our own days, to supply the motive power of education ; nor are signs wanting that it will again assert itself actively in the spread of Indian schools. The religious bond in India forms an important factor in mercantile credit, and tends to concentrate trade within certain communities of joint believers. To sum up, religious organization in India does the work of public opinion and of poor law ; it forms the basis of private benevolence and of mercantile credit ; it supplied until lately the motive power of public instruction. In such a country, I repeat, a religion must stand or fall by what it does for the well-being of its own people. I propose to apply this principle to three

great religions of modern India — Muhammadanism, Hinduism, and Christianity. British rule has created a new world in India, with new problems of existence, which each community must solve for itself. What power do the various religions disclose of adapting themselves to this new world ; what solutions do they offer for its new problems ? I am well aware that any theological discussion, or even any expression of my own belief, would be out of place within these walls. But while, in addressing this society, I confine myself to the social results of Christianity in India, I by no means wish to urge my present point of view to the exclusion of its more spiritual aspects. There is a dense and dark mass of fifty millions of human beings in India, lying on the outskirts or beyond the pale of orthodox Hinduism and Islam. I believe that within fifty years these fifty millions will be absorbed into one or other of the higher faiths, and that it rests in no small measure with Christian England whether they are chiefly incorporated into the native religions or into Christianity. But a cordial recognition of the wide field for evangelical labors does not exempt Christianity in India from being judged by its present results. Nor need the friends of missionary enterprise shrink from the test ; for while the number of native Protestant Christians has increased by fivefold during the thirty years preceding the last census, the number of their communicants has multiplied by nearly tenfold. The progress has been a progress of conversion, concurrent with a progress of internal growth and of internal discipline. It is the result, not alone of the zeal which compasseth the earth to make a proselyte, but also of the pastoral devotion which visits the fatherless and widows in their affliction, and labors to keep its flock unspotted from the world. In considering the practical aspects of the three religions, it is convenient to begin with the Muhammadans. Islam represents in British India a compact and coherent mass of forty-five millions, who, in spite of internal divisions, are more closely united than any equally large section of the people by a common religious bond. For this vast aggregate a rate of progress has been claimed in a recent discussion in "The Times," which, if well founded, would have an important political and social significance. We may miss the fine courtesy of St. Paul in the controversy of the canons ; but their appeal to statistics was substantially a just appeal. Any general inferences, however, deduced for the whole of India from the last census are fallacious, for the great Muhammadan provinces lay outside the influence of the famine of 1877. That calamity fell with its full force on the essentially Hindu Presidency of Madras, and on the Hindu districts of Bombay. The British Provinces of the Indian continent beyond the famine area of 1877 were seven in number ; the Lieutenant Governorship of Bengal, which contains nearly one half of the whole Muhammadans of British India, Assam, the Northwestern Provinces, Sind, the Central Provinces, the Punjab, and Oudh. In the first five of these a census was taken in 1872, and another census in 1881, and we can compare the results of those enumerations. In the last two — viz., the Punjab and Oudh — no census was taken in 1872, and the census officers of 1881 declared that in these two provinces data

did not exist for testing the progress of the religious divisions of the people. Taking the same area of enumeration, and avoiding the pitfalls into which persons unfamiliar with the Indian census are apt to stumble, the facts in the five Indian provinces outside the famine of 1877, and for which we possess comparative data, are as follows :—

PROPORTIONATE PROGRESS OF MUHAMMADANS TO GENERAL POPULATION,
FROM 1872 TO 1881.

	Increase of General Population.	Increase of Muham- madans.
	<i>Per Cent.</i>	<i>Per Cent.</i>
Lient. Governorship of Bengal	10.89	10.93
Lieut. Governorship of the Northwestern Provinces (without Oudh)	6.30	7.16
Sind	9.56	9.93
Assam	19.23	19.17
Central Provinces	25.21	18.55

The slight differences (where they exist) may be accounted for by local circumstances. Thus, in the Northwestern Provinces, the Musalmans live more in the cities than the Hindus, and they are less influenced by the intense pressure of the population on the soil, which keeps down the increase among the rural inhabitants. In Bengal the Muhammadans chiefly occupy the eastern districts, in which there is still plenty of spare land, and consequently a high normal increase of the population. The census officer for Bengal states that no conversions to Islam on a considerable scale can have taken place since 1872. The census officer for the Northwestern Provinces reports in the same sense, but in greater detail. "I have consulted experienced and observant district officers throughout the province," he writes, "and they all agree that there is no active propaganda of Islam to be met." There are, however, many motives apart from conscientious religious conviction, which induce Hindus to embrace the faith of Islam. Mr. T. Stoker, C. S., in a note furnished to me on the subject, writes: "In this part of India there has been no such thing as a religious conversion from the Hindu to the Musalman faith. Even a solitary case might be sought for in vain of such a change of religious belief from conscientious conviction. But a certain, though a small, amount of conversions is going steadily on. It proceeds from social and economical reasons, and is confined to the lower orders, and, I should judge, occurs oftener among females than males. Hindus who have, for one reason or another, lost caste; women who have fallen into an immoral life; men who have abandoned their family faith for the sake of a woman of the other creed; these, and such as these, release themselves from the restraints and inconveniences of caste rules by adopting Islam. In such conversions religious feeling has no place. Years of famine are fruitful in such changes. Children, or women, whose parents or relatives died or deserted them — persons of all ages and both sexes, who were

forced by distress into acts which destroyed their status — go over to a religion that receives all without distinction." But while the statistics do not indicate any extraordinary increase of the Indian Muhammadans during recent years, they speak in eloquent language of the progress made by Muhammadanism in the past. The popular idea of Islam in India is that of a conquering creed, which set up powerful dynasties, who in their turn converted, more or less by force, the races under their sway. This theory is refuted by the facts. Excluding the frontier province of the Punjab — which, but for the religious revival represented by the Sikh confederacy, ought in the course of historical events to have become almost as exclusively Muhammadan as Afghanistan — the part of Northern India which is most strongly Muhammadan is the part most remote from the great centres of Muhammadan rule. In the British Lieutenant Governorship of the North-western Provinces and Oudh — which at one period or another of its constitution contained the three Muhammadan capitals of Delhi, Agra, and Lucknow, and in which the Muhammadans were preëminently the dominant caste — the proportion of Muhammadans to the general population is under 13½ per cent. In the British Lieutenant Governorship of Lower Bengal, far remote from the three Muhammadan capitals, the proportion in 1881 was 31 per cent. But the facts come out more clearly if we compare the districts immediately around the ancient Muhammadan capitals with districts on the outskirts of the Muhammadan empire. In Delhi district, including the metropolis of the Mughals, the Muhammadans do not form a fourth of the population; in Agra district, including the Muhammadan capital of Agra, they barely exceed one tenth. But in Rajshahi district, bordering on the remote Gangetic Delta, the Muhammadans exceed three fourths of the whole population; and in Maimansinh district, on the farthest limits of Lower Bengal, they amount to two thirds. Indeed, throughout the seven most eastern and most distant districts of Lower Bengal the Muhammadans form close on 8,000,000 of the 12,000,000 inhabitants, or practically two thirds of the whole population. The explanation is that in Northern India Islam found itself hemmed in by strongly organized forms of Hinduism of a high type, on which it could make but slight impression. Indeed, Hinduism here reacted so powerfully on Islam that the greatest of the Mughal sovereigns, Akbar, formally renounced the creed of the Prophet, and promulgated a new religion for the empire, constructed out of the rival faiths.

ISLAM.

But the Muhammadan adventurers and missionaries who penetrated into the swamps and jungles of Lower Bengal found there a population of low-castes, very different from the compact Hindu communities of Northern India. To these poor people, fishermen, hunters, pirates, and low-caste tillers of the soil, whom Hinduism had barely admitted within its pale, Islam came as a revelation from on high. It was the creed of the governing race; its missionaries were men of zeal who brought the gospel of the unity of God and the equality of man in its sight to a despised and neglected popula-

tion. The initiatory rite rendered relapse impossible, and made the proselyte and his posterity true believers forever. In this way Islam settled down on the richest alluvial province of India, the province which was capable of supporting the most rapid and densest increase of population. Compulsory conversions are occasionally recorded. But it was not to force that Islam owed its permanent success in Lower Bengal. It appealed to the people, and it derived the great mass of its converts from the poor. It brought in a higher conception of God, and a nobler idea of the brotherhood of man. It offered to the teeming low-castes of Eastern Bengal, who had sat for ages abject on the outermost pale of the Hindu community, a free entrance into a new social organization. It succeeded because it deserved to succeed. The proselytes carried, however, their old superstitions into their new faith. Their ancient terror of the unseen malignant powers reasserted itself with an intensity that could not be suppressed, until the white light of Semitic monotheism almost flickered out amid the fuliginous rites of low-caste Hinduism. In the cities, or amid the serene palace life of the Musalman nobles and their religious foundations, maulvis of piety and learning calmly carried on the routine of their faith. But the Muhammadan masses in large parts of Lower Bengal relapsed into something little better than a mongrel breed of circumcised Hindus, few of whom could repeat the simplest formula of Islam. During the present century one of those religious revivals, so characteristic of India, has swept across the Muhammadans of Lower Bengal. Itinerant preachers passed from district to district, calling on the people to return to the true faith, and denouncing God's wrath on the indifferent. The Bengal Musalmans have, to a large extent, purged themselves of low-caste superstitions and rural rites. This reawakening of the old Puritan spirit of Islam has widened the gulf between the Bengali Musalmans and the Hindus. It has also increased the difficulty which the Bengal Muhammadans find in accepting the system of religious toleration imposed by British rule. Apart from temporary disturbing influences, such as the political preaching of Wahabi missionaries, the answer which Islam gives to the modern problems of India differs widely in different provinces. In the Northwestern Provinces and Oudh, where the Muhammadans were for centuries the dominant class, they have vigorously vindicated their position in the new world of British India. Finding that the only claim to administrative employment recognized by our government is the individual's own fitness for the discharge of public duties, they have strenuously qualified themselves for official life. The proportion of Muhammadans in the schools and colleges under the lieutenant governor of the Northwestern Provinces and Oudh is in excess of their ratio to the general population. They show also an admirable energy in independent educational efforts, and the great Muhammadan college at Aligarh, founded in our own days by the Musalman nobles and gentry, would do honor to any age or to any country of Islam. Competing successfully with the Hindus at school, the Muhammadans of the northwest and Oudh also compete successfully with them in life. While the Musalmans number under 13½ per

cent. of the population in that British lieutenant governorship, they have won for themselves 34 per cent. of the administrative offices. In the superior grades they engross an even larger share. While forming not one seventh of the population, they have won four sevenths of the highest judicial and executive posts, open impartially to Muhammadan and Hindu. In Bombay, apart from Sind, the Muhammadans largely belong to the merchant classes. They take fair advantage of state education up to the standard required for their own work in life. While the Muhammadans have thus asserted themselves as the old dominant race, in the Northwestern Provinces and Oudh, and as practical trading communities in Bombay, the Musalmans in Lower Bengal have fallen behind in the race. In 1871, when they formed 32 per cent. of the population of Lower Bengal, they only numbered 14 per cent. in the schools and 4 per cent. in the colleges. Their inability to adapt themselves to our educational system told heavily against them in life. In 1871 only 92 gazetted appointments in Lower Bengal were held by Muhammadans, as against 681 held by Hindus. From the open professions they had almost disappeared. To take one example. At the beginning of the century nearly the whole of the pleaders of the Calcutta High Court were Muhammadans, and down to 1838 they numbered about as many as the English and the Hindu pleaders put together. But with the introduction of scholastic tests, based on our Indian system of education, the Muhammadans fell out of their hereditary profession, and of the 240 native pleaders admitted from 1852 to 1868 only one was a Musalman. The poverty and discouragement which this state of things wrought among the Bengal Musalmans attracted the earnest consideration of the late Lord Mayo, and in 1871 measures were taken to render our system more congenial to the Muhammadans of Lower Bengal. The result has been to awaken a new vitality among them. Two powerful associations in Calcutta, with branches in the Muhammadan districts, now stimulate and direct local effort. The number of Muhammadans at schools known to the Education Department in Lower Bengal has risen from 28,148 in 1871 to 261,887 in 1881. This enormous increase is chiefly due to the extended sphere of the Education Department itself. But the proportion of Muhammadans at schools in Lower Bengal also rose during the same period from 14 to 24 per cent., an increase of 70 per cent. in ten years. In 1883 they obtained still further concessions from the Education Commission. The position of the Bengali Musalmans in the public service and in the open professions has also improved, although more slowly; for the effects of their new educational activity will bear its full fruits only when the rising generation have established themselves in life. It must also be remembered that the Bengali Musalmans are largely drawn from the peasant class, which does not naturally seek official employment. Broadly speaking, therefore, while the old dominant Muhammadan races of the northwest and Oudh, and the keen merchant Muhammadan communities of Bombay, have vigorously accommodated themselves to the new world of British rule, the Muhammadan masses in Lower Bengal have disclosed a more tardy capacity of adaptation,

although they have strong capabilities of adjustment, as proved by their progress since 1871. Islam in India has shown that it is perfectly able to dwell in peace and comfort in the new Indian world. This, moreover, in spite of drawbacks arising from the too exclusively religious character of the Muhammadan primary schools. The one object of the young Hindu, apart from his home religious training, is to get such an education as will fit him for success in life. But with the young Musalmans the teaching of the mosque must precede the lessons of the school. Before he is allowed to begin his secular education, he must ordinarily devote some years to a course of sacred rudiments. Again, while the ablest of the Hindus look forward to the public services or the secular professions, a Muhammadan father often chooses for his most promising son the vocation of a religious man of learning. The years which the Hindu student gives to English and mathematics at a government college, the Muhammadan devotes in a mad-rasa to Arabic and the law and theology of Islam. These differences, in regard both to primary and to higher education, heavily weight the Muhammadans in the race of official or professional life. But the sternly religious character of their early teaching gives a vigorous coherence to Islam in India, which yet may be productive of great political results.

HINDUISM.

Hinduism is a social organization and religious confederacy. As a social organization it rests on caste, with its roots deep down in the tribal elements of the Indian people. As a religious confederacy it represents the coalition of the cultured faith of the Brahmans with the ruder rites and materialistic beliefs of the more backward races. In both aspects Hinduism is a deliberate system of compromise. For the highest minds it has a monotheism as pure as and more philosophical than the monotheism of Islam. To less elevated thinkers it presents the triune conception of the Deity as the Creator, the Preserver, and the Destroyer — with the deeper doctrine superadded that destruction and reproduction are fundamentally one and the same process. To the materialistic multitude it offers the infinite phases of Divine power as objects of adoration, with calm indifference as to whether they are worshiped as symbols of the unseen Godhead, or as bits of tinsel and blocks of wood and stone. It resolutely accepts the position that the spiritual needs of races differ in each stage of their development, and that man most naturally worships what for the time being he most reverences or most fears. On this foundation, Hinduism has built up the enduring but ever-changing structure of Indian ritual and belief. As a social organization, Hinduism is even more fundamentally based upon compromise. It declares, under solemn sanctions, the immutable ordinance of caste, and it asserts, in lofty language, the unapproachable God-given supremacy of the Brahmans. But it skillfully adapts these doctrines to the actual facts. It finds in India a vast number of communities, more or less isolated by geographical position, by occupation, or by race. It accepts the customs and internal life of each of these communities as the proper and

normal status of that individual community or caste. But it holds out to all an ascending scale to a higher life — the life of ceremonial purity, of self-discipline, and of religious restraint, which is the ideal life of the Brahman. If any community or caste is to rise in the social scale, it must be by an increase of ceremonial purity. Accordingly, when any caste becomes rich or influential, its first ambition is to draw tighter its internal discipline and its religious restraints. In some cases they have abandoned their laborious low-caste occupations for higher employments. In others they have assumed the sacred thread of the twice-born. But in addition to such individual examples, the constant presentment of a higher caste life tends to a general upward movement in religious restraints as the wealth of the population increases. The backward races outside the pale of Hinduism, set up a Hindu priest and a Hindu god, and become recognized as low-caste Hindus. The more energetic or more fortunate of the low-castes within the Hindu pale gradually raise themselves to higher standards of ceremonial purity. There is, therefore, a plasticity as well as a rigidity in caste. Its plasticity has enabled Hinduism to adapt itself to widely diverse stages of social progress, and to incorporate the various races which make up the Indian people. Its rigidity has given permanence to the composite body thus formed. Each caste is, in some measure, a trade guild, a mutual insurance society, and a religious sect. But the mass of them are dominated by two ideas, — a communal life within the caste itself, and a higher life of ceremonial purity beyond. The work of Hinduism has been to organize the Indian races in every stage of their progress and under many forms of political government. Its plastic conservatism quickly disclosed a capacity of adapting itself to British rule. For a time, indeed, there seemed to be a difficulty. Hinduism makes a social rise dependent upon an increase in ceremonial purity. In the new world of British India, social advancement depends upon individual exertion and secular success. The Hindu system told in favor of ceremonial restraints, the English system told against them. But English education, which created the difficulty, also found an escape from it. For Brahman theology declares that later customs, or later doctrines are less binding than the older sacred books, and has always allowed an appeal back from the Puranas of mediæval Hinduism to the ancient Veda. This appeal has been boldly made by the educated Hindus under British rule, and it is found that the most irksome ceremonial restraints of modern Hinduism derive no support from that venerable scripture. Even the orthodox educated Brahmans now perceive that those restraints rest upon mediæval custom, and not upon Vedic inspiration ; and they are gradually admitting that custom, although not lightly to be changed, must, in the end, adjust itself to the conditions of modern life. In regard to widow-burning, to infant marriage, to widow re-marriage, to crossing the Black Water, and to various inhuman rites — the appeal to the Veda has been successfully made. In some cases the custom has been given up, in others it is seen to depend on religious or domestic usages, which, however binding, are yet susceptible of change. Hinduism has solved the social problems of

the new Indian world, or is gradually finding solutions for them. It has frankly accepted English education and the modern methods of success in life. And when once Hinduism fairly incorporates a new idea, the new idea becomes an enduring part of its own ancient structure. Meanwhile, for the few who pass from its higher castes to Christianity, many rise in the scale of ceremonial purity within its own body, and multitudes of the backward races enter its pale. Hinduism not only grows within itself, but it has also the faculty of putting forth outgrowths in the form of new religious orders, or spiritual brotherhoods. Such religious orders usually recall the Buddhistic type. They start with the reassertion of the unity of God, and with the renunciation of caste. At first they are considered non-orthodox, but in time they become recognized Hindu sects. Some of them, such as the great Vaishnava orders, now form a considerable part of the Hindu population. Hinduism has, therefore, a twofold power of adapting itself to the needs of each age, by an internal process of incorporation or adjustment on the basis of caste ; and by an external process of throwing off new religious outgrowths, or spiritual brotherhoods. Into the midst of this ancient and powerful organization a new religious force has in our century thrust itself ; a force animated by a profoundly different spirit.

CHRISTIANITY.

Christianity is not, indeed, a new religion in India. Its history in that country dates from a period seven hundred years before the rise of mediæval Hinduism, and a full thousand years before any widespread Indian settlement of Islam. It has been my privilege to relate from local materials that marvelous narrative. I have shown how the Christian settlements on the Indian coast of the second and subsequent centuries came, after a time of decay, under Nestorian bishops from the Persian Gulf. How the Nestorian Christians of India were persecuted by the Portuguese and trampled down by the Synod of Diamper in 1599, their venerable missals and church ornaments burned, and their consecrated oil poured out among the flames. How, on the decline of the Portuguese power, their desolate remnants obtained a new bishop from Antioch, but of the Jacobite branch of the Asiatic Church, and how they have since adhered to the Jacobite rite. How, meanwhile, the Catholic Church had entered the field with a splendor of devotion and success which makes us the more deeply lament her intolerance to the earlier form of Indian Christianity. How the great religious orders of Rome, with the society of Jesus at their head, built up a true native church in India by three centuries of unflagging labor and wisely directed zeal, before the heart of England was stirred by the missionary impulse. How, during the last of those centuries, while the English conscience still remained inert, the Lutheran Church of Europe sent men of power to India. And how, at length, England slowly but surely saw her duty, and the churches of the great English-speaking race, by whatever name they may be called, and in whatever land they dwell, girded themselves for a mighty and enduring effort. Although, however, Christianity has a history in India long

before the rise of mediæval Hinduism or Islam, yet the historical Christianity of India differed widely from the missionary Christianity of our day. When the Portuguese landed in India they found the Christians firmly organized as military communities under their spiritual leaders, bishops or archdeacons and priests, who acted as their representatives in dealing with the Indian princes. In virtue of an ancient charter, the Malabar Christians enjoyed the rights of nobility. They supplied the bodyguards of the local kings. The Portuguese, by a happy chance, landed on the very province of India in which Christians had long formed a respected caste. *O fortunati nimium sua si bona norint.* But instead of consolidating the preëxisting Christian communities they ground them to pieces under the millstone of the Inquisition, and built up a showy, evanescent rule out of entirely new materials. While, however, the Nestorian Christianity of India was thus of a bygone type, the records of Catholic Christianity are pregnant of instruction for our day. The great question with the Jesuit missionaries, as with our own, was how to adapt the Christianity of Europe to the Indian races without sacrificing essentials of the faith. But the new religious force now at work amid Hinduism is neither the Nestorianism of the patriarchs nor the Catholicism of the popes. The Catholic and Syrian Churches still go on calmly with their great task, and claim over 1,600,000 of the 2,148,228 Christians in India. The new disruptive force is Protestant and Anglican Christianity. English missionary work practically began in the last year of the last century. It owed its origin to private effort. But the three devoted men who planted this mighty English growth had to labor under the shelter of a foreign flag, and the governor of a little Danish settlement had to refuse their surrender to a Governor-General of British India.

The record of the work done by the Serampur missionaries reads like an Eastern romance. They created a prose vernacular literature for Bengal ; they established the modern method of popular education ; they founded the present Protestant Indian Church ; they gave the first great impulse to the native press ; they set up the first steam-engine in India ; with its help they introduced the modern manufacture of paper on a large scale ; in ten years they translated and printed the Bible, or parts thereof, in thirty-one languages. Although they received help from their Baptist friends in England, yet the main part of their funds they earned by their own heads and hands. They built a college, which still ranks among the most splendid educational edifices in India. As one contemplates its magnificent pillared façade overlooking the broad Hugli River, or mounts its costly staircase of cut brass (the gift of the king of Denmark), one is lost in admiration at the faith of three poor men who dared to build on so noble a scale. From their central seminary they planted out their converts into the districts, building churches and supporting pastors chiefly from the profits of their boarding school, their paper-mill, and printing-press. They blessed God that during their thirty-eight years of toil they were able to spend more than £50,000 of their own substance on his work. But when two of them had died and the third was old and broken, the enterprise proved too vast for individual

effort, and the Serampur Mission was transferred to stronger hands. In death they were not divided. An evergreen circle of bamboos and palms, with delicate feathery masses of the foliage of tamarind trees, surrounds their resting-place. A path, lined with flowering shrubs, connects their tombs. And if the memory of a great work and of noble souls can hallow any spot, then this earth contains no truer *campo santo* than that Serampur graveyard. To this dayspring of missionary labor by private enterprise succeeded a period of organized effort. The charter of 1813, which threw open India to the free commerce of England, also recognized the religious responsibility of England in the East, and sent out the first English Bishop of Calcutta. The London Missionary Society and the Baptists had already commenced their labors in India. The Church Missionary Society, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the great Nonconformist and Presbyterian societies, quickly entered the field.

Before 1830 nine missionary bodies were at work ; in 1881 there were 57 separate missions, with 601 stations, in India and Burmah. Their first task was to prepare the way, by popular instruction, for higher belief. Before the Indian government awoke to the duty of public instruction a great system of missionary education had been spread over the land. Since 1854, when the state at length fully realized its responsibilities, the missionary schools and colleges have not only retained their hold on the people, but their attendance has increased threefold. At one time, indeed, it seemed to earnest men as if this great task of Indian education threatened to engross too large a share of Indian missionary zeal. But during the past twenty years the spiritual force which animates all missionary work has received a fresh impulse from a movement that recalls the early period of private missionary effort. It is the private effort, however, not alone of individual men, but of small fraternities animated by a highly concentrated devotion. These little communities, such as the Cowley Brotherhood, the Oxford and the Cambridge brethren, bring to their work the highest culture of the West. But they also present that type of ascetic zeal and self-renunciation which in India, from the time of Buddha down to the latest movements of Hinduism or Islam, has always formed the popular idea of the missionary life.

The statistical results achieved by these three missionary periods in India — the period of private effort, the period of great organized societies, and the period of societies side by side with ascetic brotherhoods — may be thus summarized. In 1851 the Protestant missions in India and Burmah had 222 stations ; in 1881 their stations had increased nearly threefold, to 601. But the number of their churches or congregations had during the same thirty years multiplied from 267 to 4,180, or over fifteen fold. There is not only a vast increase in the number of the stations, but also a still greater increase in the work done by each station within itself. In the same way, while the number of native Protestant Christians increased from 91,092 in 1851 to 492,882 in 1881, or fivefold, the number of communicants increased from 14,661 to 138,254, or nearly tenfold. The progress is again, there-

fore, not alone in numbers, but also in pastoral care and internal discipline. During the same thirty years the pupils in mission schools multiplied by threefold, from 64,043 to 196,360. These enormous increments have been obtained by making a larger use of native agency. A native Protestant Church has, in truth, grown up in India, capable of supplying, in a large measure, its own staff. In 1851 there were only twenty-one ordained native ministers; by 1881 they had increased to 575, or twenty-seven fold. The number of native lay preachers had risen during the thirty years from 493 to the vast total of 2,856. These figures are compiled from returns carefully collected from every missionary station in India and Burmah. But the official census, notwithstanding its obscurities of classification and the disturbing effects of the famine of 1877, attests the rapid increase of the Christian population. So far as any inference for British India can be deduced, the normal rate of increase among the general population was eight per cent., while the actual rate of the Christian population was over thirty per cent. But taking the Lieutenant Governorship of Bengal as the greatest province outside the famine area of 1877, and for whose population, amounting to one third of the whole of British India, really comparable statistics exist, the census results are clear. The general population increased in the nine years preceding 1881 at the rate of 10.89 per cent., the Muhammadans at the rate of 10.96 per cent., the Hindus at some unknown rate below 13.64 per cent., the Christians of all races at the rate of 40.71 per cent., and the native Christians at the rate of 64.07 per cent. If, therefore, at the beginning of this paper I protested against missionary work in India being judged by a mere increase in numbers, it was not because I feared the test. It was, I again repeat, because religion in India must be judged by the work which it does for its own people.

On the spiritual results of conversion I may not here touch. But Christianity holds out advantages of social organization not offered by Hinduism or Islam. It provides for the education and moral supervision of its people with a pastoral care which Islam, destitute of a regular priesthood, does not pretend to. It receives the new members into its body with a cordiality and a completeness to which Hinduism is a stranger. The backward races can only creep within the outskirts of Hinduism as low castes at the very bottom of the social edifice; and Hinduism is calmly indifferent as to whether they enter its pale or not. Hinduism has no welcome for the proselyte. No change of faith can win for an outsider admission into a respected Hindu caste. Christianity also raises the position of woman to a degree unknown to Hinduism or Islam. To its converts in general it assures friendly companionship, pastoral direction, and, when needful, some amount of material aid in their way through the world; while any youth of promise among its body is quickly selected for special instruction and has an exceptional chance of advancement in life. On the other hand, the native Christian is exposed to a terrible temptation. Islam is a great teetotal society. Among Hindus, to touch liquor is the sign of low caste. I do not agree with the old colonel who writes in the newspapers that every

Christian servant in India drinks. But it is very sad that the careless, honest observer should so often arrive at this generalization. I, for one, believe that if Christianity is to be an unmixed blessing in India, it must be Christianity on the basis of total abstinence. This self-imposed restriction would, in India, soon grow into a binding custom, and would raise the Christian communities out of the rank of the liquor-drinking castes.

I further believe that Christianity in India must distinguish more clearly than heretofore between moral usages binding on the Christian societies of Europe and the essentials of its faith. For example, if a man has had two wives before conversion it seems to me an inhumanity and an injustice that a change in his personal creed should annul his previous obligations. Such cases are not frequent. But they are generalized by the native critic somewhat as the drunkenness of the Christian servants is generalized by the old colonel. In this, as in other matters, Indian Christianity must be more content to work with preëxisting materials and on the basis of historical Indian institutions; to follow, not the example of the Portuguese to the Nestorian Christians, but the pattern of the early church. The Indian mission station reproduces in its best form the most enduring territorial unit of Christian organization. It is the true *paroikia* of primitive days, neither a parish nor a diocese, but the Christian community, whether in a city or a district, as differentiated from the surrounding non-Christian population. The early church did not disdain to borrow the names of its officers, and the methods of appointing its officers, from the municipal and rural institutions of the Roman Empire. Its organization closely followed the lines of the many friendly and religious societies into which men formed themselves for mutual help, amid the social strain and spreading poverty of that period. In India the religious bond has always been a social *nerus*. The historical institutions of India afford a basis for a great Christian community, as firmly united by internal discipline and mutual help as was the early church. I believe it is reserved for Christianity to develop the highest uses of Indian caste, as a system of conservative socialism which has for ages done the work of a poor-law, of public opinion, and of a moral police. But it will be Indian caste humanized by a new spiritual life. The wonderful growth of the native clergy in recent years has done something to bring Christianity closer to native institutions. The appointment of native bishops, for which the time is manifestly at hand, will do more. Indian Christianity, organized on the Indian communal basis, and in part directed by native spiritual leaders, would reproduce, as far as the divergent creeds of modern times permit, Tertullian's picture of the early churches united by "the communion of peace, the title of brotherhood, the token of hospitality, and the tradition of one faith." I earnestly trust that the fathers of the Pan-Anglican Church, when they meet in synod next summer, may be led to consider Indian Christianity from this point of view. Meanwhile Christian modes of thought are profoundly influencing Indian opinion in regard to the status of woman. It was by no accident that the widows and virgins appear so often as objects of solicitude to the early church. Their

well-being still forms a chief care of the Indian mission station. For a time the Indian Christians seemed to have solved the difficulty of providing for their women very much as the Hindus solve it—by early marriage. Indeed, the Census Commissioner reported, in 1881, “that in the native Christian community early marriages prevail even to a greater extent than among the Hindus.” Such a state of things means a disregard of economic laws, which sooner or later must bring its punishment. The ablest missionaries perceive this, and are resolutely fitting the Christian women to earn their livelihood by other means than by marriage alone. For long the missionaries may be said to have made female education their own; and even since the Indian government accepted this duty the number of girls in missionary schools has multiplied fivefold. The one profession in India which is not overcrowded is that of the schoolmistress; and if Christian native women can win the confidence of the non-Christian community, they will in time find well-paid employment. In this great task of raising the position of Christian womanhood in India, it is impossible to overrate the work done by the wives of missionaries and by devoted ladies from England and America. The hall-table at which the three Serampur missionaries held their deliberations is kept sacred as when they sat round it. Two of their chairs stand at either side, the third chair at the foot. But at the head of the table is the chair of honor, in which Mrs. Marshman presided over their conferences—the first of many great-hearted Englishwomen who have given their lives and their substance to India. I thank this society and its distinguished council for the opportunity they have given me of telling some plain secular truths concerning the religions of India. It is not permitted to a lecturer here to speak as the advocate of any creed. But on this as on every platform in England it is allowed to a man to speak as an Englishman. And, speaking as an Englishman, I declare my conviction that English missionary enterprise is the highest modern expression of the world-wide national life of our race. I regard it as the spiritual complement of England’s instinct for colonial expansion and imperial rule. And I believe that any falling off in England’s missionary efforts will be a sure sign of swiftly coming national decay.

LAWLESSNESS OF THE LIBERAL LEAGUES.

THE State of Iowa is just now the scene of much excitement over a controversy between Rev. C. O. Brown, pastor of the Congregationalist Church at Dubuque, and Robert G. Ingersoll, the infidel lecturer. This controversy sprang out of a sermon preached December 18, 1887, by Rev. Mr. Brown, in which he charged Ingersoll with heading an attempt made in 1877 and 1878 to repeal the law commonly called the "Comstock Law," which prohibits the transmission by mail of indictable books, pictures, and pamphlets, and articles of indecent and immoral use.

This subject has frequently been discussed by Rev. Joseph Cook, editor of *OUR DAY*. Rev. T. De Witt Talmage, D. D., publicly referred to Mr. Ingersoll's position in reference to this matter, in Brooklyn Music Hall, in 1882. Both of these gentlemen have been publicly branded as "liars" by Mr. Ingersoll. Following Dr. Talmage's address in 1882, Ingersoll delivered a lecture in the same hall in Brooklyn, in which, in unmeasured terms, he denounced Dr. Talmage. It was just at that time that I was preparing a little book entitled, "Traps for the Young," and being familiar with the facts, I took the pains to go to Washington and secure from the files in the office of the Secretary of the Senate of the United States, and publish in full in said book, a document which was before the Senate, signed by seven names, the first of which was "Robert G. Ingersoll, chairman," and, as they claimed, "fifty thousand others attached to a petition twenty-one hundred feet long, filed with the House Committee on Revision of the Laws," calling for the repeal of said law. Yet Mr. Ingersoll not only denounced Dr. Talmage as a "liar" but went farther and said "he never favored the repeal of these laws."

A few facts will interest the readers of *OUR DAY*, particularly as the only sect or class that, as a sect or class, have attempted to repeal the law against the transmission of obscene

matter by mail is the "Infidel" and so-called "Liberal," as represented by the former "National Liberal League," of which, at that time, Ingersoll was vice-president, and by all considered a brilliant leader.

Under date of January 10, 1888, in a letter to a friend, Mr. Ingersoll uses this very choice language concerning those who quote from history against him: "I have no time for reply to the poor little reverend dogs who bark at me; but you are at liberty to state, and state publicly, that he was telling a falsehood." This would seem to be a trifling matter, were it not that Mr. Ingersoll, if he is to be believed, is the great advocate of a creed vastly superior to that of the Protestant Church, and a religion far above that of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

I have no personal knowledge that Robert G. Ingersoll personally signed his name to the petition in the Senate, nor that he with his own hand appended his signature to the petition of fifty thousand, in the House; but there are some things which stand out as proof that Ingersoll *knowingly* lent his whole influence to the efforts of those who sought, by most unscrupulous means, to repeal this just statute, and the fact stands a matter of record that his name stood first on the petition of fifty thousand, in the House, and first of a Committee of Seven to a duplicate of the House petition in the Senate, demanding the repeal of this important law.

Note two things.

First, This law prohibits only obscene, lewd, and lascivious publications, pictures, and articles of indecent and immoral use from being carried through the mails.

Second, Up to the time of this petition no case had been brought into court except cases of pronounced obscenity.

In 1877, when this movement first began, Ingersoll's name was put first on the petition, and he was lauded by the papers throughout the country because of his attitude; while the "Liberal" press could not find words to express their admiration for the position which he had taken in the matter. The prestige of his name was to be the key-note of their success. The petition was introduced in the House of Representatives in February, 1878. Upon its introduction the Associated Press sent out throughout the country the following dispatch:—

"Seventy thousand freemen, headed by Colonel Robert G. Ingersoll, has petitioned Congress to repeal the laws known as the 'Comstock Laws,' on account of their unconstitutionality and the outrages committed under them by Anthony Comstock."

Some of the papers at Washington seconded this "Liberal" movement, and constant editorials appeared in its favor. The entire success of this thing centred in Ingersoll and his influence, and his name was kept constantly before the public as a leader in this movement.

After this petition had been filed in the House of Representatives, and referred to the Committee on the Revision of Laws, a duplicate of the petition, with Ingersoll's name as "Chairman" of the "Committee of Seven," as above referred to, was filed in the Senate.

March 23, 1878, the following letter (the original of which is on file with the petition in the office of the Secretary of the Senate) was sent to the committee, as follows, to wit:—

HON. I. P. CHRISTIANCY, *U. S. Senate, Chairman Senate Committee on Revision of Laws:*

DEAR SIR,— Will you be kind enough to give the Committee, of which Colonel Robert G. Ingersoll is chairman, a hearing before your Committee upon the subject of repealing or materially modifying certain postal laws referred to in the petition of fifty thousand citizens presented to the Senate by Senator Teller, on the 12th inst., and referred to your committee.

J. WEED COREY,

Secretary Committee of Seven, for Fifty Thousand Petitioners.

Finding that their "Liberal" movement was not receiving the prompt attention which they desired, the following letter (the original of which is also on file) was sent to the Committee on the Revision of the Laws in the Senate, under date of April 15, 1878. The original petition was a tissue of falsehoods. They added to these falsehoods by inserting matter, which for perspicuity's sake is here printed in italics, in the following letter, to wit:—

GENTLEMEN,— The Committee of Seven on behalf of fifty thousand petitioners (petition over two thousand feet in length, on file in the House of Representatives with the Committee on Revision of the Laws), praying for the repeal or modification of certain laws executed ostensibly to prevent the passage of *so-called obscene literature through the mails of the United States, but which laws have been and are being enforced to destroy the liberty of conscience in matters of religion, against the freedom of the press and to the great hurt of the learned professions*, would respectfully pray to be heard by

your Committee at as early a date as it is possible for you to designate. Colonel Robert G. Ingersoll of Illinois, Chairman of our Committee, will speak for us in behalf of the petitioners above named.

J. WKED COREY,

Secretary Committee of Seven, for Fifty Thousand Petitioners.

The words in italics are absolutely without foundation of fact, as no case had been brought into court up to that time nor since, where any question such as is referred to there was involved in any manner. It was purely a "Liberal" movement, and therefore the truth could easily be dispensed with. This Ingersoll movement was backed by some of the basest conspiracies ever concocted against a holy cause. Fifteen thousand circulars or hand-bills had been printed and sent to editors, publishers, and booksellers throughout the country, accompanied by blank petitions; these hand-bills contained the forged signatures of prominent men in the city of New York, whose names had been thus forged to this document for the purpose of adding weight to this "Liberal" movement. Again, fraud was apparent upon the face of the petitions when they were received, as it was very clear that many names had been written in by one and the same hand, as though a directory had been appropriated by these "Liberal" zealots of repeal. While these forged circulars were thus appealing to the prejudices of men to secure signatures to these petitions, the "Liberal" papers of the cities of New York, Boston, and Washington were teeming with laudations of Ingersoll, and with anathemas against myself.

Another scheme in this conspiracy was the publishing of a pamphlet entitled, "The Life and Crimes of Anthony Comstock," charging most false and infamous things to destroy me before the public, and particularly to destroy my reputation and standing before the Committee to whom these petitions had been sent. This pamphlet was prepared by a notorious abortionist, whom I caught in the act of perpetrating an infamous crime, and who afterwards made an attempt upon my life as I was coming out of the United States Court in New York city.

After about six weeks of delay a hearing was had before the Committee in the House of Representatives, when the accommodating Associated Press again informed the people of the efforts of Mr. Ingersoll and his co-repealers. As a specimen of this

"Liberal" movement, we present the following dispatch, which was telegraphed over the country by the Associated Press from Washington, just a day or two before it was expected that we would appear before that Committee:—

"Anthony Comstock, who claims to be a special agent of the Post Office Department for the suppression of vice, etc., is being made a martyr of in five cities to the tune of eleven indictments by the Grand Juries, one United States District Attorney alone having fifteen separate and distinct counts in one indictment for violation of the postal laws and acts of Congress."

There was not a single word of truth in this libel, but it was on a par with the "Liberal" efforts to repeal this law.

To go back a little in history.

The National Liberal League held its first convention in Philadelphia in 1876, and there proposed the repeal of this law, and it was discussed in their proceedings. Following that convention, the "Liberal" papers kept up a running fire against this law down to the presenting of this petition, and afterwards. At Syracuse, in 1878, twenty-four Leagues of the strongest men in this fraternity, headed by Francis E. Abbott of Boston, left the howling, ranting, blaspheming mob of repealers. For standing up for their convictions, these decent "Liberals" were ridiculed and maligned by these friends of nastiness. About one hundred and sixty Leagues remained as the advocates of the repeal of this law. Mr. Ingersoll, vice-president, among the others. And out of this repeal element of the National Liberal League sprang "The National Defence Association," which was started with an ex-convict president, to defend persons arrested for dealing in obscene publications.

May 1, 1878, the Committee on Revision of Laws in the House of Representatives filed their report (and their record rather strains Ingersoll's veracity), in which they say as follows:

"The Committee on the Revision of the Laws, to whom was referred the petition of Robert G. Ingersoll and others, praying for the repeal or modification (here naming the sections), have heard the petitioners at length. In the opinion of your Committee the post office was not established to carry instruments of vice or obscene writings, indecent pictures or lewd books. Your Committee believe that the Statutes in question are not violating the constitution of the United States and ought not to be changed; they recommend, therefore, that the prayer of the said petition be denied."

Let it be observed just here, that this duplicate petition of

the "Committee of Seven," of which Mr. Ingersoll was "Chairman," was at this time pending in the Senate; but notwithstanding the filing of the above report, and notwithstanding the utter defeat of this movement, yet the New York papers, instead of giving us the credit for a victory in the face of this tremendous opposition, and these plottings and conspiracies against our integrity and against the law, published the exact reverse. Even the New York "Tribune" said:—

"The House Committee on the Revision of the Laws, in response to the petition of Robert G. Ingersoll and others, has reported favorably a bill to repeal that section of the Revised Statutes which relates to the sending of obscene literature through the mails."

It will be of interest also to read the whole of their article, as quoted from page 430 of "Frauds Exposed," as follows:—

"This is the law commonly known as the 'Anthony Comstock law,' and the acts under which alone he obtains the exceptional powers which he exercises. The Committee have been induced to favor the repeal of this law, on the grounds that it is unconstitutional, and that in many instances it has been executed in a tyrannical and unjust manner."

Other papers had in substance the same dispatch; but notwithstanding the petition of Robert G. Ingersoll and "fifty thousand freemen," the accommodating Associated Press, the petition over two thousand feet long, the plottings and conspiracies of some of the most corrupt men known to this day and age, and all under the leadership and prestige of the name of Robert G. Ingersoll, the law was not changed, the prayer of the petitioners was denied; and the records filed in Congress, both in the House and in the Senate, will show that Robert G. Ingersoll was recognized at that time, not only by the public at large, but by both Houses of Congress as the leader in this "Liberal" movement to repeal the law which prohibits the transmission of obscene, lewd, and lascivious books and pictures through the mails, and it will require something more than the signature of "R. G. Ingersoll," to a letter concerning intelligent ministers of the gospel, whom he styles "reverend dogs who bark at me," to dispose of these records that now go to make up the history of legislation upon this subject.

ANTHONY COMSTOCK.

New York City.

BOSTON HYMN.

FOR OUTDOOR PREACHERS.

SUNG AT TREMONT TEMPLE.

AT THE 198TH BOSTON MONDAY LECTURE, FEBRUARY 27, 1888.

1. O Thou who in the wilderness
The sheep unshepherded didst bless,
By whom the hungry hosts were fed
With heavenly and with earthly bread,
Help us beside all streams to sow,
And preach Thy word where'er we go.
2. Thou who within the Temple gate
Didst cry aloud, midst envious hate;
Thou who from human haunts afar
Didst teach the thousands gathered there;
O bless Thy servants who proclaim
In every place Thy wondrous name.
3. May voices in the wilderness
Still with glad news the nations bless;
And, as of old, in deserts cry:
Repent, God's kingdom draweth nigh!
And though Thy foes with wrath shall flame,
Help us the gospel to proclaim.
4. Mid earth's confusion, scoffing, doubt,
Still may Thy wisdom cry without,
And, where the chiefest concourse rolls,
Renew her call to dying souls;
Nor fear the prison, nor the chain,
While sounding loud the Saviour's name.
5. And now behold the threatenings, Lord,
And boldness grant to speak Thy word;
Stretch forth Thy mighty hand divine,
Bid light through all the nations shine;
Grant us Thy power, for help we call;
May Thy great grace be on us all!

H. L. HASTINGS.

BOSTON MONDAY LECTURES.

THIRTEENTH YEAR. SEASON OF 1888.

PRELUDE IV.

FREE SPEECH ON PUBLIC GROUNDS.

MR. COOK's 198th Boston Monday Lecture drew to Tremont Temple the usual great audience, which expressed itself most emphatically in support of the principles defended in the Prelude on "Free Speech on Public Grounds." The Rev. Dr. Gordon presided and the Rev. Dr. Bates offered prayer. A "Hymn for Outdoor Preachers" was sung, which was prepared for the occasion by Mr. H. L. Hastings of Boston, editor of the "Christian," who has himself suffered imprisonment for preaching on Boston Common. A series of hearings before the municipal authorities for petitioners for the repeal of the ordinance forbidding such preaching without a permit from the Mayor was in progress on Wednesday evenings with crowded attendance at the City Hall.

CENSORSHIP OF PRESS, PLATFORM, AND PULPIT.

A censorship of the press would not be endured in Boston for an hour. But, for precisely the same reasons which make paternal restriction of the freedom of the press odious and dangerous, a censorship of the platform and of the pulpit ought to fill every honest citizen with the indignation of ten men. Suppose that no one could print a newspaper in Boston without permission from the municipal government? What if an attempt were made to limit the sales of your newspapers to private establishments, or to certain public halls hired for the purpose of such sale? What if the press had no freedom to distribute its issues on the Common and public grounds? Unlicensed printing is a greater danger than unlicensed free speech, in a community that can read. Something might be said in military times in support of such an ordinance, and yet American sentiment would soon become uneasy and ultimately explosive if there were any serious effort made on the part of officials to extend such an

ordinance into the average days of peace. It might be said that if you license one man to print a newspaper you must license another, and that if you have no sieve through which to pass fanatics and eccentrics, all kinds of mischievous doctrines will be publicly taught with impunity. A license, it might be claimed, should be required for printing in order that the abuse of free printing may be avoided. This, however, would raise a very old question, one very hotly debated at about the time Boston was founded. In 1644, or some four years from the time the cornerstone of this city was laid, John Milton published his famous tractate, entitled "A Plea for Unlicensed Printing." Seven years after this city was commenced, Jeremy Taylor published a celebrated argument called, "A Defence of the Liberty of Prophesying." Both papers have become classics in our literature. It is humiliating for me at this late day, and standing on a Boston platform, and speaking in the presence of some of the fathers of the city, who know what our liberty has cost, to be obliged to defend once more John Milton's positions. I assume here this morning that you all believe in the liberty of unlicensed printing, for John Milton was the first American. We have just put up a window to him in St. Margaret's near Westminster Abbey, the gift of a good citizen of Philadelphia, with Archdeacon Farrar to deliver the oration, and our revered New England poet, Whittier, to utter a holy word of benediction in the form of song. I will strike, therefore, as our key-notes this morning, these old tractates of Milton and of Jeremy Taylor, on unlicensed printing and unlicensed free speech. We have had these privileges two hundred years and more, and they have proved safeguards of civil and religious liberty. The right of peaceable assembly, the right of orderly public, free discussion, I maintain, is the chief bulwark of American institutions, and must not be interfered with by any remnants of paternal government imported from abroad. [Loud and long continued applause.]

PROFESSOR PHELPS ON THE GRIP OF THE JESUIT.

You think I speak with the hot blood — of youth, I was about to say, for I feel young on this theme; but take the words

of our Nestor among religious disputants, Professor Phelps of Andover. He said in 1885: "Paternal restriction of free speech on Boston Common is as much out of place there as a whipping-post." Will you hiss Austin Phelps? He goes on to say that "in Prague and Vienna there was passed a law requiring that preachers must ask leave of the police to hold a religious service, a very harmless law when harmlessly administered. But practically that law in Prague and Vienna is often a gag to Protestant preachers. The grip of the Jesuit is hidden in the glove of the policeman." [Loud applause.] I have not said that, but one of the fathers of New England theology in its present form has said it. (See "*Congregationalist*" for July 23, 1885.)

Every liberty I ask for myself I will give to every man of any creed, who will keep the peace, speak only to an orderly and decorous assembly, and observe the restrictions of statute law. Ample is the statute law in its power to repress the abuses of unlicensed printing. Ample, as I expect to show, is the power of the statute law of this Commonwealth to repress the abuses of free speech. And the commencement of the discussion on this matter ought to be a distinction between the use and the abuse of unlicensed preaching.

What is the ordinance for the repeal of which so many hundreds of our best citizens have petitioned? It was originally passed in this city in 1862, in war times, and may have had more or less excuse in the time of the draft riots. At present it stands on our statute books (*Revised Ordinances of the City of Boston*, 1885) in these words: "No person shall, except by the permission of the mayor, deliver a sermon, lecture, address, or discourse on the Common or other public grounds."

USE AND ABUSE OF FREE SPEECH.

This is a restriction, not of the abuse of free speech, but of the use of it. As an eminent lawyer showed the other evening, in a hearing on this topic before the city government, a close construction of the ordinance would prevent a man discussing with any elaborateness any topic of religion, or politics, or social life, on the Common. What is a discourse? This very broad

term has been so interpreted as to cause the arrest of the author of the hymn we have just sung, for reading without note or comment passages from three chapters of the Bible, yonder on Flagstaff Hill. What is a sermon? It is, according to the dictionary, a discourse intended to give religious instruction. What is an address? A short exhortation is an address. A brief speech at a political meeting is an address. If an audience calls out a speaker not licensed for the occasion, and he makes his bow and adds a few words as courteous response to the invitation, he has made an address, and for that he may be arrested. If an exhorter, at the close of a religious service, wishes to add a few words to the sermon, he cannot do so, for he is gagged by that ordinance. The preacher may have a commission from the mayor, under a tent yonder on the Common, but if some penitent in the audience wishes to rise and state to the assembly that he purposes to reform his life, to make restitution, to serve God, he must have a permit from the mayor to confess his sins. [Laughter and applause.] That is a fair interpretation of this ordinance. I confess that, though I was born outside of New England, there is New England blood enough in my veins by descent to make me indignant over such an ordinance, when I know that there has been no violation of the peace by the ministers who have been arrested on the Common under it.

MR. DAVIS'S IMPRISONMENT FOR PREACHING ON BOSTON
COMMON.

The chairman of this Lectureship has been fined for preaching on the Common; the editor who wrote our hymn of this morning has been in jail for preaching there; and we know what a tragedy has been enacted in the case of a sub-master of the Boston Latin School, a college mate of my own at Harvard, a most self-sacrificing missionary in the North End, approved by all who watched his work, and last of all, a really eminent evangelist in the lumber woods of Michigan. There are, in his case, certain pathetic circumstances which I dare not permit myself wholly to pass over without a little detail.

Here is a building with a fence ten feet high around it. In-

side the fence are chained a dozen of the thirstiest bloodhounds and bull-dogs that the market can supply. Within that building forty young women lead the lives of slaves to the accursed passions of men of the most barbarous modern type. When lately a daughter of a preacher, attracted by an offer of high wages, went to one of the towns in the lumber woods in which such houses as these exist, and when she found herself face to face with Gehenna in her prison, she made appeal to the first man who appeared to have a spark of human tenderness left in him, fell on her knees and besought him to rescue her. At last her entreaties penetrated his befogged intellect and dulled moral sense. He went out and induced a friend to assist him, and then the two, with loaded revolvers in their hands, entered the building, led her out, and sent her home to her mother. These facts are attested by a home missionary. What am I reading from? A leaflet of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, issued under the authority of one of the superintendents, Mrs. Petra, and her secretary, and thoroughly authenticated as having the indorsement of that great national organization, which is doing as much for the elevation of woman as any ten other organizations ever known to history. "Who can tell," this document concludes, "the story of that one young girl, who, in trying to scale that high board fence, was caught by the bull-dogs and was nearly torn to pieces, and then kicked by the keeper of the place till she died?"

Mr. Puddefoot, whom most of you know as a man of singular eloquence and genius, first gave me an account of the bull-dogs and of the fences of those unreportably infamous houses of the lumber woods. This leaflet gave me my next information. And what have I here indorsed on it? Language which I assure you went to my heart. I read here in the handwriting of Mr. Davis, now behind the bars of Charles Street jail: "It is affirmed by newspaper experts that 7,000 girls are annually destroyed in the dance-house brothels of Michigan and Wisconsin. This will give a little insight at a glance into our work for woodmen. I am interested for the souls of men and women in these regions."

Why is he not there? Why is he not at this moment pros-

ecuting the holy work to which Providence called him, among the lumber camps of the great lake region? He has been incarcerated by the city of Boston. For what? For preaching the gospel to the poor on Boston Common without a permit from the mayor. He has been incarcerated under an ordinance of your city, and held back from this glorious work, because the effect of preaching is feared by a city government, which, nevertheless, can open a hall and assist in giving a belt to a champion slugger.

It may require a little attention to caucuses, it may require us to go out to the polls in the rain, to unseat all this mischief from the saddle in which it now places itself to drive rough-shod over the patriotic inheritance of our city. I hold, nevertheless, that if we are not degenerate sons of illustrious sires, the time has come for us to exert ourselves and make such a protest that the city can no longer be governed by what Mr. Davis thinks is an alliance of gin and Jesuitism. [Prolonged applause.] I am amazed at the recklessness of this audience. [Laughter.] I have made no assertion concerning gin and Jesuitism, or effortless gentility; but the three together are a dangerous alliance.

I have visited in the jail this evangelist, and with one who now sits in this audience have knelt with him in prayer. He seems to live in a very lofty frame. You converse with him, and the whole atmosphere of his speech convinces you at once that he is not seeking notoriety, that he is a man of high culture, deep religious nature, and of unflinching conscientiousness. I have known him twenty years. He does say "thee" and "thou," as Roger Williams did. He has adopted the Quaker speech; occasionally he is rather sharp in his epithets. Undoubtedly they have been whetted keen on the bars of the prison. I am not sure I should be entirely irenic myself if I were in jail for no moral crime at all. This man is brave, and if there is a braver man than Mr. Davis, it is Mrs. Davis. You may go to the cell in the jail in Charles Street, you may go to her home, you may go to this book, which he has written behind the bars of his jail, and which I hope you will possess yourselves of, and you will find evidence that, although he is indeed a man of intense convictions, he is a man of culture and lofty

religious nature. It is a bad law that puts a good man in jail for no moral crime. [Applause.] It is a bad law that gags preachers in Boston and gives ovations to sluggers. [Applause.] It is a bad law that gags evangelists, and will not gag the brothel bull-dogs in Wisconsin and Michigan.

OBJECTIONS TO THE CITY ORDINANCE.

Here, then, are my reasons for asking for the repeal of the ordinance forbidding in Boston orderly and peaceable free speech on public grounds without municipal permission.

1. The ordinance is liable to dangerous perversion to the injury of the just rights of the citizen and of the good name of the Commonwealth.

In the case of an ordinance requiring a permit for printing, you would see that it might easily be perverted by partisan or denominational feeling. It is not necessary for me to pause at all to show that unregulated power to regulate is not an American fashion in politics. There used to be a liberty tree under which our fathers met on Boston Common, and you preserve an effigy of it on one of your streets. If that tree is to be cut down let it not be by municipal hatchets merely. Let it be by the axes of all the people. That tree I mean to defend until the State or the nation interferes. I bow to statute law; but a city ordinance has so many corrupting influences by possibility, at least, behind it, and in actuality so often found there, that I insist upon it that men of good sense ought not to expect an ordinance of this sort to escape perversion for any great length of time.

2. It has actually been so perverted.

Permits for preaching have been refused to preachers of high character. Such preachers have been fined and imprisoned for no other crime than preaching to the poor without permission. You say the mayor has not denied a permit to anybody. That is, I suppose, technically true since 1885, when the ordinance was thrown into its present form. But previous to that date, when the permits were given by a committee of the municipal government, permits were refused again and again. Our honored ex-secretary of the Young Men's Christian Association of

Boston, Rev. Mr. Deming, has asserted in documents which I have before me that he repeatedly asked for permits for such excellent preachers as the Young Men's Christian Association employs, and had been refused repeatedly out and out. A committee consisting of Rev. Dr. Gordon, Rev. Dr. Plumb, Rev. Mr. Gray, Rev. Dr. Bates, and Rev. Mr. Deming, together with Mr. Emery and Mr. Pickering, two lawyers of exceedingly high qualifications, made a report to the Evangelical Alliance not long since, in which they detailed the refusals which have been made within a very few years for permits to preach on the Common. There is no doubt about the fact that within a very short time permits have been over and over refused; and yet we read in certain journals that there would be ground for some outcry on this matter if permits were ever refused. If there is any one journalistic crime blacker than another, it is the suppression of news when the publication of it would foster an opinion contrary to that maintained in the editorial columns. Impression by suppression is the rule with unscrupulous journals. Nobody reveres first-class journals more than I do. I bow to the editorial profession. When they do their duty there is no set of public teachers that more thoroughly deserves our reverence. But there are journals in which the reading of average intelligence on any partisan theme is a pursuit of knowledge under difficulties. This admirable report, to which I have just made allusion, was published in one religious paper, "The Morning Star," and in no other, in this city. What has occurred once may occur again.

The ordinance had been perverted to the injury of the good name of the Commonwealth.

Oh, wad some power the giftie gi'e us
To see oursel's as *London* sees us.

What does London think of us? Here I hold "The Christian" a very widely circulated religious journal. The date of it is February 10, and in it I read: "In default of paying a heavy fine, an out-door preacher in Boston was lately committed to prison for twelve months! The sentence is disgracefully severe, and the proceedings are a stain upon the city of Boston. It has not been alleged by any reasonable person that open-air

preaching on the Common was an annoyance to the public, nor has it been insinuated that it caused obstruction of thoroughfares."

Now, if you will not tell anybody, I will read what this British editor says of the reason why free preaching is interfered with in Boston: "The fact is, the city governors are perverse and cruel. Their conduct, however, finds ready explanation in the fact that they are in great part Irish Roman Catholics, who do the bidding of their priests." This is what I am reading, not what I am saying. "With large stakes in the liquor traffic, encouraging rum drinking rather than gospel preaching, these rulers of Boston may think that their summary removal of unoffending, submissive people is firm and creditable government. It is sincerely hoped, however, that they have overreached themselves." If you please, that is the opinion of respectable London of the town at the head of Massachusetts Bay, or, at least, the opinion of a London religious journal of wide circulation, and I have no doubt it would be echoed substantially by every defender of freedom of speech in England.

Very quiet, conservative men sit in this audience and say that Boston is growing, that she may be a large city some day, that on the whole it is safest to require a permission for anybody to preach on the Common, for if any one preaches there, another may give an address there on secular topics, and all kinds of anarchists and socialists and eccentrics will appear, and the people will be corrupted. London is a tolerably large town, but she has not grown so large yet as to have to require a permit from the mayor for free speech on her public grounds. Of course she does not permit assemblies on her ornamental grounds, and here a difference of phraseology between the British Islands and the United States may mislead us. Rev. Dr. Brooke Herford, testifying the other night before the committee, said that there were some parks in London in which assemblies are not permitted, but it turned out soon that by parks he meant ornamental grounds, like our Public Gardens. I would not advocate holding assemblies in the Public Gardens. There are ornamental walks and flower-beds there, and of course they would be in danger under the feet of a miscellane-

ous crowd. But in the ancient assembly grounds of the people in the old parks in the historic places where assemblies have been held for hundreds of years, London still allows them to be thus held, and believes it is safest to allow them. Let the steam be blown off. Suppressed free speech has made Russian bombs. London allows all sorts of free speech within the range of the statute law. All kinds of preachers appear. Infidelity may speak out in London, but Christianity seems to hold its own there.

You think the community will be corrupted by infidel lectures; if we allow anybody to preach on the Common, we must allow skeptics to appear there, you say. I have confidence that Christianity can hold its own in fair debate in the future as it has in the past, and that on the whole it is safest to give this permission, holding every speaker, Christian or anti-Christian, to the requirements of the statute law.

3. Such administration of the ordinance is a hardship to the poor who cannot buy pews in costly churches.

What is Boston Common on a Sunday? The poor man's parlor. The poor man's church, if there can be found those who are willing to speak to the crowds gathered there, and teach them the word of life. Now and then, even in America, a man has to be buried in patched clothes. I heard of such a man the other day, whose sister sewed together laboriously the remnants of clothing left to a poor workingman, and so sent him to his last rest. Men in patched clothes are not welcome in velvet pews. It may be that certain churches in Boston are glad to see them, and yet, as we do not here make a distinction between first and second and third class pew renters; as we do not put up a curtain, as people did once in certain churches in England, to hide the poor from the sight of the gentry, the poor stay away; at least, they are usually found absent from the leading Protestant churches. I am bringing no railing accusation against Protestantism; but, as I have said some things which may have aroused here the prejudice of Roman Catholics, I beg leave to make my best bow of reverence to the Roman Catholic cathedrals of the world for keeping themselves open to the poor as well as to the rich, and all the days of the week.

[Applause.] I am not a great friend to what is taught in Roman Catholic cathedrals on all subjects, but I do reverence the openness of the cathedrals to the poorest of the poor. Protestantism is the religion, so the Catholics say, of the moneyed classes. Your poor people on Boston Common need to hear the gospel. Many of them desire to hear it. Many of them have no other opportunity of hearing it, except there. It is a hardship to these people to choke the preachers who would go and address them. You have done it. Do you expect to continue to do it? The chairman of the city committee said the other evening, "To whom is it a hardship to have this ordinance executed?" We reply, it is a hardship to the poor. Execute the ordinance as the city government has executed it, making it practically not a license, but a prohibition of preaching, and it is a very great hardship to those who assemble where Whitefield addressed immense assemblies, where Daniel Webster often spoke, where over and over and over public discussions have been held in the open air. In the summer months, I repeat, there is not a nobler cathedral within the reach of 100,000 people within sound of a cannon fired on Bunker Hill, than Boston Common. There was One who spake as never man spake, and who gave it as a sign of his Divine mission that He preached the gospel to the poor. The poor have votes; and if you neglect them long enough, if you allow generation after generation of them to grow up in religious savagery, the poor may by-and-by have dynamite.

4. This ordinance is a hardship to all who would educate the people by addresses to peaceable assemblies on public grounds.

5. It is a hardship to the general public by depriving it of important results of public and free education of the people.

6. Ample provisions for the preservation of the public peace and for the suppression of the abuses of free speech exist in the statute laws of the Commonwealth. Brawling, obscenity, profanity, libel, blackmail, blasphemy, and rioting are all statute crimes.

The city needs no such ordinance to enable it to keep the peace on the Common. I heard Dennis Kearney speak on Flagstaff Hill, and say there something forbidden by law. "Moscow,"

he shouted, "has had her conflagrations ; Paris, her barricade wars ; and Boston may profit by their example." He should have been arrested for that sentence. How many heard him ? About a score of indolent roughs, I can hardly say they were workingmen. The address produced no effect. You know how flat Kearney's mission fell upon New England. The truth has been established here by free speech. Your workingmen know they can assemble for the redress of their grievances, and that they have friends in the government and in the churches. I heard Dennis Kearney on the sand-lots in San Francisco utter very incendiary opinions, for which I think he should have been arrested ; but San Francisco thought on the whole it was best to let him talk, up to a certain point. Chicago thinks on the whole it is best to let her anarchists and socialists talk, and wait for the overt act. Chicago has regiments, so I am told, trained to wheel at the crossing of the streets and fire both ways with Gatling guns, and to fire in four directions with rifles. If a mob should break out in Chicago it would be very roughly handled. And yet Chicago, which has had so much experience with anarchism, hangs anarchists when they go beyond a certain line ; but waits, nevertheless, for the overt act. It does not attempt to gag the anarchist, for it believes this would only reinforce his dynamite bomb. It believes liberty has a fair chance in free discussion.

7. It is conceded that the ordinance is unnecessary to preserve the peace.

Mayor O'Brien admits this fact. I have here his language in a recent message, and I take time to read it, because it is a vital point : "If the city council sees fit to abolish the ordinance referred to, it will meet with my approval. I have no fear that the people of Boston who visit the Common will transgress the laws of order and propriety, or that a permit in the hands of a preacher is a necessity." The mayor thinks the ordinance unnecessary to preserve the peace. So in 1884 a certain religious paper in this city thought, which now defends the ordinance. Here I have the opinion of the "Congregationalist," a paper which I respect greatly for its defense of many a good case, and especially of sound orthodoxy ; but which, unfortunately, now

has an opinion diametrically opposite to that which it defended four years ago: "The sacred right of free speech is being interfered with unjustifiably by the City Council. There is no need of any such ordinance." That is from the "Congregationalist" of July 24, 1884.

In taking its present position, the "Congregationalist" echoes an opinion of the "Boston Journal" of February 28. Now I have great respect for the "Boston Journal," and I would not be misunderstood here to undervalue this worthy sheet. I think the "Journal" improves rapidly from year to year. Thirty years ago at Phillips Academy I used to look into the "Boston Journal" every night to see whether Michael Flanagan and Patrick O'Dougherty had been put in the lock-up. But more important news is now given in most of our journals, and it is better sifted and better arranged in every way. I rejoice in the vigor of the Boston press. But this "Journal" said not long ago that your present lecturer seemed to be in advance of the other complainants at the hearing; he was willing, this lecturer, to allow anybody to be heard who observed statute law on the Common. "Mr. Cook recognized that this must be granted, and met the difficulty candidly." The "Journal" thinks the other complainants would not have gone so far. Now I have no right to speak for the other complainants, but I never understood that we disagreed on this point. The "Journal" is misled if anybody has informed it that we disagree. We all petitioned for the same thing — the abolition of that ordinance, every word of it. Not only evangelical preachers protested, but representatives of Unitarian bodies. The protest was a very broad one, as well as a very earnest one, and it is minimized here in the strangest way by one representative of the secular press. And now I beg to assert that it is not quite the right thing for the religious press to take its cue in reformatory matters from the secular press. If the religious journals of this land would stand together, they might lead almost any great moral reform, in spite of any attitude the secular press could take. But the mischief is that our religious journals, with the exception of about a dozen, echo the secular press on all topics of reform, until the people become impatient and insist that there shall be a change.

Then the religious journals are sometimes the first to respect the will of the people. It is greatly to be desired that the religious press should be well enough supported to stand on its own bottom, and never echo a misleading opinion that happens to be popular with secular journals.

Now that I am speaking of the religious press, let me praise the journal published in this building. I have a high reverence for the "Watchman," for it is a thunderbolt in support of sound orthodoxy. And yet the "Watchman" said the other day that this case cannot be carried up to the Supreme Court. A legal expert has assured me that this position of that paper indicates a large amount of misinformation. I have here a book of high legal authority; it is Desty's "Federal Procedure," sixth edition. If you will turn to the 331st page you will find high authority for the assertion that a case like the one now under discussion can be carried up by a writ of error to the Supreme Court.

"A final judgment or decree in any suit in the highest court of a State in which a decision in the suit could be had, where is drawn in question the validity of a treaty or statute of, or an authority exercised under, the United States, and the decision is against their validity; or where is drawn in question the validity of a statute of, or an authority exercised under, any State, on the ground of their being repugnant to the Constitution, treaties, or laws of the United States, and the decision is in favor of their validity; or where any title, right, privilege, or immunity is claimed under the Constitution, or any treaty or statute of, or commission held, or authority exercised under the United States, and the decision is against the title, right, privilege, or immunity specially set up or claimed by either party, under such Constitution, treaty, statute, commission, or authority, — may be re-examined and reversed or affirmed in the Supreme Court upon a writ of error. The writ shall have the same effect as if the judgment or decree complained of had been rendered or passed in a court of the United States. The Supreme Court may reverse, modify, or affirm the judgment or decree of such State court, and may, at their discretion, award execution or remand the same to the court from which it was removed by the writ."

I have here in my hand a letter in which an eminent lawyer, who appeared at the hearing the other night [applause], cites me to the very page of Cushing's reports, containing Justice Shaw's famous decision that no town or city can be allowed to make an ordinance manufacturing a new crime. Now, preach-

ing on the Common without a permit is not a crime under the statute laws. It is made a crime only by a city ordinance; and this lawyer says he believes this single case shows the unconstitutionality of the ordinance. That same lawyer tells me that the religious journals are all wrong if they think the case cannot be carried up to the Supreme Court.

8. If unnecessary, the ordinance is unreasonable, and, therefore, of questionable constitutionality.

I know what has been the decision of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, but the Supreme Court of Michigan has decided an ordinance touching street parades of the Salvation Army to be open to such an interpretation as to allow the parades and the preaching connected with them. The Supreme Court of Michigan decided with the decision of the Massachusetts court before it, and proceeded upon principles that show that the Massachusetts decision is, at least, questionable. Certainly it is questioned, and, therefore, some of us think it ought to be carried up to a higher tribunal and the question settled. Mr. Davis tells me that the only thing he wants settled is whether the Supreme Court of the land will cut or rivet for the whole nation the chains Boston has put around its Common.

9. The ordinance is unprecedented for two hundred years.

10. As liable to dangerous perversion, as actually perverted, as a hardship to the poor, as unnecessary, and as unprecedented, the ordinance is impolitic.

It is impolitic to give Protestants the unregulated power to grant permits for Catholic preaching. It is impolitic to give Catholics similar power to regulate Protestant preaching. It is impolitic for rumsellers to require temperance preachers to obtain permits to warn the people against the gin-mills. It is impolitic for any city government so to act as to bring upon itself justly or unjustly the charge that it is largely ruled by gin and Jesuitism.

11. The repeal of the ordinance has twice been asked for by the Evangelical Alliance, an organization representing hundreds of churches of Boston and vicinity. It has been asked for by a delegation representing a large number of Unitarian preachers and laymen. It has been asked for in a petition of hundreds

of citizens of all parties and denominations. The mayor of the city has given the municipal council official notice that he would gladly sign a bill for its abolition.

George Whitefield, on the 12th day of October, 1740, preached his farewell sermon on Boston Common. He had no permission to speak there, but he addressed 80,000 people yonder in the open air. There are two pictures which I wish some great artist would paint: George Whitefield standing on the stairs leading up to his chamber, at Newburyport, and holding in his hands a candle, and preaching to a great crowd until the candle went out. He then ascended to his chamber, and within a few hours he ascended to his God. John Wesley standing on his father's tomb in England, and preaching there every day at sunset in the open air, to all who were willing to listen to God's word! It is by such preaching as that which your city government is trying to suppress that more than one nation has been religiously revolutionized. George Whitefield's sacred eloquence throws a halo of fire around the Common, and that fire ought to be intense enough to melt these chains of a city ordinance constructed on the model of paternal government in Prague and Vienna, Cork and Dublin. Unlicensed open-air preaching has reformed two continents, and unlicensed open-air preaching is yet necessary for the political and religious welfare of every free people. [Applause.]

LECTURE IV.

CHRIST'S ESTIMATE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT SCRIPTURES.

THE UNITY OF UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

THERE are moments of loneliness when perhaps some of us, walking on the edge of the ocean's shore, have touched the water, as I personally have often done, with an electric thrill at the thought that the sea touches all shores; and that we are in connection with England, with Germany, with France, with Italy, with Greece, with the Holy Land, with the Orient, with all the isles of the sea, and both the wheeling poles, when we lay our hands upon ocean's mane. As once it used to be my delight to go down to the physical sea and thus touch all lands, so, as years advance, it becomes more and more my delight to go down to the edge of the ocean of time and touch history, remembering that when I put my hand on the mane of that great deep I am in some way electrically connected with prophets and apostles and martyrs; I touch Plato and Socrates; I touch John and Isaiah; I touch Moses and Abraham; and I touch the father of the human race; I touch the morning of creation and that Unseen Holy out of which the universe came, as God's self-revelation. Matthew Arnold says that when we walk to and fro on the shore of the ocean of history, we ought to listen to the surges and not to our own voices. Standing here, not far from Plymouth Rock, and looking back, I wish so to touch time as to touch the period of the Old Testament Scriptures. Your cause and mine were at stake in the religious, and even to some extent in the political experiences of that period. That time led to ours.

INDISPUTABLE ELEMENTS IN THE OLD TESTAMENT.

What are some of the great indisputable facts concerning the Old Testament Scriptures? We live in an era of criticism of

the Old Testament; but let criticism go as it will, what will remain unshaken?

My purpose is to plant myself on indisputable propositions, and I believe you will go with me when I assert that some things majestic, some things of absolutely immeasurable spiritual consequence, must remain unshaken in the Old Testament, no matter how criticism goes, whether it be of the higher or of the lower species.

1. There is the call of Abraham. It is indisputable that monotheism began its course in Abraham's career. Strabo, who lived, as you remember, between 60 B. C. and 24 A. D., wrote these memorable words: —

"Moses, an Egyptian priest, who possessed a considerable tract of Lower Egypt, unable longer to bear with what existed there, departed thence to Syria, and with him went out many who honored the Divine Being. For Moses maintained and taught that the Egyptians were not right in likening the nature of God to beasts and cattle, nor yet the Africans, nor even the Greeks, in fashioning their gods in the form of men. He held that this only was God, — that which encompasses all of us, earth and sea, that which we call heaven, and the order of the world, and the nature of things. Of this who that had any sense would venture to invent an image like to anything which exists amongst ourselves? Far better to abandon all statuary and sculpture, all setting apart of sacred precincts and shrines, and to pay reverence, without any image whatever. The course prescribed was that those who have the gift of good divinations, for themselves or for others, should compose themselves to sleep within the temple; and those who live temperately and justly may expect to receive some good gift from God, these always, and none besides." (Strabo, xvii. 760. See also Stanley's "History of the Jewish Church," vol. i. p. 92.)

This pathetic record of the Cappadocian geographer, as Dean Stanley says, recognizes most unconsciously, about the time of the origin of Christianity, the fact that monotheism began with Moses. There are only three great religions that have begun in monotheism, the Jewish, the Christian, and the Mohammedan, and they are all of Semitic origin. You open Max Müller, and ask what is the result of the freshest scientific discussion as to the origin of monotheism. He has looked at all the facts as perhaps some of you have not, and he says that nothing but Divine revelation will account for the origin of monotheism in Abraham's age. That period was given up

everywhere, except in Abraham's circle, to polytheistic idolatry. Nothing but a Divine revelation, says Max Müller, accounts for monotheism in the faith of Abraham. Post-date the Pentateuch as you please, carry up or down these ancient documents, and yet it remains true that Abraham was called the friend of God, and the father of the faithful. He believed in God, and that attitude of soul was accounted to him for righteousness. The doctrine of justification by faith is older than Luther, it is older than Paul. It is as old as this sentence concerning Abraham: "He believed in God and God accounted this to him for righteousness." The gospel appears here, dimly, but at its full height and breadth. There are the books. There is the doctrine, there is monotheism. And no shaking of the Old Testament record can lower the height of this stupendous altitude as a part of an irrevocable past.

2. I might pause long on the ethical perfection of the Decalogue. We are accustomed to that teaching which affirms that the Divine finger did trace certain words on tables of stone. Was there verbal inspiration in those words? We have been taught that these tables were preserved for many years in the tabernacle and transferred to the temple. We have been educated in a doctrine which assumes that God actually addressed definite holy words to Moses for the instruction of men. Skeptics tell us that the scene at Sinai is an invention of the priests. But is the Decalogue an invention of the priests? The Decalogue appears to be a part of the very nature of things. It bears investigation. It no more goes out of date than the multiplication table. Who or what wrote the Decalogue in the nature of things? It is so written. Who or what wrote it in the depths of the human conscience? There is in the Scriptures a key that fits this lock and the lock of the universe, and it would seem that he who made the locks made the key. I affirm that the ethical perfection of the Decalogue is a stupendous altitude which no critical earthquake can lower.

3. I might dwell on the presence of the gospel in the revelations at Sinai. God passed before Moses and proclaimed, "I am one who shows mercy to thousands and to children's children, but will by no means spare the guilty." Justice and love are

here combined for the first time in history in man's idea of the Deity. Those thoughts that appear in the gospel so vividly appear here in outline. Grace and truth came by Jesus Christ, but in the revelation on Sinai we have the same conjunction of ideas, justice, mercy, and fatherhood. Who inspired this doctrine? Who mixed this medicine that cures me? I know that it cures me; it is of comparatively little consequence who mixed it. When we find thus appearing in documents written ages earlier than the gospel the essential ideas of the gospel, a juxtaposition of thoughts peculiarly evangelical; when we find running through all this literature, undergirding it and over-arching it, ideas that appear afterwards more vividly in the teaching of Christ, what can we say except that God in history had charge of this growing book? Let the earthquakes of criticism roll through their course; these mighty heights are unshaken.

4. The marvelous sagacity of the Mosaic legislation might occupy me for days and weeks.

Because the masses of men in antiquity were ignorant it does not follow that the classes were. Modern times underrate the culture of special circles, classes, and cliques in distant ages. The Jews of the period of the Exodus may not have been as enlightened as modern average populations; but Moses was possessed of all the wisdom of the Egyptians. It is not safe to sneer at the esoteric wisdom of the great men and the specially trained hereditary teachers of even remote antiquity. The ordinances which have come down to us from the Mosaic era are astoundingly wise in secular, as well as in spiritual things.

5. I might dwell long on the stupendous elevation of spirit shown in the Psalms. Henry Ward Beecher used to say, — and I love to quote him when I can indorse him, — many a man tries to put on a Psalm of David, but the coat is many times too large. If you were set to form a canon, what book of equal age would you put beside the Psalms? They honor any age. Many anthologies have been collected from various writers. We have gathered from the four winds the precious words of men of genius and conscience; but put the question to yourselves, if you were to gather sixty-six books, or six books, fit to match the loftiest tones of the Old Testament, where would

you find them? I mean among books which the Bible itself has not inspired, because, taking the progeny of the Bible, you can find books that in some sense match it by echoing it. But where can you parallel it? This book is unparalleled, and therefore must have had unparalleled influences concerned in its birth.

6. I might dwell long on the progress of prophecy, from the dim notions of a deliverer who should bruise the serpent's head, up to the stupendous statements of Isaiah. I might show how this prophecy went on and on, until it ended in John the Baptist, the immediate forerunner of our Lord, and I should show you a mountain range most definitely pointing to Christ. A chosen man called out of Ur of the Chaldees, Abraham, father of the faithful, was to become a chosen family; this family was to become a chosen nation; this nation was to give birth to a chosen religious leader, who was to found a chosen church filling the world. Chosen man, chosen family, chosen nation, chosen leader, chosen church filling the earth — this, according to prophecies ages older than Christianity, was to be the order of the religious development of mankind. It has been. There are the mountains ranges. Let the earthquakes wallow around the base of these giant altitudes; the heights never will lower their summits.

Only those who take broad views of history can grasp its significance as a self-revelation of God. The mouse under the shrub at the foot of the hills may be disturbed in its nest by local changes and bewildered, but the eagle careering above the peaks, and able to see at once Sierras and Rocky Mountains and Alleghanies, understands their course and finds all these ranges pointing to the sun. The mouse knows nothing of the map of the continent, but the eagle sees its large outlines; and so we may know nothing of the map of religious history unless we rise to altitudes where we can see the continental ranges of providential events age after age pointing to Christ. I insist that there are such ranges, and that no criticism shakes them from their immovable bases.

CHRIST'S TESTIMONY CONCERNING THE LAW AND THE
PROPHETS.

7. The most important of the wholly indisputable facts concerning the Old Testament Scriptures is that Christ received their predictions and religious teachings as of Divine Authority and as fulfilled and completed in Himself.

What was the testimony of Christ to this book having in it all these continental ranges pointing to Him? Justin Martyr said, and the words ought to be familiar, "Short and concise are the sayings that came from Christ; for He was no sophist, but his word was power Divine." In that passage not so well known from the Pseudo Clementine Homilies, we are told that "Christ's wont was to make concise utterances touching the things of concernment to the truth." Even Matthew Arnold makes use of these citations, indorses them in spirit, and says himself: "If we had the original reports of the eye-witnesses, we should still have reports not essentially differing, probably, from those which we now use." "The pious quake, the world laughs; nevertheless, the prince of this world is judged; the victory of Jesus is won and sure." ("God and the Bible," pp. 318-391.) It is a favorite saying of Matthew Arnold that we must believe in Jesus over the heads of all his reporters.

What does our Lord himself say of the ranges of history pointing to the sun?

"Search the Scriptures [the Old Testament] for in them ye think ye have eternal life, and they are they which testify of me."

"O fools, and slow of heart to believe all that the prophets have spoken. . . . Beginning from Moses and from all the prophets, He expounded to them *in all the Scriptures* the things concerning himself."

"Behold we go up to Jerusalem, and all things that are written by the prophets concerning the Son of Man shall be accomplished. For He shall be delivered unto the Gentiles," and He was.

"And shall be mocked," and He was.

"And spitefully entreated," and He was.

"And spitted on," and He was.

"And they shall scourge Him," and they did.

"And put Him to death," and they did.

"And the third day He shall rise again," and He did.

To what authority did our Lord appeal as of final supreme value in every religious discussion?

"Whoso readeth, let him understand" the Old Testament Scriptures.

"Have ye not read that which was spoken unto you by God?"

"Have ye never read, Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings Thou hast perfected praise?"

"Did ye never read in the Scriptures, The stone which the builders rejected, the same is become the head of the corner?"

"Have ye not read, that He which made them at the beginning made them male and female?"

"Have ye never read what David did when he was an hungered?"

"What is written in the law" in the Old Testament Scriptures, "How readest thou"?

To what did our Lord appeal when wishing to found ethical truth upon an immovable basis?

"All things whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, even so do unto them, for this is" — natural law? This is the requirement of ethical self-evident truth? This is something grounded in the very nature of man? Not at all — "for this is the law and the prophets."

"I am not come to destroy the law and the prophets, but to fulfill."

"Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away."

"Till heaven and earth pass, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law till all be fulfilled."

"It is easier for heaven and earth to pass than for one tittle of the law to fail."

Did our Lord recognize a progress in revelation?

"Wherefore went ye out? to see a prophet? Yea, I say unto you, and much more than a prophet." "All the prophets and the law prophesied until John." "Yet he that is but little in the kingdom of heaven is greater than he."

Did our Lord make a distinction between the Old Testament teaching and mere tradition?

"Why do you transgress the commandments of God by your tradition? For God commanded, saying, Honor thy father and mother."

And in the supreme hour what reason does our Lord give for submitting to the will of his Father ?

"Thinkest thou I cannot now pray to my Father, and He shall presently give me more than twelve legions of angels ? But how then shall the Scriptures be fulfilled, that thus it must be ?"

And, lastly, we read in a marvelous passage which summarizes our Lord's whole teaching concerning prophecy :

"These are the words which I spake unto you while I was yet with you, that all things must be fulfilled which were written in the law of Moses, and in the Prophets, and in the Psalms, concerning Me. Then opened He their understandings that they might understand the Scriptures."

The Old Testament is a book which some parts of Boston and other cultured circles seem to have outgrown, but Christ had not outgrown it. God forgive us that, walking on the shores of time, we listen to our own insensate shouting, rather than to the roar of those surges which reveal God.

I maintain that the most cursory inspection of the Gospels, as well as the most searching analysis of our Lord's teaching concerning the Law, the Psalms, and the Prophets, supports these eight propositions. The Old Testament Scriptures : —

1. Contain commandments of God.
2. Testify to the coming of Christ.
3. Are to be fulfilled in the history of Christianity.
4. Have final religious authority.
5. Contain a progressive revelation.
6. Are to be distinguished from all tradition.
7. Are a trustworthy guide to the way of salvation.
8. Are consummated by the teaching of Christ.

And, within the limits of the definition I have given, any book of which all these propositions are true is inspired of God.
[Applause.]

BOSTON COMMON UNDER GAG-LAW.

FULL TEXT OF THE REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE OF BOSTON ON THE CITY ORDINANCE FORBIDDING PREACHING ON THE PUBLIC GROUNDS WITHOUT A PERMIT FROM THE MUNICIPALITY.

AT a meeting of the Evangelical Ministers' Association of Boston and its vicinity, held November 14, 1887, the following minute was passed :—

"Whereas, a Christian minister is in jail in this city, in defense of the alleged right to preach the gospel in public places without a permit ; and whereas, there is great interest in the matter, yet great diversity of understanding of the facts and principles involved ; therefore,

Resolved, That a committee, of Rev. Dr. A. J. Gordon, Rev. Dr. A. H. Plumb, Rev. Dr. L. B. Bates, Rev. James M. Gray, Rev. M. R. Deming, and two gentlemen of the legal profession, who may be willing to serve on the committee, be appointed, to present a written report, at their earliest convenience, giving us a careful summary of the facts, precedents, and laws involved, as well as any principles of God's Word applying to the subject, to the end that we, and other Christian people of our commonwealth, may have an intelligent view, whether there are rights and privileges in the matter on which we should insist."

The committee associated with themselves James F. Pickering, Esq., counsel for Rev. William F. Davis, the minister above referred to, in his trial before the Superior Court, and in carrying his case to the Supreme Court ; and Thomas J. Emery, Esq. At the meeting of the association, on the 9th inst., the committee made their report, which was read by Rev. Dr. A. H. Plumb. It is as follows :—

In respect to the free preaching of the gospel on the Common and other public grounds of the city, it seems proper to state (I.) how the matter came into its present situation ; (II.) what that situation is, as men variously regard it ; and (III.) what can be done about it.

I. From earliest times the understanding and the usage seem to have been that Boston Common was free to the people for any gathering not harmful to the public peace, although, of course, the freehold vests in the city government. On Boston Common, Whitefield and other celebrated preachers were heard. So far as known, this privilege was valued and frequently enjoyed, and never interfered with until in January, 1862, a city ordinance was passed, which reads : "No person shall deliver any sermon, lecture, address, or discourse, on the Common, Public Garden, public squares, or common lands of the city, without permission of the mayor and aldermen." In 1870, the issue of permits was left to the discretion of a

joint committee on the Common, composed of three aldermen and five members of the common council. The present form of restriction was adopted in 1885, and reads: "No person shall, except by permission of the mayor, deliver a sermon, lecture, address, or discourse, on the Common or other public grounds."

Rev. M. R. Deming, pastor of the Bowdoin Square Tabernacle, and until lately secretary of the Boston Young Men's Christian Association, says: "As early as 1867, the association obtained a permit from the mayor, and held open-air meetings on the Common. They were usually careful to obtain the best clerical talent in the city and elsewhere, and conducted their services in a manner creditable to religion and good government. There never was any disturbance. The association had no trouble in obtaining permits until 1882, when their application was denied. They applied in 1883, and were refused. In 1884 they applied, and the committee on the Common did not deign to make any answer."

Meanwhile, in April, 1882, Rev. William F. Davis asked the police commissioners this question: "Will you be kind enough to tell me whether you construe the free public preaching of the gospel in Boston as a breach of peace, or not? Would you instruct the policemen to break up an orderly gospel meeting on public grounds, which does not obstruct any thoroughfare of the city, nor trespass on private rights?" The chairman of the board responded, "Oh, no, we never should do that." Accordingly, during five months, Rev. Mr. Davis preached at open-air meetings at the North End in Boston, and in several public places. During June, July, and August, 1882, he preached every Sabbath afternoon on the Common. In the summer of 1883, Mr. Abijah Hall, who was distributing tracts and peaceably preaching in front of the Boston & Providence railroad station, was stopped and roughly handled by the police.

In 1884, on the first and second Sabbaths of July, Rev. William F. Davis preached on the Common without interference. On the third Sabbath, the 20th of July, he was arrested while preaching, taken to the police station, where he was shown the city ordinance requiring a permit, and was then discharged. Within the next fortnight, eight respectable citizens of Boston united in asking, in behalf of Mr. Davis, though not at his request, for a permit to preach on the Common. No answer was returned. But the "Boston Journal" of Monday, August 4, had the following item: "Rev. William F. Davis applied to the Common committee, Saturday, for permission to preach on the Common on Sunday. His request was refused, and the committee then voted to refuse all such requests." The "Daily Advertiser" of Monday, August 4, 1884, said: "No requests for permission to preach on the Common on Sundays will in the future be granted." Mr. Davis, however, resumed public services on the Common, on the first Sunday in August, and continued them every Sunday through the summer.

In 1885, the Evangelical Ministers' Association of Boston appointed a committee to wait upon the Boston Y. M. C. Association, and ask them to hold a service on the Common, to test the authority of the city government

to prevent preaching by responsible parties. In compliance with this request, the association held a service in May, Rev. Dr. A. J. Gordon preaching. The issue which the association made was, that the ordinance requiring a permit was intended to give the city government power to regulate speaking on the Common, but not absolutely to prohibit. The question of the constitutionality of the ordinance was not raised. A warrant was sworn out against Dr. Gordon by the chairman of the committee on the Common. When the case came up in court, Judge Adams said the by-law concerning a permit was never intended to prevent responsible clergymen like Dr. Gordon from obtaining one, but only to preclude objectionable persons; and that any responsible person could obtain a permit. This showed that the committee on the Common had used the ordinance for three years as a means to invest themselves with arbitrary power. The association immediately paid Dr. Gordon's fine, and asked for a permit to hold services on the Common for the remainder of the season. Mr. Deming says: "We did not find it forthcoming. I inquired of a member of the committee on the Common why we did not receive it, and he said that we had stirred the city up so much, and got the newspapers down on the committee, that the probability was, that the committee would not grant the permit. In my capacity as general secretary of the Boston Y. M. C. A., I engaged the services of a highly esteemed member of the Boston bar, and authorized him to take all legal measures necessary to enforce Judge Adams's ruling on the committee on the Common. This, or something else, produced an immediate and favorable response from the committee."

At the time the Y. M. C. A. made a test case in court in May, 1885, when Dr. Gordon and others were arrested, Rev. William F. Davis and Rev. H. L. Hastings were also arrested for preaching without a permit, and, being fined \$10 each, appealed to the Superior Court. The next Sabbath, Rev. William F. Davis again preached on the Common, and Rev. H. L. Hastings read three chapters from the Bible, without note or comment. For this they were arrested, and fined \$30. Both appealed to the Superior Court. When these cases came to trial there, the district attorney offered to discharge both these gentlemen without trial and without payment of fines, if they would agree not to preach again on the public grounds without a permit. In a personal interview he renewed the offer, engaging also to secure a permit for each. In respect to this, it is urged that these gentlemen had violated the city ordinance for two reasons: first, in order to improve every possible opportunity for preaching the gospel to the neglected masses; and, second, to awaken public sentiment against the ordinance, and test its validity in the higher courts. To accept a permit at this stage, and allow the city quietly to drop its prosecution, would result in stopping the desired agitation concerning what they regarded as the obnoxious character of the ordinance, and, moreover, would destroy their opportunity of obtaining a decision from the higher tribunals. Mr. Davis also felt a conscientious objection to recognizing the right of the authorities to give or withhold permits for preaching the gospel. The case of Mr. Davis, therefore, being first

reached, went to trial, and, going against him, exceptions were taken, and the matter went to the Supreme Court. Pending the result of these proceedings, the case of Mr. Hastings was continued.

During the remaining Sundays of the summer of 1885, Mr. Davis continued to preach on the common lands of the city. January 8, 1886, the decision of the Supreme Court sustained the validity of the city ordinance, and January 13, Mr. Davis and Mr. Hastings were arraigned in the Superior Court, and Mr. Davis was fined \$10 for the first sermon and \$30 for the second, amounting, with costs, to \$81.35. His classmate, Rev. Silas P. Cook, secured the money, and paid the fines. Mr. Hastings was fined \$40, and, after spending some hours in Charles Street jail, he paid the fine, and was discharged. Mr. Davis, however, soon resumed preaching on the Common and in other public places, and continued it during the three summer months of 1886. The first two meetings were interrupted by the police, forbidding him to preach, but, as he persisted, he was not further molested. During the summer of 1887, he also preached often on the Common, at Franklin Park, and on other public grounds. He has been fined, on four complaints, the past season, \$50 each, and costs, amounting to about \$350, or imprisonment for one year. The authorities, however, delayed imposing this sentence, and suffered him to go at large, intimating that, if he would now take a permit, the penalty would not be pressed.

Having learned that, through ignorance of the forms of legal procedure, and from lack of advice of counsel, he had lost his opportunity to carry his case to the Supreme Court of the United States, Mr. Davis accepted his liberty long enough to preach again without a permit, in order that a new case might arise, furnishing opportunity to go to the higher courts. In view of that later offense, the penalty of the former offenses has been inflicted, and he has now been some three months in jail. Should his fine be paid, or his time served out, and the city see fit then to bring him to trial for his last violation of the ordinance, his counsel stands ready to carry the case again to the Supreme Court of this State, and to appear in person to argue the case, which in the former instance was submitted by written brief. Should the previous decision be reaffirmed, he would then go to the Supreme Court of the United States, in hopes that the result would be in accord with the late decision of the Supreme Court of Michigan in a similar case, rather than with the utterance of our own court. Should this hope be realized, and all such ordinances be determined invalid, the decree would establish the right of free preaching and free speech everywhere in the land, whenever it did not interfere with the rights of others, or disturb the public peace. In addition to all the instances named, in which preaching has been prohibited, and other religious services forbidden, many other cases might be mentioned.

When Boston was visited by Gawin Kirkham, secretary of the London Open-Air Mission, who has under his charge several hundreds of out-door preachers in Great Britain, and whose experience would have been a powerful aid to evangelistic services on our public grounds, this eminent philan-

thropist could not assist Christians here in this work, without risk of arrest. In May, 1885, when Mr. Hastings applied for a permit, the clerk of the Common committee stated that very numerous requests for permits to hold religious services were received, but they were invariably laid on the table. Rev. Joseph Cook says : " A most worthy and devout lady was not long ago rudely arrested and taken to a police station by an officer in this city, merely for singing on the street a portion of a hymn to a poor unfortunate with whom she was engaged in religious conversation."

A few years since, the late Hon. James W. Kimball, deacon of the Ashburton Place Church, said to a member of this committee : " For thirty years, without intermission, I have been accustomed to resort to Boston Common every Lord's day to distribute tracts. Some few years ago, I found, one afternoon, as I went about my work distributing tracts, the hand of the law laid upon my shoulder, and the policeman said to me, ' None of that,' and I was informed that I should be arrested if I persisted in that work."

The names of numerous worthy persons can be given, who have in vain applied for permission to hold religious services on the public grounds of this city. In the summer of 1885, the Congregational ministers of Boston and vicinity petitioned the city government for the repeal of the ordinance requiring permits to preach on the public grounds. They said : " We regard the ordinance forbidding preaching and other religious exercises on the Common and public grounds of this city to be inconsistent with true principles of civil and religious liberty, contrary to the spirit of our institutions, and prejudicial to the best interests of the city, because opposed to the exercise of wholesome moral influences on a class of population not otherwise reached." This memorial was laid before the city council by the mayor, but the ordinance was not repealed, and is still in force.

In his recent inaugural address, the mayor, mentioning a former impression of his, that the repeal of the ordinance would " do away with the heated discussions which it was causing," says that, since the above petition was denied, he had " granted every permit asked for ;" and adds : " If the city council sees fit to abolish the ordinance referred to, it will meet with my approval now, as it would have met with my approval and signature in 1884. I have no fear that the people of Boston, who might be induced to visit the Common and public grounds on the Lord's day to hear religious instruction, will transgress the laws of order and propriety, or that a permit in the hands of a preacher is a necessity." To complete this record of events, a single item more is necessary. Rev. M. R. Deming says : " In the summer of 1887, the park commissioners refused to give a permit to the Boston Young Men's Christian Association to hold services at Marine Park, South Boston, and Franklin Park, Roxbury. Such services can be held in both parks without any damage to grass or interruption of travel." Yet the right to hold them is denied, and permission to hold them is refused.

These, then, are the steps by which the present situation has been reached ; a situation in which no man is at liberty to preach the gospel on the public

grounds without asking leave of some city official, and in which a godly minister is in jail, and is to lie there a year, for preaching without asking such permission.

II. Now, what sort of a situation is this? Is it one of wise and wholesome restriction, or of unwarranted and outrageous interference with sacred rights? What are we to think of it? What are we to say about it? Different men say different things.

1. Some say the situation is all right. The man is not in jail for preaching the gospel, but for defying the law of the land, in repeatedly violating an ordinance with which he could easily comply, and concerning which the highest court in the commonwealth has said: "We see no ground for holding it to be unreasonable and invalid. Its purpose is to promote the public peace and to protect the public grounds from injury, and it is calculated to effect these ends without violating the just rights of any citizen." It was argued before the Supreme Court by the attorney general: "If one preacher is allowed to preach without first obtaining a permit, all must be so allowed; and, if all, all might desire and claim the same time, place, and position. The result is readily foreseen." "If this ordinance should be repealed," says a leading newspaper, "the Common would be open as well to advocates of Mormonism, anarchism, socialism, spiritualism, and infidelity, as to the gospel; to mass-meetings of Democrats or Republicans, and with no power anywhere to prevent such use, which might practically close the Common for its ordinary use, as to light and air, by women and children. Forty meetings might go on side by side." The plea was also made before the Supreme Court, that "the object of the ordinance is, on general principles, for the purpose of regulating and preventing disorder and breaches of the peace on the Common. The question is, whether to have the Common entirely occupied every Sunday, not only by one congregation, but with forty or fifty or a hundred, would not be likely to lead to a disturbance of the peace." As the city charter empowers the council to make needful and salutary by-laws not inconsistent with the laws of the commonwealth, there are those who say this ordinance is both needful and salutary; it is, therefore, a reasonable ordinance, and ought to be cheerfully obeyed.

2. On the other hand, there are many who urge that the ordinance in question is not needful, salutary, or reasonable, but is wholly unnecessary, and dangerous to liberty, capable of being used, has often been used, and a similar rule of the park commissioners is now used, to the destruction of sacred personal rights, and to the entire prohibition of certain most useful and greatly needed endeavors to reach the masses by the gospel of Christ. The argument of those who take this view is presented somewhat as follows:—

(1) The ordinance is not needful, for all the abuses which it is claimed to be designed to prevent or abate can be reached by existing statutes, and in a way less perilous to liberty. All disturbances of public peace and interference with personal rights, or with the usual purposes of the highways or

parks by public assemblies, can be effectually controlled without this by-law. Suppose several speakers who have permits "should desire and claim the same time, place, and position," the police could immediately put a stop to any disagreement or conflict. Getting a permit would neither prevent nor put an end to such disturbances. The whole matter of preserving the public peace remains where it was, in the hands of the guardians of public order, who are empowered to proceed against any and all persons, as soon as they have committed any breach of the peace.

(2) The plausible plea that the ordinance is necessary, in order to prevent a state of things out of which disorder is liable to grow, is answered by saying that this reasoning involves a wrong principle in government, which it is unsafe to apply generally in times of peace, and among a free people. It is right to prevent the liability to crime by forbidding the sale of liquors on Sunday and election days, because the sale of liquors is recognized as always an element of danger. Free speech and a free press are not thus recognized, except by tyrannical governments, at least not in times of peace. In great crises of peril, extraordinary measures are justified. In time of war and of riot, martial law may be proclaimed. When a great conflagration is raging, a city may be put under a military patrol, as after the Boston fire. In great exigencies, the habeas corpus act may be suspended. But, under a stable government, among a free people, the liability to abuse the liberty of the press does not make it wise to prevent such abuses by establishing a censorship of the press. Wait till a free press has abused its privilege, and then proceed against it under the general statutes provided. So the liability to abuse the liberty of free speech upon public grounds does not warrant the endeavor to prevent such abuses by an ordinance establishing a censorship of speakers and preachers, committing to the discretion of some city official the prerogative of determining beforehand who are fit to speak and who are not. Wait till a man has committed a breach of the peace, and then proceed against him by the forms of law already existing, and applying impartially to all such cases alike. The attorney-general said, in his argument before the Supreme Court: "The ordinance in question was absolutely indispensable. Without such a police regulation great disorder might arise." But, for over two hundred years, Boston did dispense with it, and no disorder arose. It got along without any such regulation till 1862. Much of the time since then the by-law has been a dead letter, and to the present hour there has been no sign of any disorders and abuses requiring it. The authorities conceded that Mr. Davis's assemblies were quiet and peaceable.

(3) Again, the friends of free preaching argue that, to place in the hands of any city official the discretion of permitting or forbidding certain speakers in public meetings on the public grounds, is not necessary, as has been alleged, in order to the prevention of the utterance of improper sentiments there. This, so far as the public grounds are concerned, would be to establish a censorship of public meetings, with the right to prohibit beforehand all such assemblages there as seem likely not to meet the ideas of a partic-

ular official. The right of the people to hold public meetings freely is a very sacred right, and, in reference to the common people, who often cannot afford to hire halls, is now largely held to involve the right to use the public grounds for such gatherings, else this vital form of public discussion and deliberation is practically closed to them.

In the commentaries on the "Laws of England respecting the Liberty of Speech and Public Worship," by James Paterson, the following instructive passages are found : —

"The restraints which confine the natural liberty of speech will be found under four great heads, of blasphemy, immorality, sedition, and defamation." "A public meeting is an assemblage of large numbers, called together by any member of the public as a volunteer, whenever he thinks that his neighbors will be sufficiently interested to join him in discussing some topic of the hour, and who does so without any license of any official, without notice to any official, and without any official whatever being present or having any participation in or power over the proceeding. The only restrictions possible are those which arise out of the danger of saying something blasphemous, or grossly immoral or seditious, something amounting to a contempt of Parliament, or of a court of justice, or defamatory of some individual, as to each of which excesses the speaker may afterwards be called to an account. The liberty of expressing to large meetings, without let or hindrance, every thought as it occurs, whether wise or unwise, so long as the limits here indicated are not reached, is the characteristic of a public meeting; and the holding of public meetings is one of the most important exercises of free speech known to mankind."

Grant that, if the Common were thrown open, there would be many classes of speakers, and much speech that is not wise. Truth can afford to take its chance side by side with error. The open-air preaching in London streets and parks holds its way nobly alongside of the feeble endeavors of infidels. It is by no means essential to the morality of Boston that its mayor should be set up as a censor, to judge beforehand between the men who desire to utter themselves here. How should a mayor alone be qualified to "try the spirits whether they be of God," to say who is fit to speak and who is not? That is not the American idea of regulating the freedom of speech. The American way was well set forth by Hon. Chauncey M. Depew, on last Forefathers' Day, before the Congregational Club. He said : "The Mormon can argue his doctrines anywhere, but when he attempts to put them into practice, to the destruction of the morality of society, we say, That cannot be done under our laws, and you must either move or go to jail. Men can discuss here socialism, anarchism, or any other subverting doctrine, and bring us to their tenets, if possible. But when they attempt to enforce it by inciting the ignorant to riot and to arson, we put them in jail; when they attempt to enforce it by cutting throats and committing murder, we hang them." The ordinance, then, it is urged, is not necessary, either to the preservation of the public peace or to the prevention of improper discourse.

(4) Further, it is contended, it is not a salutary or reasonable ordinance,

because it is capable of being used entirely to prohibit, or, at least, unreasonably to abridge, free speaking to the masses in public places. Such preaching was absolutely prohibited here during the years 1882, 1883, and 1884, as has been shown; and the prohibition was maintained until, in 1885, after great public agitation, it was withdrawn. Even now it prevails in respect to Marine and Franklin parks, precisely the places where many think it is most needed. Again, if open-air meetings are not prohibited under this by-law, they may be regulated arbitrarily and unreasonably. They have been so regulated here. All one summer a temperance lecturer was allowed to speak regularly on the Common, when the Young Men's Christian Association was refused a permit to preach the gospel. Other instances of unreasonable discrimination can be given. The propriety and usefulness of any given public meeting, it is urged, is not a question to be left to the judgment of any clique that may chance to get possession of the city government. It is for the courts to determine in each case. In Grand Rapids, Mich., the Salvation Army paraded and held their meetings to the annoyance of some. Again and again they were brought into court as a nuisance, and were acquitted. They were not a nuisance; they were noisy, but were doing good. Then the city passed an ordinance prohibiting such parades without a permit. The Supreme Court pronounced the ordinance unconstitutional, holding that a "law is unconstitutional which forbids preaching as a nuisance; it can be restrained only when it is proved to be a nuisance in each case."

Sir Charles Warren, chief commissioner of the London police, proclaimed or prohibited the public meeting on Sunday, November 13, in Trafalgar Square; for the home secretary, Mr. Matthews, had said that "there was no useful purpose to be served by these meetings." At a dinner of one of the London clubs the next evening, Mr. Labouchere, M. P., said in a speech, in reference to this judgment of one of the chiefs of the Conservative party, concerning the usefulness of the proposed meeting, that "it was a contribution of a new principle of government; viz., that it was for a Conservative government to decide whether a meeting was useful or useless, and in the latter case to prohibit it." He added: "What did any one suppose that the government thought of most of the meetings held by Radicals? Never did Mr. Gladstone, or any other leader of the party, address a gathering without the Conservative newspapers speaking of the affair as pernicious."

The Massachusetts court, in its decision upon the validity of the Boston ordinance, presented no reasons for the propriety of thus committing to the decision of a city official the prerogative of determining beforehand whether a meeting ought to be held or not, whether a speaker ought to be heard or not. It simply said, "We see no reason for regarding the ordinance unreasonable which confers such powers." But the Supreme Court of Michigan in the case referred to, having before it all the papers of the Massachusetts decision, proceeds to set forth the unreasonableness of such an ordinance, by considerations which to many seem lucid and cogent. That decision

says: "It is not in the power of the legislature to give cities any tyrannical powers. This by-law is unreasonable, because it suppresses what is in general perfectly lawful, and because it leaves the power of permitting or restraining processions and their courses to an unregulated official discretion; when the whole matter, if regulated at all, must be by permanent legal provisions, operating generally and impartially." It speaks of the possibility of "a mayor or council shutting off processions of those whose notions did not suit their views or tastes, in politics, or religion, or any other matter on which men differ;" and adds, "When men in authority have arbitrary power, there can be no liberty." It is this "unregulated official discretion" to which the ordinance in Boston commits the entire custody of freedom of speech on the public grounds; and this, the friends of free preaching argue, marks the ordinance as the exercise of a tyrannical power.

Thus, the park commissioners of Boston seem to judge that the preaching of the gospel in hearing of the thronging multitudes at Marine and Franklin parks is not useful, and hence they peremptorily forbid it. Many think it should not be in the power of any body of men thus to put fetters on the word of God.

(5) Furthermore, it is urged that such an ordinance is not salutary, for it is against the interest of the State to abridge the freedom of preaching on the public grounds.

a. The gospel of Christ is by all confessed to be the most wholesome and salutary agency whose influence can be employed in favor of morality and virtue, the peace and good order of society.

b. The regular worship in Christian churches is altogether insufficient to reach the masses. One of the most ominous signs of the times is the lamentable alienation of large classes of the common people from the church-going classes. The safety and perpetuity of our government, and of all the most valued institutions of society, depend very largely upon bridging the chasm between the church and the common people.

c. One of the chief instrumentalities in effecting this great end, it is coming very generally to be acknowledged, must be open-air religious services in places of public resort. Without any intrusion upon those who do not wish to attend such services, without any interference with the purposes to which such grounds are ordinarily devoted, it is entirely possible to carry the blessed message of the gospel of Christ to multitudes of men who are ignorant of it and prejudiced against it, with such loving persuasiveness and kind sympathy as to disarm their opposition, and win them to holier and happier lives.

d. Such free proclamation of the gospel in open places has proved itself a most powerful agency for good in many lands, both Christian and pagan. It is, indeed, the agency on which many Christian missionaries principally rely. And there are many who say it is abhorrent to all sense of the fitness of things, for Boston to deny rights in this respect which Calcutta and Shang-Hai freely allow.

e. Moreover, in the application of the common provisions of the law for preventing trespass or breach of the peace to the regulation of street preaching, it has long been recognized as policy to make as lenient an application as possible, and to favor so far as possible so worthy and potent a force. Thus the authority already quoted on English laws relative to freedom of speech, says, of suits against street preachers for obstructing the highway, or other trespass: "Magistrates have it in their discretion to discourage frivolous interferences with an employment which can seldom do harm, and often is of striking advantage." "And this treatment," it adds, "is that which is most becoming in a country whose institutions are stable enough to withstand all the random shocks which can be caused by free voices from the crowd on any subject whatever."

Such are some of the various views which are entertained concerning the situation in which the right of free speech on our public grounds is now placed.

III. It remains briefly to consider what can be done in the premises. Three courses seem open.

1. Do nothing. Accept the situation. If one wishes to preach in public places, ask permission; if it is refused, refrain from preaching, and make no complaint. This course will have the advantage of respecting the law. It will have the disadvantage, many will feel, that the needed preaching of the gospel is liable thus to be greatly limited, and that no effort is made to reduce that liability.

2. If denied a permit to preach on the public grounds, refrain from preaching, but agitate for the repeal of the restriction. This will have the advantage of protesting against the character of the law, while obeying it, and, perhaps, may result in its repeal. It will have the disadvantage, in many minds, that it may not succeed in removing the restriction, and, if it succeeds, the ordinance can be reënacted at any time; moreover, nothing is done to settle the disputed question of the validity of such legislation.

3. Obey the law while it stands, agitate for its repeal, and also endeavor to secure, by a test case, from the highest court in the land, an authoritative declaration upon the constitutionality of all such ordinances. This course, its advocates say, would involve the friends of religious liberty in no improper conflict with the government. It would be like the device of a friendly suit between amicable parties desirous of settling certain doubtful points. It was the remark of one of the judges before whom Rev. Mr. Davis was brought, "This is an offense involving no moral turpitude."

On the 14th of November last, in the London police court, Mr. Poland, instructed by Sir A. Stephenson, solicitor of the treasury, appeared as counsel for the Crown, and prosecutor against Mr. Cunningham Graham, M. P., as one of the disturbers of the peace in Trafalgar Square the day previous, Sunday the 13th. The burden of the complaint was not the endeavor of the accused to hold a public meeting when one had been forbidden, but the turbulent and violent manner in which that effort was made, in which the member of Parliament himself, and many witnesses in the case, were seri-

ously hurt, and appeared in court with bandaged wounds. Said Mr. Poland : "The contention would be raised that Mr. Graham's object was merely to secure a decision on the point of law ; i. e., the right to hold a meeting in the square. If that were his object, the right way would have been for Mr. Graham to walk quietly up to a police officer, and tell him his intention of going into the square, get the officer to quietly push him away, and then bring an action for assault."

For the friends of religious liberty in Boston to test the validity of the obnoxious city ordinance in some proper manner in the highest court of the State, and, if necessary to carry the question to the Supreme Court of the United States, would at all events set at rest the legal uncertainties involved in the matter ; and, if successful in securing a decision in accordance with that of the recent finding of the Supreme Court of Michigan, it would render nugatory all existing statutes like that in question, would render it impossible to enact any similar one anywhere in the land, and would thus reclaim and establish upon impregnable foundations what many claim to be the rights of free speech, the right of all ambassadors of the Lord Jesus Christ to go wherever men are willing to hear them, and to proclaim freely the loving message they have received from their Lord.

A. J. GORDON,	} Com.
A. H. PLUMB,	
L. B. BATES,	
JAMES M. GRAY,	
M. R. DEMING,	
JAMES F. PICKERING,	
THOMAS J. EMERY,	

Boston, January 9, 1888.

BOOK NOTICES.

THE LIFE OF CONSTANS L. GOODELL, D. D. By A. H. CURRIER, D. D., Professor of Pastoral Theology in Oberlin Theological Seminary. With an introduction by William M. Taylor, D. D., LL. D., Minister of the Broadway Tabernacle, New York city. New York : A. D. F. Randolph & Co. 1887. Pp. 486.

Nothing is more difficult, nothing more important, than the reformation of reformers. If we were called upon to suggest improvement in the average methods of preachers and pastors, whether at home or abroad, we should choose the life of Dr. Goodell by Professor Currier, to indicate not only in outline but in detail, how such a hazardous and arduous reform should be carried out. A Divine spirit breathes through this biography. It is a book of most rare and unusual religious value. Dr. Goodell was known far and wide as the model preacher and pastor of the Pilgrim Congregational Church of St. Louis. We are acquainted with no biography better fitted than this to be a model for preachers and pastors. Whoever would imitate Dr. Goodell, however, must be careful to be not only as devout and learned, and courageous and industrious, and eloquent and spiritually sagacious as he was, but also as wisely and happily married.

Mrs. Goodell was the daughter of the late distinguished Governor Erastus Fairbanks of Vermont. Perhaps there is in this biography no single passage more significant than that in which Professor Currier speaks of Dr. Goodell's marriage :—

"Dr. Goodell was most happy in his marriage. Few men owe so much of their happiness and success to their wives as he to his. We may say of her, with reference to her husband, what a distinguished man of letters has said of the wife of Agassiz : 'The companion of his journeys, the partner of his thoughts, troubles, anxieties, triumphs, and aspirations, she was at once the wife of his mind and of his heart.'

"Dr. Goodell could not have done his great work in the world but for her assistance. He knew it ; he often said it. In his work of the ministry, he credited her with fully a half of what was accomplished. In his study there was a significant token of her share in the work. His writing desk had two sloping sides, and was otherwise arranged for two persons. At that desk they worked together, face to face. To a friend who was visiting him, and who had noticed the peculiar construction of the desk, he laughingly said : 'I get my inspiration from the other side.' While he worked at his sermons, she was there writing letters in answer to his numerous correspondents or to members of the congregation. She was his companion also in his pastoral work from house to house, laboring to win souls, or to comfort the afflicted, or to carry to strangers the warmth of a Christian welcome

with an enthusiasm equal to his own. In the pastoral care and administration of the church she had a full share. She was cognizant of the work assigned to various committees, knew who composed those committees, and with what success they wrought. Together she and her husband consulted and prayed over all the interests of the great congregation committed to their charge. Nothing weighed upon his heart which did not also weigh upon hers. Almost everywhere and always she was his companion in a gentle, unobtrusive, womanly way. Thus, as another has said of their united labors, 'the ministry of teaching and consolation was made more strong and gracious by the union of manliness and womanliness that were wedded in every word that was spoken and every act of service or Divine charity.' "

Constans Goodell was born at Calais, Vt., March 16, 1830. The same town was the birthplace of the Rev. Dr. N. G. Clark, senior Secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and also that of the Rev. Professor I. E. Dwinell, of the Pacific Theological Seminary. After some years on a farm, the young Goodell prepared for college at the Bakersfield Academy, and entered in 1851 the Vermont University. He was graduated with a high reputation as a speaker and writer. It was during his college course that his conversion occurred, from which such important results were to follow. He was graduated from Burlington in 1855, and from Andover Theological Seminary in due course in 1858. He was invited to become a colleague of Dr. Hawes, at Hartford, but accepted an independent pastorate at New Britain, Connecticut, and conducted it, with remarkable growth on his own part and on that of his church, until 1872, when he was called to St. Louis. Excepting important travels in Europe and the Holy Land, he remained in St. Louis until his death, in 1886. He was yet a comparatively young man at the time of his departure, which was no doubt hastened by a fiendish attack made on him a few years before in the streets of St. Louis by a ruffian, who was probably an emissary of the whiskey saloons. Dr. Goodell was in a profound sense a martyr, although he would have been the last to think of himself as such.

The methods and the wonderful fruits of Dr. Goodell's labors at St. Louis must be learned in detail from this volume, but we cannot refrain from enriching our pages with one or two passages which show something of the secret of this career of religious usefulness.

"He also gave emphasis and prominence to those elements of Christian truth too little dwelt upon, which especially appeal to and foster the manly virtues. Christ was both 'the Lamb of God' and 'the Lion of the tribe of Judah.' With the meekness and gentleness of the one He united the boldness and masterful strength of the other. The bruised reed He would not break, nor quench the smoking flax, but when wicked men profaned the temple with their mercenary traffic, He assumed an awful and terrific mien, and drove them panic-stricken from it with a whip of cords; and when they came out with swords and staves to arrest Him, such was the majesty of His demeanor that the most brazen-fronted quailed before Him, and the whole armed posse fell backward to the ground.

"Both sides of Christ's character need to be dwelt upon. If unequal prominence is given to either, the truth suffers. The ideal presented is not complete — the

impression of it is faulty ; its influence in the edification of Christian character is not what it is designed to be. The apostles, in their writings and characters, exhibit the true Christian ideal. They were gentle and beneficent toward their fellow-men ; they were also bold and unflinching in the performance of duty or in the face of danger.

"Dr. Goodell nourished his mind and fashioned his conduct by feeding upon all the elements of Christian truth. In his preaching and ministry of truth to his congregation, he also sought to declare the whole counsel of God ; to commend the heroic and manly traits of Christian character, as well as the gentle and submissive ones."

Most of the chapters in this volume are admirably enriched by collections of epigrams from Dr. Goodell's note-books. We earnestly hope to see soon a volume containing his best sermons, articles, and occasional discourses.

CONSTANS L. GOODELL AS PREACHER AND PASTOR.

Joseph Cook's prelude to his lecture on "Phillips, Gough, and Beecher," in Pilgrim Congregational Church, St. Louis, April 17th.

This pulpit is full of holy fire. Since I stood here last, the chariots of God have descended upon this place and caught up a great and radiant soul who was to many of us as a "Pillar of Fire," through which God looked in the morning watch of better ages to come. I should do violence to my own feelings if I were not to say that the light falling from heaven along the track of those chariots makes this spot on the banks of the Father of Waters seem to me holy ground.

He who has been taken from you was called early in life the Model Preacher of Connecticut ; he should now and always hereafter be called the Model Preacher and Pastor of the Mississippi Valley.

What nobility of character, what size and symmetry of soul, were his ! His cradle was rocked at the foot of the Green Mountains ; he was educated within sight of the Adirondacks ; the strength of the hills were his also. In college, in the religious meeting in which he first expressed a hope of his own conversion, he said quietly, "I see the light — on the distant mountains, and am expecting soon the full glory of the Sun of Righteousness." "And that full glory," says his biographer, "came on apace." He had a poetic imagination, a great heart of balanced flame, a strength of body, mind, and will, a courage, a self-control, and, above all, a divinely illumined conscience, which made him by both the first and the second birth a teacher for the soul's soul and so a preacher, pastor, and spiritual reformer, whom God has crowned and whom no man can discrown. He cared for no crowns except those which God gives. His life was hid with Christ in God.

Although I had no personal acquaintance with your pastor until after he came to this bank of the Mississippi, he seems to have been one of the instructors of my youth. When he was at the University of Vermont in his sophomore year, it was my fortune to be studying not fifteen miles from him at Keeseville. When I went to Phillips Academy, he was in the Theological Seminary of the great Andover of 1856. There were giants as

theological and religious leaders there in those days. I remember well the first time I saw your pastor; he was leading a debate among theological students, and I looked on from the gallery. Both as a speaker and as a man, he seemed head and shoulders above any whom I saw in competition with him, as I then thought. He often addressed the religious meetings of the students of Phillips Academy. There was inspiration in his words that went with me for many a year.

When he entered the ministry he said: "Christ's vineyard needs men; by his grace and in his strength I will be one." "O Lord, help me to rise at five o'clock, and to work diligently and consecutively on one theme until one." After some years of labor and study he wrote: "The conviction that the Bible is the very word of the present ruling God, who also made nature, possesses me with irresistible force." In a course of lectures given at Oberlin College during his later ministry, he began every lecture with this sentence: "The only thing worth living for is the glory of Christ." These sayings were the key-notes of his life.

What a happy and holy marriage God sent to him! and yet this is a topic too sacred for public speech, although fit for your devoutest and most grateful thoughts. His writing desk had two slopes, and she who sat in his study opposite to him was herself constantly crowned with an aureole of sacred fire. He said once to a friend who spoke of this peculiar arrangement of his desk, "I get my inspiration from the other side."

What spiritual wisdom, what ripeness of religious sagacity came from the atmosphere of such a home!

I have always greatly admired many of your pastor's epigrams. No doubt they were occasionally forged on this anvil with two sloping sides. Some of them cling most tenaciously to the memory:—

"Build no doubting castle near Plymouth Rock."

"Lager beer is the devil's kindling-wood."

"You cannot drive the bees with a whip; but plant a clover field and you will attract them, and they will fill the hive with honey."

"Much of the fineness of our nature is killed by over-work."

"We are born on the earth, but we live in the universe."

"God is moving on Asia by the way of Plymouth Rock and the Golden Gate."

What breadth of outlook he had. He loved with the passion of Christian philanthropy our whole land, from its sunrise shore to the great river, and from the great river to the sunset sea.

He founded churches; he assisted in founding colleges. He was a friend of the most judicious and searching evangelists. His sermons, his devotional meetings, his prayers, his religious conversation, his total ministry to men absorbed in the cares of life, to the stranger within the gates, to the aged, the young, the sick, the afflicted, the religiously irresolute, were astonishingly inspired from on high. So blessed of heaven and sealed by the Holy Ghost were they that they deserve, and, among wise men, seem likely to be made models through many generations.

Let us rejoice that the noble biography prepared with so much literary skill and spiritual insight by Professor Carrier, of Oberlin College, has been, or will yet be placed, in the hands of hundreds and thousands of theological students.

I am acquainted with no biography better fitted to be a pattern for preachers and pastors. It breathes a spirit not known in merely secular culture, not often found in the schools, and not always in the pulpit, but which is indispensable to the healing of the nations. For one, I wish to offer, here and now, devout thanks to God that this life has been lived, and that this biography has been written, and also a fervent prayer that they may profoundly influence the one hundred millions who are yet to live between the Rocky Mountains and the Alleghanies.

This life and this biography echo God, and so are fit to lead the world.

SCRIPTURE READINGS, FOR USE IN THE PUBLIC AND HIGH SCHOOLS OF ONTARIO. Authorized Edition. Toronto: William Briggs. 1888. 12mo. Pp. 434.

The treatment which the vexed topic of the Bible in public schools has received in Ontario, that great province which is the brain and heart of the Dominion of Canada, is peculiarly instructive in connection with American discussions of the relations of the government to elementary instruction in morals and religion. The Education Department of Ontario in 1884 appointed a distinguished committee to examine a series of Selections from Scripture, which, when approved, were issued by public authority for use in the public and high schools. In 1887, another eminent committee was appointed to revise the former selection, and the result is the very satisfactory book named above. The contents include eighty-nine historical and fifty-seven didactic, devotional, and prophetic selections from the Old Testament, sixty-eight from the Gospels, thirty-five from the Acts of the Apostles, and forty-four from the Epistles and the Revelation. No note or comment, except the titles of the lessons, accompanies these reproductions; but references are carefully given to the places where the passages may be found in the Bible. We do not see how a more admirable selection of Scripture Readings for use in schools could well be made. The significant fact is that it satisfies all religious people in Ontario, except only the Roman Catholics.

No pupil in Ontario, however, is required to take part in any religious exercise objected to by his parents or guardians. Opportunity for separate religious instruction is given in every school. We quote in full the following Departmental Regulations approved by Order-in-Council, April 22, 1887, concerning religious exercises and instruction in public and high schools in Ontario, and published in this standard book of Scripture Readings:—

“Every public and high school shall be opened with the Lord's Prayer, and closed with the reading of the Scriptures and the Lord's Prayer, or the prayer authorized by the Department of Education.

"The Scriptures shall be read daily and systematically without comment or explanation, and the portions used may be taken from the Book of Selections adopted by the Department for that purpose, or from the Bible, as the trustees, by resolution, may direct.

"Trustees may also order the reading of the Bible or the authorized Scripture Selections by both pupils and teachers at the opening and closing of the school, and the repeating of the Ten Commandments at least once a week.

"No pupil shall be required to take part in any religious exercise objected to by his parents or guardians; and in order to the observance of this regulation the teacher, before commencing a religious exercise, is to allow a short interval to elapse, during which the children of Roman Catholics, and of others who have signified their objection, may retire.

"If, in virtue of the right to be absent from the religious exercises, any pupil does not enter the school room till fifteen minutes after the proper time for opening the school in the forenoon, such absence shall not be treated as an offense against the rules of the school.

"When a teacher claims to have conscientious scruples in regard to opening or closing the school as herein prescribed, he shall notify the trustees to that effect in writing, and it shall be the duty of the trustees to make such provision in the premises as they may deem expedient.

"The clergy of any denomination, or their authorized representatives, shall have the right to give religious instruction to the pupils of their own church, in each school-house, at least once a week, after the hour of closing the school in the afternoon; and if the clergy of more than one denomination apply to give religious instruction in the same school-house, the board of trustees shall decide on what day of the week the school-house shall be at the disposal of the clergymen of each denomination, at the time above stated. But it shall be lawful for the board of trustees and clergymen of any denomination to agree upon any hour of the day at which a clergyman, or his authorized representative, may give religious instruction to the pupils of his own church, provided it be not during the regular hours of the school.

"The school hours shall be from nine o'clock in the forenoon till four o'clock in the afternoon; but the trustees, by resolution, may, for the purpose of affording facilities for religious instruction, or for any other proper purpose, prescribe a shorter period."

Roman Catholics, as it is important for citizens of the American Republic to notice, strenuously oppose in Ontario the schools conducted on the wholly unsectarian and equitable basis provided by these regulations. The schools of Ontario can by no means be called *godless*; for the Department of Education in the preface of the above volume "declares now, as formerly, that Christianity is the basis of our whole system of elementary education, and that its principles should pervade that system throughout." Roman Catholics in Ontario very rarely avail themselves of the opportunities given for the separate religious instruction of Catholic pupils; but are busily engaged in founding sectarian parochial schools of their own, for the support of which the government, very unwisely, as we think, allows a division of the public school funds. Of course this is only carrying out the well-known decree of the Vatican that, wherever able to do so, Roman Catholics must

have their own schools, and, if possible, destroy all systems of education, public or private, that are not under the control of the Church of Rome.

It ought to be more widely noticed than it has been thus far in the United States, that in the great province of Quebec, which is notoriously Roman Catholic in both the religion and the politics of the vastly preponderating majority of its inhabitants, Protestant schools have a hard struggle to live.

The Rev. John Burton, M. A., B. D., of Toronto, one of the members of the committee who prepared the Scripture Readings for Ontario, says in a recent powerful lecture on "*The French Canadian Imperium in Imperio*":

"In Quebec the schools are bitterly sectarian, for the Papal in this relation is the most remorseless of the sects. The Protestant minority, with rights guaranteed on paper, are practically deprived of public school privileges; by the parish divisions made by the hierarchy, and ratified by the provincial government, the dissentient schools are either made impossible or handicapped effectually. In Ontario we have the separate school for Roman Catholics, which not only breaks up the public school system, but establishes schools where children are taught to view their Protestant neighbors as heretics, and as given over to uncovenanted mercies. The immense estates of the Papal corporations in Quebec, being untaxed, impose ruinously unjust burdens upon the remaining property holders, who are largely Protestant."

It is significant that this honored member of the revision Committee on Scripture Readings, himself long an editor, as well as a preacher, publishes the opinion that the troubles the Dominion has with Roman Catholics may, perhaps, find their only practicable solution in the annexation of the Canadian Provinces to the American Republic.

"Our Lower Canadian Protestant friends have been given over, *volens volens*, to the absolute control of the Quebec hierarchy. Unless some changes, such as I have indicated, are made, the only other solution will be — dare I utter the word? — Annexation. For, the race and religious cry having been raised, the demands made by the Roman Curia upon our government will soon be intolerable. Then will come more serious divisions, and divisions mean — unless the great republic shall fail — absorption piece by piece into the company of the United States. This is not pessimism, but a simple statement of what men unwarpd by any political creed know to be inevitable. Of its desirability, or otherwise, I have nothing to say."

While the Roman Catholic people follow their priests in politics as well as in religion, and the priests follow the Pope in both, it is not too much to say that what the Jesuitical hierarchy has done in Quebec to ruin the Protestant school system, it would do, if it had the power, in the United States.

QUESTIONS TO SPECIALISTS.

REPLY BY EX-PRESIDENT GEO. F. MAGOUN, OF IOWA COLLEGE.

26. *What are the prospects of the proposed courts of conciliation in Iowa?*

A STATE organization was perfected at Cedar Rapids about the middle of November, to promote the formation of courts of conciliation in Iowa. Besides the usual officers, there is a committee for the diffusion of information, and one for preparing a law establishing such courts. There is a corresponding secretary in each of our ninety-nine counties, who is *ex-officio* president of a county organization, if there be one. If the legislative judiciary committee had agreed upon a bill, action would have been early taken to enact it. A difference of opinion as to the provisions of such a law has delayed action, and, therefore, postponed the enactment of a law to the next session. It is thought by a prominent advocate of conciliation that this delay is valuable, more time being given for the wise preparation of a law. Perhaps, also, the whole matter needs to come forward by gradual growth, as in Denmark and the Danish West Indies. It may, too, be found that some variation from the Scandinavian system will be necessary in Iowa. Two bills have been prepared, one of which, imitating a law of Copenhagen, takes a judge of a court of superior and appellate jurisdiction for presiding officer. It provides that the district judge shall hold the court of conciliation the first day of each term of his court, and have the assistance of a local conciliator in each township in his judicial district. Elsewhere in Denmark and in the Danish West Indies, and also in Norway, citizens of high standing, *not* lawyers, are selected to preside — in the provincial towns of Denmark the municipalities electing one for the town and one for the country, — in Norway one for each community or township. The system is said to work best in Norway. The United States Minister to Denmark expressed the opinion that the judge of a coercive court would carry into it some prejudice against parties whose disputes the "Court of Reconciliation" had failed to settle. I believe that everywhere it is required that the latter tribunal be resorted to first. The other bill now under consideration in Iowa avoids this objection, providing for the appointment of men of integrity and capacity as conciliators, outside the courts. Both bills, I believe, exclude lawyers from advocating causes before the proposed new courts.

It is thought that farming communities would find such methods of avoiding expensive and irritating litigation specially serviceable, and that labor troubles, of which we are likely to have in Iowa our share in due time, could be largely composed or averted by them. In a commonwealth more

free from illiteracy than any other in the Union, intelligent, disinterested, impartial men, of weight in their own communities, and willing to serve so pacific and beneficial an object, could never fail to be found.

This pause in the progress of the movement is being improved for disseminating information and promoting discussion. All will be ready for formal action in our next legislature in 1889. It may not be possible at first to apply the new system to all cases of dispute that a civil action can be based upon; and it certainly would not be wise to attempt incorporating it as a constitutional amendment in the organic law of Iowa till it is perfected in principle — details of operation, of course, being left to statutory provisions.

I need not say that I watch this civilizing and Christianizing experiment with the deepest interest, as I do that of arbitration on international questions — the excellences of which it seems to possess, while avoiding some objections, to which the latter scheme is yet open.

REPLIES BY MR. COOK.

27. *What ought to be the attitude of reputable people toward Sunday newspapers?*

Let reputable people refuse to receive into their houses Sunday journals, and cause it to be known that advertisements in these papers do not reach the better class of homes, and a financial chill may be thrown into the lawless, mercenary heart of an irresponsible Sunday press. Why should one trade be allowed to manufacture and distribute its wares Sunday, and other trades kept from work on that day? Sunday's newspaper is printed on Saturday night, it is triumphantly said. But when is Monday's prepared? When are Sunday papers sent out to the four winds? Under my window at Saratoga, last summer, the New York Sunday dailies were hawked about, before ten o'clock on Sunday morning. But, in order to make this exploit possible, special locomotives were driven screaming up the Hudson, and pony expresses tortured, and dealers and newsboys stirred to a frenzy of activity. This process, carried out to the thirty-two points of the compass from every great city, in a population of fifty millions, is a very considerable infraction of citizens' rights. Editors and printers, as well as railway men, deserve one day in seven for rest. I asked a Chicago reporter on a great daily, which publishes a Sunday edition, heavy with rubbish, whether he had one day of rest in seven. His answer was: "Not one in seventy-seven." Sunday is worth more than Sunday journalism. What Sunday journals displace is worth more than what they supply. They displace rest. *They displace the mood of religious thoughtfulness and worship, without which no civilization can be maintained at a high level.* On the whole, Sunday journals, in average times of peace, must be pronounced to be works neither of necessity nor of mercy. They should be reformed or abolished. Sunday journals, unreformed, may ultimately make the Satanic press the chief Sabbath instructor of the nation. Our liberties are not safe under a permanence of such tutelage. There are a few reputable Sunday sheets, I

admit the fact ; but they do not give character to the mass of them. Usually the Sunday newspaper has more matter in it than any issue on a week day, and more objectionable matter. The loafer's journal is peculiarly loaferish, and the Satanic press peculiarly Satanic on Sunday. The most influential dailies of the world do not issue Sunday editions. Horace Greeley, who may be safely supposed to have known something of journalism, called the Sunday newspaper a social demon. Civilization would stand higher than it now does with us if all Sunday journals were discontinued, as both industrial and moral nuisances.

28. *Would not constitutional prohibition so fail of execution in great and corrupt cities as to be inferior in practical effect to high license ?*

Constitutional prohibition, once enacted, represents the will of the whole people. It is a measure unincumbered with any partisan issue. High license is usually complicated with partisan contests. Constitutional prohibition, having secured the great majority of votes in a state, would have high moral authority even in corrupt cities. My positions, therefore, are :

- (1.) Constitutional prohibition would be partially executed in cities.
- (2.) It would be increasingly executed.
- (3.) It might be executed reasonably well by the aid of law and order leagues.

(4.) If the municipal state police assists the local police, it might be made as effective as statutory prohibition ever was.

(5.) Being the measure of the whole people and not subject to sudden change, constitutional prohibition would discourage new investments of property in the liquor trade and weaken the distillery interest much more than high license could do ; for the latter would be a merely party measure and subject to change at the next alteration of party majorities. Under constitutional prohibition a legislature could vote only one way. Combinations of the whiskey rings to corrupt a legislature would, therefore, be discouraged.

(6.) Let municipal reform succeed, and the rules of civil-service reform be applied to cities, and even in corrupt great towns the will of the people may yet be carried out.

(7.) Constitutional prohibition, like statutory, would drive liquor selling into obscure and disreputable quarters in cities. On the contrary, high license gilds the saloon. It converts the gin-hole into the gin-palace. It greatly adds to the respectability of the liquor trade. It thus builds up the power that threatens the home and good government.

(8.) All license miseducates the people by making the state a partner in unrighteous gains. It notoriously intrenches the whiskey trade behind the cupidity of taxpayers. All license of the liquor traffic means state permission to a man, for a consideration, to poison his neighbors, and manufacture drunkards, paupers, criminals, taxes, ruined homes, and lost souls.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

THE late meeting of the Baptist Union began on the twenty-third day of April. The report has been extensively published in the American newspapers that the Progressives and the Conservatives at this meeting came to an amicable adjustment of their differences, and that Mr. Spurgeon would now return to the Union, from which he had withdrawn. So far as Mr. Spurgeon himself is concerned, this report is premature. In the May number of "The Sword and the Trowel," Mr. Spurgeon makes a statement in regard to the meeting, and expresses his dissatisfaction with it. His statement is kind and conciliating; and closes with the following words:—

"I have had to wait before I could write decidedly; but I am not convinced that we have a real peace before us, or that we can ever arrive at a successful blending of two parties which so greatly differ from each other.

"As one outside of the Union I have no right to have anything further to do with its creeds or its declarations. I was not from the first at all hopeful that anything could be done, and therefore I retired. I wish I had been let alone, for then I could have gone on with my own work in peace. Now I must, in the kindest feeling, make this my course. All has been done that can be done, and yet, without violence to conscience, we cannot unite; let us not attempt it any more, but each one go his own way in quiet, each striving honestly for that which he believes to be the revealed truth of God. I could have wished that instead of saving the Union, or even purifying it, the more prominent thought had been to conform everything to the Word of the Lord."

Mr. Spurgeon has published his creed or statement of doctrine, which we insert below. He doubtless wished, but did not expect, that the Progressive party would accept this creed. It avoids those ambiguous phrases which the Progressive party are so much inclined to use. Error resorts to evasions. It has resorted to them in ancient times as well as in modern, in the Old World as well as in the New. Our readers will be refreshed by the honest manner in which Mr. Spurgeon has stated his Articles of Faith.

"(1) The Divine inspiration, authority, and sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures.

"(2) The right and duty of private judgment in the interpretation of the Holy Scriptures and the need of the teaching of the Holy Spirit, to a true and spiritual understanding of them.

"(3) The unity of the Godhead and the Trinity of the persons therein — namely, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

"(4) The true and proper Godhead of our Lord Jesus and his real and perfect manhood.

"(5) The utter depravity of human nature in consequence of the Fall, which Fall is no fable nor metaphor, but a literal and sadly practical fact.

"(6) The substitutionary sacrifice of the Lord Jesus Christ, by which alone sin is taken away and sinners are saved.

"(7) The offices of our Lord as Prophet, Priest, and King, and as the one Mediator between God and man.

"(8) The justification of the sinner by faith alone, through the blood and righteousness of the Lord Jesus Christ.

"(9) The work of the Holy Spirit in the regeneration, conversion, sanctification, and preservation of the saved.

"(10) The immortality of the soul, the resurrection of the body, and the judgment of the world by our Lord Jesus, which judgment will be final, according to the words of the Great Judge: 'These shall go away into eternal punishment, but the righteous into eternal life.'

"(11) The Divine institution of the Christian ministry, and the obligation and perpetuity of the ordinances of Believers' Baptism and the Lord's Supper.

"We utterly abhor the idea of a new gospel or an additional revelation, or a shifting rule of faith to be adapted to the ever-changing spirit of the age. In particular we assert that the notion of probation after death, and the ultimate retribution of condemned spirits, is so unscriptural and unprotestant and so unknown to all Baptist Confessions of Faith, and draws with it such consequences, that we are bound to condemn it, and to regard it as one with which we can hold no fellowship."

In view of the fact that men who are in the orthodox church are striving to subvert its principles, we are reminded of an expression made by Dr. Thomas Arnold, of Rugby, in regard to the present Cardinal Newman, who, at that time, remained in the Church of England, while he was busy in disseminating Roman Catholic principles. The words of Dr. Arnold were not written in the theological style, but they were not evasive. The term "hang" may be called ambiguous; but he probably intended to use it in a sense as amiable as possible:

"My feelings toward a Roman Catholic are very different from my feelings toward a Newmanite, because I think the one a fair enemy and the other a treacherous one. One is a Frenchman in his own uniform, within his own *præsidia*; the other is a Frenchman disguised in a red coat, and holding a post within our *præsidia* for the purpose of betraying it. I should honor the first and hang the second."

Four full evenings before audiences packing the City Hall to the roof were given in February and March by the city government of Boston to hearings on the subject of the ordinance forbidding the delivery of any sermon, address, or other discourse on the Common or public grounds, without a permit from the mayor. These meetings were a memorable protest against an odious and novel municipal regulation of which the mayor himself has urged the repeal. Besides the petition of the Evangelical Association, an organization representing hundreds of ministers of Boston and vicinity, a petition came in headed by the name of the venerable Rev. Dr. A. P. Peabody and numerous signed by Unitarian and Universalist preachers, and also by members of the Faculty of Harvard University, all asking that the ordinance be removed from the statute books. Letters

supporting the demand for the repeal were received from Rev. Messrs. Phillips Brooks, R. Kidner, S. L. Baldwin, E. J. Haynes, and others.

Speeches for repeal were made before the Committee by Dr. Plumb, Dr. Gordon, Dr. Ela, H. L. Hastings, Dr. Brooke Herford, Dr. Foote, Joseph Cook, by Messrs. J. F. Pickering and Rodney Lund of the Boston bar, and by others.

The sympathies of the audience, which was as remarkable for quality as quantity, were so thoroughly on the side of the petitioners for repeal, and were often so emphatically expressed, that the presiding officer thought it necessary several times to threaten to clear the house of hearers in case applause was not suppressed. A few weak answers to the petitioners were made, chiefly by men prominent in city politics. The secular newspaper press was silent for the most part. "Zion's Herald," Mr. Hastings's "Christian," and "The Morning Star," of Boston, with several other religious journals in other cities, defended vigorously the demand for the repeal; but certain religious weeklies, that were naturally enough expected to express themselves in support of the petition of the Evangelical Association, failed to do so, and seemed to take their opinions, as well as their news as to the discussion, from the frequently misleading statements of the secular daily journals. The Committee before whom the hearing took place has made as yet no report upon the petitions for the repeal. Meanwhile, the Rev. Mr. Davis lies in jail, and any one in Boston may be put there for no crime but that of preaching the gospel on Boston Common to the poor, without a permit from the city government. While the mayor announces that he will give permits to all who ask, the park commissioners have declined to grant them for the parks under their charge, and as long as the obnoxious statute remains, any mayor is able, if he choose, to prohibit preaching on the Common, as was done in 1883 and 1884.

The next steps should be to take to the Supreme Court of the Nation the question of the protection of the historic rights of unlicensed peaceable assembly and discussion. Paternal restrictions of free speech on public grounds are now enforced in Boston by an alliance of gin and Jesuitism with certain timid people who are afraid free speech will set anarchists talking, and who are indifferent whether the poor have the gospel preached to them or not.

OUR DAY:

A RECORD AND REVIEW OF CURRENT REFORM.

VOL. I. — JUNE, 1888. — No. 6.

A SYMPOSIUM ON INSPIRATION.

IN WHAT SENSE, AND WHY, DO YOU BELIEVE THE BIBLE TO
BE THE WORD OF GOD?

It is the habit of the Boston Monday Lectureship to seek information from distinguished authorities on all the topics it discusses, and sometimes to publish letters from experts on the most vital themes before the public.

The Symposium of 1885 was on the question: *Why do you personally believe Christianity to be a Divine Revelation?* That of 1886 was on the question: *What saves men, and why? or by what means, according to your personal conviction, may the soul obtain deliverance from the love of sin and the guilt of it?* That of 1887 was on the question: *What are the Chief Current Religious Perils?* The letters written to the Lectureship by Bishop Huntington, Professor Hodge, Professor Park, Ex-President Hopkins, Ex-President Hill, Ex-President Magoun, Professor Bowen, Professor Peabody, President Warren, the Rev. Dr. Hall, and the Rev. Dr. Storrs, and for which the Lectureship hereby returns its best thanks, have been widely republished in all English-speaking countries, especially in Scotland, England, India, and Australia.

A number of leading professors and presidents of colleges and theological halls were recently asked by the Boston Mon-

day Lectureship to answer briefly the question : *In what sense, and why, do you believe the Bible to be the Word of God?*

Several of the wise and timely answers received are herewith published, and others may be expected in a subsequent number of OUR DAY.

I.

In reply to your question, which I divide into two parts, I reply, without needless use of words:—

I believe the Scriptures to be inspired of God, to be given by inspiration of the Holy Ghost. As to the *mode* of that inspiration, I recognize the same obscurity that applies to the mode of regeneration. In both, the mental characteristics of the subject remain, for he is not a machine, but a reasonable being. In the work of inspiring a Divine messenger to write for the benefit of all succeeding ages, the Divine Spirit guides according to his own infallible wisdom, so that what is taught in the Word is our infallible rule of faith and practice.

If there be difficulties, obscurities, and consequent necessity for study, and even if there be apparent ground for criticism and objection, the same thing is true of the personal teachings of the Divine Prophet on earth. They necessitate the elevating effort, care, and discrimination which constitute a part of our spiritual discipline. Many words are too vague, or too specific for definition, but with this qualification I favor the views described by "verbal inspiration."

In the second place, the persons communicating the Divine mind are attested to their generation by miracles, and to succeeding generations by prophecy, which—if miracles lose their energy as convincing forces to later generations—is a constantly accumulating power.

The truth of the word is attested on incidental lines, such as the ethical, the historical, the linguistic. The Hebrew people constitute a visible body of witness-bearers.

Some importance is due also to the improbability of a body of men, widely separated in time and place, producing a self-consistent pseudo-revelation, in the spirit of deceit and lying, the whole tendency of which is against evil, and for the purest

good. Men act from motives. What could be the motive? Men bent on the highest good would not, if they could, stoop to the lowest evil.

In the language of the Westminster divines, "the heavenliness of the matter, the efficacy of the doctrine, the majesty of the style, the consent of all the parts, the scope of the whole (which is to give all glory to God), the full discovery it makes of the only way of man's salvation, the many other incomparable excellences, and the entire perfection thereof, are arguments whereby it doth abundantly evidence itself to be the Word of God."

It may be said: "It is not so plainly the Word of God as to command the instant acceptance of every reader." The reply is: The same is true of the works of God; many live among them and do not see Him in them. This does not raise any question to intelligent persons as to their declaring his eternal power and Godhead. In our fallen race there are those who will not see.

There are certain things which — in connection with our question — I would try to emphasize in our time, such as:—

(a.) The testimony of any man or church does not give authority to the Scripture, entitling it to be believed and obeyed. Its authority rests upon its author. The Church of Rome gets credit from the unreflecting in this matter, without cause.

(b.) The reader of Scripture is not to be content with the verdict of his judgment as to its truth. He is to seek the personal influence on his own soul of that promised Comforter who leads into heart-sympathy with all truth.

(c.) The Word of God is to stand alone. Tradition, church authority, "patristic literature" (which, rendered into our own tongue to which we were born, means the writings of early, fallible Christians, by no means scrupulously guarded in their transmission to us), and the "Christian consciousness" are all to stay on the floor and learn while Revelation occupies the chair of the infallible teacher. The "oral law," in the days of Hebrew apostacy, practically superseded the written, while it owned it verbally. The leaders made void the Word of God

by their traditions. The decline of the Christian church in mediæval times has been in a good degree on the same lines.

(d.) Some pains should be taken to help the less careful thinkers and writers to discriminate between the "inspiration" of Shakespeare and other great writers, which is natural genius, and the inspiration of Peter and John and Paul, which is supernatural. And, finally,

(e.) Some pains should be taken to divest the word "historic" of a vague force which, to many, puts it alongside Scripture. That a thing is "historic" is only to say it has existed. Was it right? That is the real point. Herod and Simon Magus are "historic." Many of the elements that corrupted Christianity are historic, going back to early centuries. In fact, many of them are anterior to Christianity itself. Many so-called historic precedents are simply "historic" devices of Satan.

JOHN HALL.

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II.

It is important to distinguish between Revelation and Inspiration. Revelation is the communication of truth from God to men. Inspiration is spiritual aid afforded in the promulgation of revealed truth, whether orally or in writing. The great characteristic principle of Protestantism is that the Holy Scriptures are the authoritative rule of faith and practice. This principle is opposed, on the one hand, to the doctrine of the Church of Rome, and, on the other, to the theory of Rationalism. Inspiration is that assistance given of God to the sacred writers which renders the Scriptures what they are, — normal in the field of religion and morals.

Another statement might be framed on the basis of what Paul says to Timothy (2 Tim. iii. 16) of inspired Scriptures, — applying what he says of the Old Testament to the New also. We might say that inspiration is that influence of the Holy Spirit on the authors of the Bible which makes it "profitable for teaching, for reproof, for correction, for instruction which is in righteousness, that the man of God" — that is, every Chris-

tian man — “may be complete, furnished completely unto every good work.”

If we descend from these general propositions to subordinate questions, these are numerous and some of them difficult. For example, while the old idea of verbal inspiration, in the sense of dictation, is commonly discarded at present, it ought not to be imagined that inspiration may not affect, and powerfully affect, the style and language of the sacred writers. Thought and language stand in a vital relation to one another. “Thoughts that breathe” are at the root of “words that burn.” The majesty of Isaiah, the energy of Paul, appear in the diction, as well as pervade the conceptions, of prophet and apostle. In the thirteenth chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians, inspiration has to do not merely with the Divine truth of the teaching, but also with the serene beauty and rhythmical flow of the expression.

One of the most important truths to keep in mind is the gradualness of Divine revelation, and the corresponding growth of knowledge in the long succession of sacred writers. This truth is clearly affirmed by our Saviour in what he says of the law respecting divorce, and in the Sermon on the Mount. He said of the prophet than whom there is none greater, that he was below the least in the kingdom which He — the Christ — was establishing. Few verses in the New Testament are so impressive, either in form or content, as the opening verse of the Epistle to the Hebrews: “God, having of old time spoken unto the fathers in the prophets by divers portions and in diverse manners, hath at the end of these days spoken unto us in his Son.” (I quote from the Revision, because it is more correct, although I hate to lose the unrivaled music of the old version.) This progress of knowledge is discernible even in the apostolic age, and in the New Testament; but a reverent caution is here requisite in tracing the lines of distinction and the steps of advance.

“We have this treasure,” says the Apostle, “in earthen vessels, that the exceeding greatness of the power may be of God, and not from ourselves.” Most instructive words! Some there are who, because the treasure is pure gold, are so dazzled by it that the vessel too seems to them to be golden, and think it profane

if any blemishes are detected in it. Others, seeing only the vessel, rashly and blindly affirm that treasure and vessel alike are earthenware. Paul's idea was that the imperfections of the organs of Divine revelation, the inspired teachers of the gospel, should only serve as a foil to set off the glory of the message and its Divine source. The modification of old formulas about inspiration can do no harm, if along with it, and by means of it, there is an increasing discernment of the preciousness of the treasure which is handed down to us in the Scriptures.

In answer to the question, What are the proofs of Inspiration? I should answer, first, with Coleridge, that, "In the Bible, there is more that *finds* me than I have experienced in all other books put together; that the words of the Bible find me at greater depths of my being; and that whatever finds me brings with it an irresistible evidence of its having proceeded from the Holy Spirit." Secondly, I should point to a like effect produced in a countless number of Christian men, — the church catholic, — showing that my impression is not merely subjective, but that an objective fact is at the basis of it. This testimony of Christian experience, thus widely extended, really becomes external proof. Thirdly, I should appeal to the promises of Christ and to other Scriptural assertions. But this would involve a presentation of the evidences of Christianity in their proper order.

GEORGE P. FISHER.

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III.

I believe the Bible to be the Word of God, in the sense that it is the absolute and infallible *utterance* and expression of his will. Its mysteries and doctrines were revealed by God the Son, the Word, — in fulfillment of his own declaration, "no man knoweth who the Father is but the Son, *and* he to whom the Son will reveal Him." And the men to whom the revelation was made, from Moses to St. John, were so inspired by the Holy Spirit of God, that they are said to have been moved, or *borne along* by Him; not as machines, but as individuals preserving their conscious identity and separate characteristics of style and

thought: and yet "guided into *all* truth," so that the Scriptures contain all things that are necessary to be known and believed for our salvation; and guarded from all error, so that no imperfect or inaccurate statement can find place in them. I believe this to be true of every word of the Scriptures, in which "spiritual things are *combined* with spiritual,"¹ that is, spiritual truths with spiritual words. And I believe it to be true of every portion of both the Old and New Testament: so that all parts of the Bible, though not equally important, are equally and absolutely true. Of course, this cannot extend to translations; but applies to the Scriptures in the languages in which they were written: and of course it leaves open the question of the interpretation or meaning of the words in which we may be mistaken; and which can only be certainly known by those who are guided by the Holy Spirit of God, and who interpret the Scriptures by the creeds. There are no contradictions in Holy Scripture or between Holy Scripture and God's other, inferior revelations of himself. Where they seem to exist, either the Scriptures or the disclosures of God in nature are misread.

The question, "*Why* I believe the Bible to be the Word of God?" is more difficult to answer. A man's individual acceptance is based upon many and various grounds. Inheritance, training, experience, meditation, and critical examination all go to create, confirm, and complete his belief. What Canon Mason says of the personal knowledge of God is true, in a degree, of our knowing Him in his Word. "Each man has to prove the fact for himself. It is the great adventure, the great romance of every soul, — this finding of God." But I am perfectly satisfied that the strong argument for the authenticity and authority of the Scriptures is the witness of the church of God; to which in every age have been "committed the Oracles of God," — and which is "the Witness and Keeper of the Word." This is external and historical testimony, which appeals to believers and unbelievers alike. It can be incontestably proved that certain writings, called the Canon, have been preserved with infinite accuracy and care, by the church, in the Jewish and

¹ "*συνεκρίστας*," 1 Cor. ii. 11-13: "Spiritual phrase matching spiritual truths." Canon Evans.

Christian dispensations. The very pains with which these books were kept, catalogued, copied, translated, shows that they were regarded with intense reverence by the church. And as these books claim to be God's Word, revealed and inspired, — "God speaking by the mouth of his holy prophets since the world began," — the church's care of them is her witness to them, as the Word of God. She only keeps them, and her witness to them is only as God's Word. In the earlier ages, before the New Testament Scriptures were written, the church was the keeper of God's Word in another way; as "the faith once for all delivered to the saints" was published by her, through the teaching of the ministry, and in her liturgies and creeds. One by one, "searching the spirits whether they were of God," and rejecting *some* writings, she received the books as they were written, and later on, used them, in the manner in which St. Paul says the Holy Scriptures were intended to be used, in order that men, first receiving the teaching of the apostles, could, by searching the Scriptures, see that what they received from "the teaching church" was true. This is one of the ways in which the Catholic Church is a pillar and ground of the truth. But we receive from her, and know, through her continuous and consentaneous witness, the canonical books. And it is a wonderful fact that in spite of the divisions of Christendom, and excepting Rome's half canonization of the Apocrypha, all Christians agree upon the canon of Holy Scriptures. St. John's stern adjuration shows the sufficiency and completeness, as well as the final closing of the canon by him, when he adopts the language, which God spake, by Moses, in the Book Deuteronomy, and warns men against "adding to," or "taking from," the words that are written in this book.

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IV.

You ask me to answer, in few words, two questions: "In what sense and why do you believe the Bible to be the Word of God?"

Leaving out of the account errors and glosses of transcribers,

waiving discussion as to the canonicity of certain portions, and assuming in general the authenticity of the books, I answer, —

I. The Bible is a collection of communications specially prompted and guided by the Spirit of God, giving God's own representation of his character and government, and of man's relations, duties, and destiny; communications made through men and for all men, therefore in the language and idioms of ordinary human speech, and to be interpreted by the laws of language, but always in conformity with the entireness of their own declarations, and constituting, when thus fairly interpreted, a perfect and absolutely authoritative system of moral and spiritual truth and duty. In the special Divine superintendence, and in the total perfection and binding authority of its teachings, the Bible stands apart from all other extant writings; and the difference is not alone of degree, but of kind.

II. Why do I thus believe? It was my good fortune to be early taught, by those who knew, this in connection with other fundamental knowledge; and I thank them for it. But from the time when I began to be able to judge for myself, my conviction has steadily deepened to the present time.

To do justice to the reasons for my belief would require a volume rather than a letter. They include the claims and inner coherence of the book itself, its sublime doctrines, its perfect morality, its universal adaptation, its superhuman central figure with his marvelous character, utterances, and influence, its aims and its method, the effects it has wrought, individual, social, national, its manifest fitness and tendency to achieve far higher and wider results, and the history of its conflicts and victories. All these manifold considerations, with the vast array of subordinate facts which they involve, come pouring in upon my mind, and, combining with my sense of its Divine adaptation to all my own personal wants, yearnings, and aspirations, show me, in letters of light, that the Bible is above the capacity of man to originate; that it is worthy of God, came from God, and speaks for God.

Thus, to speak more in detail, I find a tone of ultimate authority running through these writings, with constant implications and, when occasion requires, direct assertions, of a Divine

commission, — not, indeed, in technical or systematic statements, but in informal modes, — enforced in many instances by supernatural powers, and fortified by the extraordinary concurrence of the several parts as one coherent whole. My faith in the divinity of the earlier Scriptures finds a safe warrant in the estimate put upon them by the Lord Jesus Christ, while for the bulk of the New Testament writings I find explicit assurance in the promises repeatedly made by the Master to his special and chosen witnesses, and the corresponding claims to Divine authority put forth by them.

And here let me say that practically one of the most impressive exhibitions of the Divine origin and quality of the volume is seen in Christ himself as its central theme and as an actual power in the world, and especially in the church, at the present hour. Here stands out a being not only ideally perfect, but, by a perpetual miracle, still exerting a living presence and control over the hearts and lives of millions of men in all lands. The presentation and even the conception of such a personage is not of man.

I find the volume adapted, as only God could adapt it, to every class and condition of human beings. I find running through it a doctrine of God the highest conceivable, and a doctrine of duty covering, inwardly and outwardly, every possible human relation. I find its morality so pure as to be worthy of a holy God, so perfect that it would make perfect characters, a perfect society, and earth a heaven. I find it aiming and tending to make men like God and friends of God. I find its methods equally Divine, solving the otherwise insoluble problems of free forgiveness and utter discouragement of sin. I find the scheme it sets forth meeting every faculty of human nature, and every want both of sinning and of regenerate man. I find the volume, wherever it goes, producing effects that are strictly Divine, — such transformations of character and life as no human message has ever been able to secure, and that, too, not alone in individual instances, but in vast numbers, and often in hopeless cases. I see it slowly but surely changing every phase of human society, and already leading the powers that lead the world; and that its unquestionable tendencies, though obstinately re-

sisted by human sin, are to elevate and purify individual, social, civil, and international life until it shall have transformed and recovered a sin-stricken world. I also recognize its Divine origin and character in the fact that for all these centuries it has survived, resisted, and overcome every possible form of human attack from power, wealth, art, learning, science, and even the folly of its friends.

For such reasons as these, imperfectly indicated and summarily expressed, I believe the Bible to be, in the sense I have stated, the Word of God.

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V.

Your question is twofold, (1) "*In what sense*, and (2) *why* do you believe the Bible to be the Word of God?"

1. That it is naturally possible for a Creator to make any worthy revelation to his intelligent and moral creatures of much which they could not learn of themselves, seems to go without saying as much so as that He can exert a personal spiritual influence upon them.

2. Such a revelation must come mainly through language. If in part by acts and Divine transactions, language must contain accurate and absolutely trustworthy records of them.

3. No strong probability of its being made by God appears, aside from human sin and consequent perilous need. The presumption hereby created, however (sin and need being uncontested and universal facts), overcomes the natural presumption against miracles or anything else to be done by God in order to effect, identify, and certify his revelation.

4. Whatever else it may, or may not, contain, absolute assurances of Divine influence necessary to renew sinful souls to holiness and of adequate separation for all human sin, must be its main contents. All must relate to and bear on these from beginning to end. It would naturally, however, contain much beside.

5. A Divine origin and a human authorship of the book or books are here implied. The latter of necessity, for language is

human. The former of equal necessity, for need in those to whom a revelation is to be made could never — by evolution, or in any other way — originate its own supply, whether it be indispensable Divine influence or equally indispensable Divine separation for sin. Indeed, evolution by man and revelation from God are opposites, and incompatible.

6. Among books to be examined, all others save the Bible disclose mere human authorship and utter lack of authoritative provisions for spiritual renewal and reparation for sin. They make no progress towards either ; though they may well enough be ascribed to evolution of human want, aspiration, and struggle into sentiments not before contained in literature, and often into those as plainly new departures from truth. The Bible, both in Old Testament and New, contains development (as contradistinguished from evolution) and so progress in known truth.

7. Whatever causes have produced such books, though continued indefinitely, — even as long as evolution is imagined to have been shaping the universe of matter — would never transform them into something entirely different.

8. They lack external evidences which a revelation must have, and which the Bible alone has. Without these the mass of men would never accept it as the Word of God. "A religious poet once told me," says Emerson, "that he valued his poems not because they were his, but because they were not. He thought the angels brought them to him." This implies possibility of revelation ; but the poems were utterly lacking in evidences, without themselves, obligating belief in them.

9. To my mind it is not necessary that every word of a real revelation should originate with God, as all matter of spiritual truth revealed must. Indeed, this would destroy human authorship.

10. It is necessary, however, that every sort of fact, however secular, interwoven with such spiritual truth and Divine atoning work for men, — or needing to be absolutely believed in order that these may be, — should have the Divine certification. We cannot split a Scriptural account in two, and say, as to the earthly things contained, that it is mistaken or mythical, or mere

work of fancy, as to the heavenly things contained, that it is solid truth credible, and binding upon belief and obedience.

11. Such a revelation is — along with moral law and salvation from sin — among the highest work of God's love. It is chief witness to all others. It is precious as they are precious.

12. We know enough of all the religious books of mankind to be able to say that the books of the Bible do not classify with them, nor can they by any favorable criticism be made to classify with it. There are, to be sure, single books of the Old Testament which, if they were not in the Bible, but historically disconnected with it entirely, would probably have been considered coördinate species with other ancient religious books. But, even then, their superiority as to purity and elevation of teaching would be evident and eminent, — even marvelous.

13. The Bible, therefore, is to me not simply a record, though it contains many records. It is not a mere vehicle bearing a word, or words of God. It is itself *THE Word of God*. Men might originate volumes containing such a word or words. If God had taken no pains to preserve for us what He said in times past through men, such volumes of records would be all we should have or could have. I am impressed with the conviction that He has taken care of what He has said through the ages, and made it, *record and words*, HIS Word to men. To separate the communications and the vehicles of them is idle. Especially when both of them are so many, and yet have such unity as must be Divine. Any message from my earthly father borne to me by another would be to me my father's word. But he need not himself write a written message to me, with his own hand, to make this also his word. It only needs that he should see to it that this is written just as he would have it.

It is in this sense, and for these weighty reasons that I believe the Bible to be *THE Word of God*.

GEO. F. MAGOUN.

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VI.

Thanks for an invitation to your feast. Should I place upon your table a few clusters of personal testimony instead of argu-

ment, it may be that I would be contributing an appetizing and healthful variety to the banquet, despite the possible imputation of egotism.

1. My belief in the Bible was at first traditional. I acquiesced in the faith of my parents. The Book of books was reverently read aloud twice daily beside my cradle. I here publicly record my gratitude to God for this simple kind of faith in his Word.

2. While a small boy I began to infer that there must be something Divine in a book from the study of which my mother came forth from her closet with a heavenly serenity amid the adversities and asperities of farm life, which sorely fretted my less spiritual father.

3. After this a wider observation revealed the fact that the best specimens of moral excellence and true nobility in my little world were believers in the Holy Scriptures who were endeavoring to exemplify its precepts. My studies in modern history soon convinced me that this is true of nations also; that the Bible-reading nations are at the top in intelligence, the mechanical arts, morals, and in all the elements of national progress, greatness, and power.

4. The difficulties I found in my Bible, as I began its study, especially in harmonizing the four Gospels, were a great perplexity as discrediting the message of God to men. Why should a good God tantalize us with sayings enigmatic and dark? Why should not the Father of lights bestow a perfectly luminous revelation of himself? I soon found, however, that most of my difficulties were metaphysical, arising from the attempt of the finite to fathom the Infinite, and that on the practical question of duty there was no darkness. I found relief in Bishop Butler's remark that Revelation is designed not only to communicate truth, but to test our loyalty to God; that probation consists not only in obeying his will when clearly known, but in our treatment of a partially obscure Revelation, patiently examining it in order to know what that will is. Robert Hall's apothegm, "A religion without a mystery is like a temple without a god," alleviated my perplexities, as also the thought that the difficulties in the Bible have afforded the

human intellect its best palæstra in which to wrestle and grow strong.

5. The supernatural element in the Bible never troubled me much. I early found that I must believe in a miracle anyhow, whether I accepted or rejected its Divine origin. If I rejected it, I must believe a greater miracle in accounting for its earthly origin. I know what men cannot do. They cannot build up Niagara, nor scoop out the Atlantic, nor pile up Mont Blanc. They could not invent the Bible. Any four boys in a primary school could more easily originate the life and plays of Shakespeare than could four common men fabricate the four Gospels, the unique, symmetrical, and sinless character of Jesus Christ, his addresses measureless in their sublimities, and his parables fathomless in their profundities. I could sooner believe that four stone-masons of Boston built the Milky Way.

6. Thus far my faith rested on a mere intellectual basis, an admiration of Christ's character, the story of his life, death, and resurrection, a literary achievement transcending the combined powers of mankind. Hence the inference that the Old Testament, the prophetic record of that life, and the New Testament, its historic record, could not have come from beneath the skies. But inference did not deliver me from periods of distressing doubt. At this point of my history, through the mercy of God, a new and demonstrative style of proof was marvelously opened to me. "If any man wills to do his will, he shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of earthly or of heavenly origin." "Taste and see." I tasted, and I now see, by a set of spiritual intuitions quickened into activity by the Holy Ghost, that Christ, the central theme of the Bible, is a real and living Person, who has manifested himself unto me, even me, as the Almighty Saviour, delivering me from the guilt, the dominion, and the indwelling of sin, giving to me that certitude of my sonship to God, which the Greek New Testament calls *epignosis*, so that I am neither an agnostic nor a gnostic, but an epignostic (not yet in the dictionary), one who knows God and his salvation with assurance excluding all doubt. I have given heed unto the sure word of prophecy, until the day-star has arisen in my heart. It is a star that outshines the sun, and a star that never sets.

Glory be to God for causing that star to rise in the firmament of my soul!

You ask me, "In what sense I believe the Bible to be the Word of God." I answer, in the sense of a better than Jacob's ladder to this kind of star-gazing. He who mounts will have the glorious vision. This is the short road. The long, winding, and wearisome staircase, which only long-lived experts have time to climb, is through criticism of the original text, proof of canonicity, genuineness, authenticity, modes of inspiration, and the endless discussion of objections. TAKE THE ELEVATOR.

DANIEL STEELE

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VII.

The Bible so-called contains in part the Word of God, yet that Word contains more than all Scripture. As David says, it runneth very swiftly, as no book can. Jesus declares the bread of life to be no volume, but every word that proceedeth from the mouth of God. No church-canon is identical with or can comprehend it. Christ in history is God's Word, yet not the whole of it. Nature in every clause or period is God's Word, — night and morning uttering speech, — yet but a lisp of it. His work is his Word, but all we see in sky or earth is but as the border or fringe of a garment, yet the silence is louder than any voice. The human soul is his Word, or some syllable, sentence, or articulation of his breath, without lungs. His Word never began and can never end. It is not bound, and cannot be bound up. We have but begun to hear what He will never cease to speak. He is not dumb; let us not be deaf.

C. A. BARTOL.

Boston.

VIII.

1. *In what sense do I believe the Bible to be the Word of God?*

I regard your inquiries in the light of a request for my personal views, not for a general argument. It is the personal color you want.

As I read the Bible, I regard it as possessing a strange Divine inwardness with an equally marked human outwardness. I feel God is in it at every point, not with equal brightness everywhere—at some places with dazzling light, at others with an indistinct, almost hidden gleam. The Bible is not to me a palace with here and there lighted windows flashing forth Divine brightness, with occasional semi-transparencies, and intermediate dark human walls through which no tinge of light passes; but a palace every part of which, after its kind and degree, is radiant. Yet the whole outward edifice betrays unmistakable evidence of human hands acting freely, and according to their own methods.

I realize the difficulties, on the face of things, in this conception. There are *moral* difficulties, in reference to the character of some of the contents. These I reconcile by the fact, which I see running through the Bible, that God adopts a historical educational method. Consequently I read the Bible in the light of the age in which its parts were written, and of the spiritual condition and needs of the people for whom it was first written.

Reading the Bible in this way as a whole, recording the actual historical process of revelation, I regard every part of it as in some way necessary to the final unfolding of the Divine thought; and as all of it together constituting in its inwardness God's Word.

This inwardness, I say, runs through an outwardness, which is equally human—not formally or mechanically human merely, but truly human—human language, human turns of thought, style, and reasoning, and in many cases, doubtless, a consciousness that was *conscious* of only human motive and power, though it may have known inferentially there was the working of a higher energy under it.

There are also *philosophical* difficulties, for I hold to the real genuineness and integrity of both the Divine inwardness and the human outwardness. I explain this duality on the supposition that the Divine energy and the human energy were jointly and vitally co-working in writing the sacred pages.

If now the question is raised, What portions of this joint

product come to me as God's present will and truth? of course, I cannot reply, all its outwardness. Much of that is historical scaffolding, but it is scaffolding which holds up the Divine inwardness, and binds together the fundamental facts on which that inwardness rests. The book, then, in its practical authoritative meanings to me, is smaller than the outward book. This is the essential Word of God; but as it comes dynamically blended with the other book, and running inseparably through it, the larger book is to me, historically, and as the record of the process of revelation, also, in this broad sense, God's Word.

II. *Why do I believe the Bible to be the Word of God?*

In answering this question I shall not discriminate between the two senses in which it is God's word.

I did not fail to recognize, during the whole period of questioning and doubt in youth and early manhood, a kind of Divine power in the Bible. Its moral teachings and claims echoed my conscience, and my conscience echoed the Bible. I felt then, and feel now, that my moral nature and the Bible came from the same Being. When I gained my own consent and surrendered myself to the claims of God, and came more and more lovingly under the power of the Bible, I found all my moral and spiritual experiences interpreted, measured, and helped by its teachings, and nowhere else. My soul says, Come, see a book which told me all things that ever I did. Is not this from God?

The Bible also brings before me the highest ideals of character and life, which I feel could not have occurred to me naturally, or to my fellow-men, lying as they do far one side of and above the natural promptings of the human heart, and growing in beauty and worth the more I test them and put on them the pressure of my whole spiritual nature.

This personal evidence is emphasized by the testimony of a great and enlarging procession of the wise and the good from the coming of Christ down to the present, — men who have gone to the Bible with the whole vast yearnings of their spiritual nature, and found satisfaction. I see, too, that Christ and the apostles had the same estimate of the Divine origin of that portion of the Bible which preceded them; and I cannot hesi-

tate, at my distance, with my poorer insight and weaker Divine sympathies, to follow where they lead.

I see, moreover, when I look at the quality of the contents of the book, that it is far harder to believe that it could have been a purely human production than to credit the story of its higher origin. The moral law ; the conception of the life and character of Christ ; the teachings of Christ ; the prophetic outlining of the kingdom of God ages and millennia beforehand, with all human probabilities against its realization, with the steady march of events, notwithstanding, in that direction, — reassure me in the belief that Scripture came not in old time by the will of man, but holy men of God spoke as they were moved by the Holy Ghost.

Then the make-up of the book, — the parts written at long intervals, by many different authors, constituting a unique whole too vast and too complicated to have been originated by any one human mind or any combination of human minds, — this shows the presence of a higher power than that of man.

Moreover, when I look at the effects of the book on individuals, society, and nations, wherever it is welcomed and men come under its power, I see it transforming and beautifying character and life, changing selfishness and corruption to purity and love. It proves itself the most transforming, beneficent means ever put in a book or lodged in human hands. It produces all the graces, virtues, benefactions, and thrifts.

There is another evidence. There are many times when the suggestions of the Bible are borne in upon me with strange power. I feel that God is speaking to me. The words are a swift medium between Him and my soul. There is no other book, no other visible or audible medium, which brings me so immediately and profoundly into his presence. I cannot help feeling that God has in some special way prepared the book for this very purpose. In all my best and spiritual moods God comes to me in it.

Thus this book plays into my convictions with a kind of self-evidencing light. I feel the pressure and throb of divinity in it. I cannot doubt, in all my periods of spiritual exaltation, that it is the Word of God. It has lived itself into my spirit

and out into my intellect and through my whole being. This consideration, I know, can have to others only the weight of testimony, but to me it is insight and a part of my life. God has stamped his being by means of it on my heart, and I go on rejoicing, holding up the Divine signature and proclaiming with confidence that the Bible is the Word of God.

I acknowledge how weak and inadequate to others all the considerations which I have presented are to express the evidence which comes so grandly and triumphantly into my convictions. If one has not seen, felt, and experienced the light of the sun, a statement of the reasons which lead another who has experienced it to believe in it must seem cold and unconvincing. What I fail in making others see, God's Spirit abundantly discloses to me.

ISRAEL E. DWINELL.

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IX.

I believe the Bible to be the Word of God in the sense of being an adequate, intelligible, and authoritative record and exposition of the facts and doctrines essential to the salvation of men, and to the propagation and preservation of the kingdom of God in the world. The perfection of the Bible is to be sought in its organic unity. It is a body with many members, and the eye cannot say to the foot, I have no need of thee. The perfection of the Psalms cannot be weighed over against that of the genealogical portions of the Pentateuch and the Chronicles. The perfection of Isaiah's poetry cannot say that it has no need of the Mosaic details concerning the tabernacle. If the Bible were all like the Sermon on the Mount, its perfection would be destroyed. Still, we are not compelled to say that every portion of the Bible is equally vital. Doubtless we should suffer greater loss in parting with the book of Romans than in losing Solomon's Songs; yet the loss of either would mar the symmetry of the Bible and impair its power in the propagation and preservation of Divine truth.

In saying that the Bible is the Word of God, we refer to the books as they originally came from the hands of the sacred

writers. Upon these original compositions have been super-vened various errors of copyists and translators. These can, however, be largely eliminated and corrected, so that the residuum of error is nearly infinitesimal, and does not seriously affect the book. The meaning of the Divine word is likewise, in various respects, doubtful to our imperfect apprehensions. But this arises largely from the incomprehensibility of God's nature, and from that adaptability to the inquisitive and growing powers of man which gives to the Bible one of its chief excellences. It is written not for babes only, but for strong men as well, and supplies us with both milk and meat.

I believe the Old Testament to be the Word of God, because Christ and the apostles so regarded it. On a great number of occasions they applied to it the technical term "Scripture," using both the singular and the plural number, meaning by the words, so far as I can see, just what an orthodox Christian means by them at the present time. The books of the Old Testament were not promiscuous writings, but *sacred* writings, collected together, publicly used, and highly venerated by the whole Jewish nation. I believe the evidence to be satisfactory that the collection of sacred books to which Christ and his apostles defer contained the present books of the Hebrew Bible, and none others.

I believe the New Testament to be the Word of God, because it was received by the early churches as an adequate history of Christ and the apostles, and an authoritative exposition of the doctrines involved, not only in the words of Christ, but in the events of his life. The Christians of the first two centuries were, by their position, the special guardians of the history and the records, on the facts of which Christianity is supposed to rest. The Christians of the first and second centuries enjoyed that proximity to the facts in question which makes them first-class witnesses. Men were still living in the latter part of the second century who had conversed with an apostle. These generations had facilities which no subsequent generation has had for determining the genuineness and authenticity of those books which purported to relate the facts of Christ's life, and to report the teachings of the apostles, and these churches were

under every motive conceivable to render them suspicious of unauthorized records, and of doctrines unsupported by apostolic authority. I am not disturbed to find that Mark, Luke, and probably the Epistle to the Hebrews, were not written by apostles. But it is sufficient to believe that they were written in the apostolic age, by men in intimate association with apostles, and that they must have been accepted as authoritative in apostolic times.

I am not disturbed by the modern critical objections to the New Testament any more than I am by the objections urged by Celsus in the early part of the third century. The most of these objections are such as must have been patent to the early Christians, and evidently some of them which seem now to be difficult of solution did not seem so difficult in the clearer light of earlier times. As to new objections, such as are urged against the pastoral epistles and the Gospel of John, we are properly permitted to fall back upon the principle underlying "statutes of limitation." Many of the documents and witnesses accessible to the early Christians to solve their doubts, and to substantiate their positions, have long since passed away, and the presumption is very strong against the establishment of sweeping, destructive theories on the mere fragments of evidence which now remain. If these negative critical theories are true, why were they not brought forward and established while the witnesses were yet alive and the documents still extant by which their truth or falsehood could be attested? The burden of proof falls with overwhelming weight upon those who deny the genuineness and authenticity of any book which obtained a recognized position in the New Testament canon.

Coupled with the preceding facts concerning the New Testament are the presumptions arising from the promises which Christ made to his apostles, and from the reasons assigned for their official selection. They were promised the aid of the Holy Spirit to call to remembrance all things which He had spoken to them, and to teach them things to come, and to give them utterance in every trying emergency. No greater emergency can be conceived than existed when any of these men sat down to make for the world a written record of what their eyes

had seen, and their ears had heard, and their hearts had felt, of the word of life. Nor did the writers of the New Testament hesitate to claim the authority of inspiration. The council at Jerusalem, speaking for the apostles, claimed to give utterance to the will of the Holy Spirit. It is the burden of no small part of the books of Galatians and Corinthians to prove and emphasize the direct inspiration of the Apostle Paul. We are driven to the dilemma of discarding Paul as an enthusiast and an impostor, or of setting him up on a pedestal of authority equally conspicuous with that which the New Testament has erected for the prophets of the Old.

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X.

In answer to the question : " In what sense do you believe the Bible to be the Word of God ? " permit me to say that in my belief whatever was taught in their original form by the books which the Bible comprises was from God. The men by whom it was written, or was selected from existing documents, were moved by the Holy Spirit to perform this work, and the result of their work was truth, without any mixture of error. The form of expression was popular, but its substance Divine. In prose and poetry, in history and biography, in law and proverb, in prediction and parable, with childlike simplicity or with gorgeous imagery, does this Holy Book press the truth of God upon the minds of men, so that if possible every one may be reached. There are many dark places in the record, many seeming inaccuracies, and not a few alleged contradictions. But, apart from errors that have crept into the text, the dark places are not blemishes, for they rouse attention, stimulate inquiry, and lead to deeper knowledge. Like spots on the face of the sun, they have light in them, though it may appear dim in the clearer light of surrounding passages. And the same may be said of the seeming inaccuracies and contradictions of the Word ; I am persuaded that they are not real defects, that broader and deeper study, conducted in humble dependence on the Spirit of God, will cause them all to disappear.

In answer to the question; "Why do you believe the Bible to be the Word of God?" I may say that, as the supernatural character of Christ surpassed the possibility of invention by man, so the supernatural contents of the Bible surpass the genius of man, and prove the book Divine. It is absurd to suppose its authors weak or dishonest; and it is no less absurd to suppose them clear-sighted and upright, yet deceived. They were moved by the Spirit of God to give these writings to men; and the more just and profound one's knowledge of the Scriptures, the more confident will he be of their plenary inspiration. In particular, the specific promise of Jesus to his disciples, as recorded by John, the manner in which that promise began to be fulfilled on the day of Pentecost, the gift of prophecy to many in the apostolic churches, the power, purity, and practical perfection of the New Testament writings, the vast superiority of these writings to the remaining Christian literature of that age, or of the next, and the inexhaustible vitality which has enabled them to survive the assaults of foes and the mistakes of friends, convince me that their excellence and authority are due to the inspiration of their writers, "who spake from God, being moved by the Holy Spirit." But if the New Testament is from God, I must accept the Old Testament as no less Divine; for the two are bound together by innumerable ties, and especially by the words of Jesus Christ and his apostles. The historical sketches, the mighty psalms, and the marvelous and golden threads of Messianic prediction running through the library of sacred literature bound up in the Old Testament confirm my faith in the inspiration of its writers. *Novum Testamentum in vetere latet: Vetus Testamentum in novo patet.*

ALVAH HOVEY.

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XI.

I believe the Bible, as a whole, to be the Word of God. I do not consider it sufficient to say, "The Bible contains words from God," because I consider the book itself God's gift to man. He sends us his message, and sends it in such a form as He sees to be best adapted to our needs. We understand his

will better by reading the whole of it than by reading a part of it. The book as a whole is in accord with his design and plan.

I state, very briefly, my reasons for this belief. I think it must be admitted that the various books of the Bible are authentic and well-attested records. If this is granted, it cannot be denied that Jesus Christ is the Incarnate Word of God. If this is granted, then the words of Christ, many of them confessedly reported in the Scriptures, must be God's words. Those persons whom Christ sent out to preach the gospel must, if Christ fulfilled his promise, have received Divine aid in their teachings. They must have spoken as the Holy Spirit gave them utterance. Any one who will compare the Epistles in the New Testament with the Acts of the Apostles will be convinced that we have in those Epistles the apostolic teaching and preaching. We have, then, an undoubted right to say that we have in the Epistles the filling out of the Christian doctrines which Christ promised to his disciples. This work was to be performed by the Spirit because the disciples were not able to understand the entire range of the doctrines before the sacrificial death. If we accept the parts of the New Testament now spoken of as from God, we must accept the Old Testament as from Him. Paul ascribes it to men taught of God. Christ treats the Jews of his own generation as incompetent to understand the Bible, of course incompetent to write it; yet treats them as the true successors of their fathers. It is not possible to believe that Christ considered the Bible to be the product of the Jewish mind of any age. He treats it as a book consisting of instructions, rebukes, warnings sent from God to his chosen but wayward people.

If the Old Testament, as a whole, came from God, it is easy to infer, with Tholuck and others, that the entire New Testament proceeded from the same source. I give this, not as the only line of argument that leads to a belief in the inspiration of the Bible, but as a convenient one. I have had no reference here to questions relating to the canon of the Scriptures.

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XII.

I shall answer the last part of the question, or why, first, because if the fact of inspiration be established, the manner, or how, is of subsidiary importance. If it be once proved that the Scriptures are the Word of God, the failure to be able to explain satisfactorily how they are so cannot set aside the fact.

I. I believe the Bible is the Word of God from its effect and from its character. "By their fruits ye shall know them."

1. No book has so moulded society for good as the Bible. No book has given the peoples who have come under its sway such vitality. The gospel delivered to the eleven has had such power of conquest, morally and spiritually, that now, according to Professor A. J. Schem, nearly half of the world's inhabitants are under Christian governments.¹

Even the Jews, who build on the Old Testament alone, are the miracle of history in their vitality and their promise for the future. This is undoubtedly in accordance with God's purpose, but the means through which it has been effected has been through a belief and practice of the old covenant. The Jews exist to-day as leading powers among many of the nations whither they have been scattered, because during more than twenty-three centuries they have recognized the Old Testament Scriptures as the Word of God, and have regulated their lives according to their principles.

Much is claimed for Mohammedanism as a great missionary religion. Some are so blind as almost to consider it a rival of Christianity in this respect;² but Mohammedanism largely owes its existence and its progress to that which it derived from Judaism, — to the grand principle of monotheism which it has received from the Old Testament Scriptures.³ It is this more than any other feature which makes it a missionary religion at the present day.

¹ *Christian Work in New York*, 1888, p. 119: "He reports the population of the world at 1,396,752,000 souls, of whom 685,459,411 are under Christian governments, and 711,383,589 under non-Christian governments."

² Cf. R. Bosworth Smith, *Mohammed and Mohammedanism*. New York, 1875, pp. 50 ff.

³ Cf. Kuenen, *National Religions and Universal Religions*. New York, 1882, pp. 26, 27, 30, 57.

These considerations in a general way seem to show the effects of the Bible as seen in Mohammedanism, Judaism, and Christianity.

Whatever may be said of the ancient civilizations, there can be no question that that of ancient Israel, which has its roots in Old Testament teaching, with all its failings, was incomparably the best. Those of Assyria, Egypt, Babylonia, and Phoenicia cannot be compared for a moment with that of ancient Israel.

There is certainly no book that exerts such transforming power to-day as the Bible, when brought home by the faithful preacher, with the power of the Spirit, to the vicious classes in our land and the lowest heathen in foreign lands. Our civilization, devoid of the restraints of Bible teaching, inoculates the Sandwich Islander with a dry rot, drugs the Chinese with opium, and makes the African a slave of men. But our Bible transforms whole populations. It makes good Christians out of the cannibal Fiji Islanders; it completely changes the drunken and profligate in our own land, and lifts them into positions of usefulness and influence. Now a book that has such effects must be the Word of God.

2. There is no book which can lay such claims to being a Divine book. This clearly appears from admissions and positive statements of those who have devoted their lives to the study of the sacred books of the East, and especially from the view of every unbiased and sympathetic student of the Scriptures. Max Müller admits that "readers who have been led to believe that [these sacred books, the Vedas, etc.] . . . are full of primeval wisdom and religious enthusiasm, or at least of sound and simple moral teaching, will be disappointed on consulting these volumes."¹ He further adds: "It is but natural that scholars, in their joy at finding one or two fragrant fruits and flowers, should gladly forget the brambles and thorns that have to be thrown aside in the course of their search."²

While this is negative testimony, Sir Monier-Williams, who has spent his life in the study of these books, has spoken strongly of the incomparable superiority of the Scriptures.³

¹ *The Sacred Books of the East.* Oxford, 1879, vol. i. p. ix.

² *Ibid.* p. x.

³ *The Missionary Herald.* Boston, 1887, pp. 305 ff.

There is, indeed, an effort among students of comparative religions (*e. g.* Tiele, Müller, etc.), and of the Old Testament (*e. g.* Stade and others) to explain the Bible on naturalistic principles, and to show that it is not the product of the Divine mind, but rather of human minds gradually rising from the grossest superstitions of fetishism and animism to the sublimest conceptions of God and immortality. But such a theory does not account for the Bible. It leads us simply to the place where there is a great gulf fixed between human superstitions and Divine revelation.

Certainly one idea runs through the sixty-six books of the Bible from Genesis to Revelation, embracing a period of more than twelve hundred years, one Spirit animates it. It is the idea of the redemption of man, through an individual, a family, a people, and finally through the God-man.

II. In determining in what sense the Bible is the Word of God, we ought not to adopt an *a priori* method. If we do, we are liable to be led astray. According to such a theory, we may hold a mechanical or verbal or plenary hypothesis of inspiration, and may find that it is not sustained by the facts. Our theory should be determined by an inductive method. But whatever this may be, with the evidence that we have that the Bible is the Word of God, as demonstrated by its character and effects, no army of scientists or critics, however destructive, can shake our belief in the inspiration of the Scriptures. We do not need to put our fingers into the print of the nails of Scripture or thrust our hands into its side; our evidence is what we have seen and experienced of its power in the hearts of others as well as in our own.

Perhaps it is enough to say of Scripture that it possesses an essential inspiration. It is nowhere said in Scripture that it is infallible in matters of science and in the details of history and chronology; but that it is "profitable for teaching, for reproof, for correction, for instruction which is in righteousness." (2 Tim. iii. 16.) It was not designed, then, that the scientist should go to the Bible for ultimate science, although I do not imply by this that it is not in agreement with the established facts of science; it was designed that saving truth should be

conveyed in the language of the people, so that it could be readily understood.

We may, indeed, rejoice in the many confirmations of the accuracy of Scriptural statements in other matters, but we ought not to establish tests which the Scriptures do not themselves establish.

In all questions of ultimate duty and destiny, the Bible, in the light of the New Testament, is to be our unfailing guide, and we are to know no wisdom beyond its positive revelations and the principles which it inculcates.

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CIVILIZATION IN THE UNITED STATES.

MATTHEW ARNOLD'S ARTICLE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY FOR APRIL, 1888, WITH ANNOTATIONS.

Two or three years ago I spoke in this Review on the subject of America; and after considering the institutions and the social condition of the people of the United States, I said that what, in the jargon of the present day, is called "the political and social problem," does seem to be solved there with remarkable success. I pointed out the contrast which in this respect the United States offer to our own country, a contrast, in several ways, much to their advantage. But I added that the solution of the political and social problem, as it is called, ought not so to absorb us as to make us forget the human problem; and that it remained to ask how the human problem is solved in the United States. It happened that Sir Lepel Griffin, a very acute and distinguished Indian official, had just then been traveling in the United States, and had published his opinion, from what he saw of the life there, that there is no country calling itself civilized where one would not rather live than in America, except Russia. Certainly then, I said, one cannot rest satisfied, when one finds such a judgment passed on the United States as this, with admiring their institutions and their solid social condition, their freedom and equality, their power, energy, and wealth. One must, further, go on to examine what is done there towards solving the human problem, and must see what Sir Lepel Griffin's objection comes to.

[Sir Lepel Griffin most Americans regard as a man of very moderate natural ability. His book was so flippant and superficial that its conceit and insularity rather amused the few who read it among the people whom it failed to understand, but did not fail to libel. It passed as a boyish book, a mere skit, and is now forgotten. Mr. Arnold prejudices his cause as an opponent of Philistinism by making it lean, however lightly, on the authority of such an international Philistine as this little baronet.]

And this examination I promised that I would one day make. However, it is so delicate a matter to discuss how a sensitive nation solves the human problem, that I found myself inclined to follow the example of the Greek moralist Theophrastus, who waited, before composing his famous "Characters," until he was ninety-nine years old. I thought I had perhaps better wait until I was about that age, before I discussed the success of the Americans in solving the human problem. But ninety-nine is a great age; it is probable that I may never reach it, or even come near it. So I have determined, finally, to face the question without any such long delay, and

thus I come to offer to the readers of this Review the remarks following. With the same frankness with which I discussed here the solution of the political and social problem by the people of the United States, I shall discuss their success in solving the human problem.

Perhaps it is not likely that any one will now remember what I said three years ago here about the success of the Americans in solving the political and social problem. I will sum it up in the briefest possible manner. I said that the United States had constituted themselves in a modern age; that their institutions complied well with the form and pressure of those circumstances and conditions which a modern age presents. Quite apart from all question how much of the merit for this may be due to the wisdom and virtue of the American people, and how much to their good fortune, it is undeniable that their institutions do work well and happily. The play of their institutions suggests, I said, the image of a man in a suit of clothes which fits him to perfection, leaving all his movements unimpeded and easy; a suit of clothes loose where it ought to be loose, and sitting close where its sitting close is an advantage; a suit of clothes able, moreover, to adapt itself naturally to the wearer's growth, and to admit of all enlargements as they successively arise.

So much as to the solution, by the United States, of the political problem. As to the social problem, I observed that the people of the United States were a community singularly free from the distinction of classes, singularly homogeneous; that the division between rich and poor was consequently less profound there than in countries where the distinction of classes accentuates that division. I added that I believed there was exaggeration in the reports of their administrative and judicial corruption; and altogether, I concluded, the United States, politically and socially, are a country living prosperously in a natural modern condition, and conscious of living prosperously in such a condition. And being in this healthy case, and having this healthy consciousness, the community there uses its understanding with the soundness of health; it in general, as to its own political and social concerns, sees clear and thinks straight. Comparing the United States with ourselves, I said that while they are in this natural and healthy condition, we on the contrary are so little homogeneous, we are living with a system of classes so intense, with institutions and a society so little modern, so unnaturally complicated, that the whole action of our minds is hampered and falsened by it; we are in consequence wanting in lucidity, we do not see clear or think straight, and the Americans have here much the advantage of us.

Yet we find an acute and experienced Englishman saying that there is no country, calling itself civilized, where one would not rather live than in the United States, except Russia! The civilization of the United States must somehow, if an able man can think thus, have shortcomings, in spite of the country's success and prosperity. What is civilization? It is the humanization of man in society, the satisfaction for him, in society, of the true law of human nature. Man's duty, says Plato, is to discover the right answer

to the question *how to live?* our aim, he says, is very and true life. We are more or less civilized as we come more or less near to this aim, in that social state which the pursuit of our aim essentially demands. But several elements or powers, as I have often insisted, go to build up a complete human life. There is the power of conduct, the power of intellect and knowledge, the power of beauty, the power of social life and manners; we have instincts responding to them all, requiring them all. And we are perfectly civilized only when all these instincts in our nature, all these elements in our civilization, have been adequately recognized and satisfied. But of course this adequate recognition and satisfaction of all the elements in question is impossible; some of them are recognized more than others, some of them more in one community, some in another; and the satisfactions found are more or less worthy.

And meanwhile, people use the term *civilization* in the loosest possible way, for the most part attaching to it, however, in their own mind some meaning connected with their own preferences and experiences. The most common meaning thus attached to it is perhaps that of a satisfaction, not of all the main demands of human nature, but of the demand for the comforts and conveniences of life, and of this demand as made by the sort of person who uses the term.

Now, we should always attend to the common and prevalent use of an important term. Probably Sir Lepel Griffin had this notion of the comforts and conveniences of life much in his thoughts when he reproached American civilization with its shortcomings. For men of his kind, and for all that large number of men, so prominent in this country and who make their voice so much heard, men who have been at the public schools and universities, men of the professional and official class, men who do the most part of our literature and our journalism, America is not a comfortable place of abode. A man of this sort has in England everything in his favor; society appears organized expressly for his advantage. A Rothschild or a Vanderbilt can buy his way anywhere, and can have what comforts and luxuries he likes whether in America or in England. But it is in England that an income of from three or four to fourteen or fifteen hundred a year does so much for its possessor, enables him to live with so many of the conveniences of far richer people. For his benefit, his benefit above all, clubs are organized and hansom cabs ply; service is abundant, porters stand waiting at the railway stations. In America all luxuries are dear except oysters and ice; service is in general scarce and bad; a club is a most expensive luxury; the cab-rates are prohibitive — more than half of the people who in England would use cabs must in America use the horse cars, the tram. The charges of tailors and mercers are about a third higher than they are with us. I mention only a few striking points as to which there can be no dispute, and in which a man of Sir Lepel Griffin's class would feel the great difference between America and England in the conveniences at his command. There are a hundred other points one might mention, where he would feel the same thing. When a man is passing judgment on a country's civilization, points of this kind crowd to his memory, and determine his sentence.

On the other hand, for that immense class of people, the great bulk of the community, the class of people whose income is less than three or four hundred a year, things in America are favorable. It is easier for them there than in the Old World to rise and to make their fortune. But I am not now speaking of that. Even without making their fortune, even with their income below three or four hundred a year, things are favorable to them in America, society seems organized there for their benefit. To begin with, the humbler kind of work is better paid in America than with us, the higher kind worse. The official, for instance, gets less, his office-keeper gets more. The public ways are abominably cut up by rails and blocked with horse-cars ; but the inconvenience is for those who use private carriages and cabs, the convenience is for the bulk of the community who but for the horse-cars would have to walk. The ordinary railway cars are not delightful, but they are cheap, and they are better furnished, and in winter are warmer than third-class carriages in England. Luxuries are, as I have said, very dear — above all, European luxuries ; but a workingman's clothing is nearly as cheap as in England, and plain food is on the whole cheaper. Even luxuries of a certain kind are within a laboring man's easy reach. I have mentioned ice, I will mention fruit also. The abundance and cheapness of fruit is a great boon to people of small incomes in America. Do not believe the Americans when they extol their peaches as equal to any in the world, or better than any in the world ; they are not to be compared to peaches grown under glass. Do not believe that the American Newtown pippins appear in the New York and Boston fruit-shops as they appear in those of London and Liverpool ; or that the Americans have any pear to give you like the Marie Louise. But what laborer, or artisan, or small clerk, ever gets hot-house peaches, or Newtown pippins, or Marie Louise pears ? Not such good pears, apples, and peaches as those, but pears, apples, and peaches by no means to be despised, such people and their families do in America get in plenty.

Well, now, what would a philosopher or a philanthropist say in this case ? which would he say was the more civilized condition — that of the country where the balance of advantage, as to the comforts and conveniences of life, is greatly in favor of the people with incomes below three hundred a year, or that of the country where it is greatly in favor of those with incomes above that sum ?

Many people will be ready to give an answer to that question without the smallest hesitation. They will say that they are, and that all of us ought to be, for the greatest happiness of the greatest number. However, the question is not one which I feel bound now to discuss and answer. Of course, if happiness and civilization consist in being plentifully supplied with the comforts and conveniences of life, the question presents little difficulty. But I believe neither that happiness consists merely or mainly in being plentifully supplied with the comforts and conveniences of life, nor that civilization consists in being so supplied ; therefore I leave the question unanswered.

[The manner in which Mr. Arnold evades the fair inference from his own concession that American civilization secures the greatest good of the greatest number is very unmanly and well-nigh absurd, for it requires him to assert that the interests of the classes ought to be cultivated at the expense of the welfare of the masses — a tory and mediæval principle of the most odious description.]

I prefer to seek for some other and better tests by which to try the civilization of the United States. I have often insisted on the need of more equality in our own country, and on the mischiefs caused by inequality over here. In the United States there is not our intense division of classes, our inequality; there is great equality. Let me mention two points in the system of social life and manners over there in which this equality seems to me to have done good. The first is a mere point of form, but it has its significance. Every one knows it is the established habit with us in England, if we write to people supposed to belong to the class of gentlemen, of addressing them by the title of *Esquire*, while we keep *Mr.* for people not supposed to belong to that class. If we think of it, could one easily find a habit more ridiculous, more offensive? The title of *Esquire*, like most of our titles, comes out of the great frippery shop of the Middle Age; it is alien to the sound taste and manner of antiquity when men said *Pericles* and *Camillus*. But unlike other titles, it is applied or withheld quite arbitrarily. Surely, where a man has no specific title proper to him, the one plain title of *Master* or *Mr.* is enough, and we need not be encumbered with a second title of *Esquire*, now quite unmeaning, to draw an invidious and impossible line of distinction between those who are gentlemen and those who are not; as if we actually wished to provide a source of embarrassment for the sender of a letter, and of mortification for the receiver of it.

The French, those great authorities in social life and manners, find *Mr.* enough, and the Americans are more and more, I am glad to say, following the French example. I only hope they will persevere, and not be seduced by *Esquire* being "so English, you know." And I do hope, moreover, that we shall one day take the same course and drop our absurd *Esquire*.

The other point goes deeper. Much may be said against the voices and intonation of American women. But almost every one acknowledges that there is a charm in American women — a charm which you find in almost all of them, wherever you go. It is the charm of a natural manner, a manner not self-conscious, artificial, and constrained. It may not be a beautiful manner always, but it is almost always a natural manner, a free and happy manner; and this gives pleasure. Here we have, undoubtedly, a note of civilization, and an evidence, at the same time, of the good effect of equality upon social life and manners. I have often heard it observed that a perfectly natural manner is as rare among Englishwomen of the middle classes as it is general among American women of like condition with them. And so far as the observation is true, the reason of its truth no doubt is, that the Englishwoman is living in presence of an upper class, as it is called — in

presence, that is, of a class of women recognized as being the right thing in style and manner, and whom she imagines criticising *her* style and manner, finding this or that to be amiss with it, this or that to be vulgar. Hence self-consciousness and constraint in her. The American woman lives in presence of no such class; there may be circles trying to pass themselves off as such a class, giving themselves airs as such, but they command no recognition, no authority. The American woman in general is perfectly unconcerned about their opinion, is herself, enjoys her existence, and has consequently a manner happy and natural. It is her great charm; and it is moreover, as I have said, a real note of civilization, and one which has to be reckoned to the credit of American life, and of its equality.

But we must get nearer still to the heart of the question raised as to the character and worth of American civilization. I have said how much the word civilization really means — the humanization of man in society; his making progress there towards his true and full humanity. Partial and material achievement is always being put forward as civilization. We hear a nation called highly civilized by reason of its industry, commerce, and wealth, or by reason of its liberty or equality, or by reason of its numerous churches, schools, libraries, and newspapers. But there is something in human nature, some instinct of growth, some law of perfection, which rebels against this narrow account of the matter. And perhaps what human nature demands in civilization, over and above all those obvious things which first occur to our thoughts — what human nature, I say, demands in civilization, if it is to stand as a high and satisfying civilization, is best described by the word *interesting*. Here is the extraordinary charm of the old Greek civilization — that it is so *interesting*. Do not tell me only, says human nature, of the magnitude of your industry and commerce; of the beneficence of your institutions, your freedom, your equality; of the great and growing number of your churches and schools, libraries and newspapers; tell me also if your civilization — which is the grand name you give to all this development — tell me if your civilization is *interesting*.

An American friend of mine, Professor Norton, has lately published the early letters of Carlyle. If any one wants a good antidote to the unpleasant effect left by Mr. Froude's "Life of Carlyle," let him read those letters. Not only of Carlyle will those letters make him think kindly, but they will also fill him with admiring esteem for the qualities, character, and family life, as there delineated, of the Scottish peasant. Well, the Carlyle family were numerous, poor, and struggling. Thomas Carlyle, the eldest son, a young man in wretched health and worse spirits, was fighting his way in Edinburgh. One of his younger brothers talked of emigrating. "The very best thing he could do!" we should all say. Carlyle dissuades him. "You shall never," he writes, "you shall never seriously meditate crossing the great Salt Pool to plant yourself in the Yankee-land. That is a miserable fate for any one, at best; never dream of it. Could you banish yourself from all that is interesting to your mind, forget the history, the glorious institutions, the noble principles of old Scotland — that you might eat a better dinner, perhaps?"

There is our word launched — the word *interesting*. I am not saying that Carlyle's advice was good, or that young men should not emigrate. I do but take note, in the word *interesting*, of a requirement, a cry of aspiration, a cry not sounding in the imaginative Carlyle's own breast only, but sure of a response in his brother's breast also, and in human nature.

[The word *interesting*, on which so many changes are rung, means in Carlyle's use of it in application to his brother's case, simply *interesting to a Scotchman*. Many of Mr. Arnold's uses of the word mean only *interesting to an Englishman*, or, in a more narrow sense yet, *interesting to strictly academic tastes*. The insularity of such criticism when applied to a great nation which is neither Scotch nor English is amazing in a high degree. It may very well be that American civilization is not *interesting to a Scotchman or to an Englishman* who is hopelessly imprisoned in his local prejudices and yet be highly *interesting to an American*. Even Mr. Arnold says he does not advise young Britons not to emigrate to America. The tide of immigration shows that although American civilization is not interesting to the privileged classes it is to the masses and so very possibly in ultimate outcome may be *interesting to human nature*.]

Amiel, that contemplative Swiss whose journals the world has been reading lately, tells us that the "human heart is, as it were, haunted by confused reminiscences of an age of gold ; or rather, by aspirations towards a harmony of things which every-day reality denies to us." He says that the splendor and refinement of high life is an attempt by the rich and cultivated classes to realize this ideal, and is "a form of poetry." And the interest which this attempt awakens in the classes which are not rich or cultivated, their indestructible interest in the pageant and fairy tale, as to them it appears, of the life in castles and palaces, the life of the great, bears witness to a like imaginative strain in them also, a strain tending after the elevated and the beautiful. In short, what Goethe describes as "*was uns alle bandigt, das Gemeine* — that which holds us all in bondage, the common and ignoble," is, notwithstanding its admitted prevalence, contrary to a deep-seated instinct of human nature and repelled by it. Of civilization, which is to humanize us in society, we demand, before we will consent to be satisfied with it — we demand, however much else it may give us, that it shall give us, too, the *interesting*.

Now, the great sources of the *interesting* are distinction and beauty : that which is elevated, and that which is beautiful. Let us take the beautiful first, and consider how far it is present in American civilization. Evidently this is that civilization's weak side. There is little to nourish and delight the sense of beauty there. In the long-settled States east of the Alleghenies the landscape in general is not interesting, the climate harsh and in extremes. The Americans are restless, eager to better themselves and to make fortunes ; the inhabitant does not strike his roots lovingly down into the soil as in rural England. In the valley of the Connecticut you will find farm after farm which the Yankee settler has abandoned in order to go West, leaving the farm to some new Irish immigrant. The charm of

beauty which comes from ancientness and permanence of rural life the country could not yet have in a high degree, but it has it in an even less degree than might be expected. Then the Americans come originally, for the most part, from that great class in English society amongst whom the sense for conduct and business is much more strongly developed than the sense for beauty. If we in England were without the cathedrals, parish churches, and castles of the catholic and feudal age, and without the houses of the Elizabethan age, but had only the towns and buildings which the rise of our middle class has created in the modern age, we should be in much the same case as the Americans. We should be living with much the same absence of training for the sense of beauty through the eye, from the aspect of outward things. The American cities have hardly anything to please a trained or a natural sense for beauty. They have buildings which cost a great deal of money and produce a certain effect — buildings, shall I say, such as our Midland Station at St. Pancras ; but nothing such as Somerset House or Whitehall. One architect of genius they had — Richardson. I had the pleasure to know him ; he is dead, alas ! Much of his work was injured by the conditions under which he was obliged to execute it ; I can recall but one building, and that of no great importance, where he seems to have had his own way, to be fully himself ; but that is indeed excellent. In general, where the Americans succeed best in their architecture — in that art so indicative and educative of a people's sense for beauty — is in the fashion of their villa-cottages in wood. These are often original and at the same time very pleasing, but they are pretty and coquettish, not beautiful. Of the really beautiful in the other arts, and in literature, very little has been produced there as yet. I asked a German portrait-painter, whom I found painting and prospering in America, how he liked the country ? "How can an artist like it ?" was his answer. The American artists live chiefly in Europe ; all Americans of cultivation and wealth visit Europe more and more constantly. The mere nomenclature of the country acts upon a cultivated person like the incessant pricking of pins. What people in whom the sense for beauty and fitness was quick could have invented, or could tolerate, the hideous names ending in *ville*, the Briggsvilles, Higginsvilles, Jacksonvilles, rife from Maine to Florida ; the jumble of unnatural and inappropriate names everywhere ? On the line from Albany to Buffalo you have, in one part, half the names in the classical dictionary to designate the stations ; it is said that the folly is due to a surveyor who, when the country was laid out, happened to possess a classical dictionary ; but a people with any artist-sense would have put down that surveyor. The Americans meekly retain his names ; and indeed his strange Marcellus or Syracuse is perhaps not much worse than their congenital Briggville.

[The blunders in the names of a small percentage of American towns have been a subject for the wit and the serious censure of many American writers from Cooper's day and Washington Irving's to our own. Many such mistakes have been or will yet be corrected.]

So much as to beauty, and as to the provision, in the United States, for

the sense of beauty. As to distinction, and the interest which human nature seeks from enjoying the effect made upon it by what is elevated, the case is much the same. There is very little to create such an effect, very much to thwart it. Goethe says somewhere that "the thrill of awe is the best thing humanity has:" —

Das Schaudern ist der Menschheit bestes Theil.

But, if there be a discipline in which the Americans are wanting, it is the discipline of awe and respect. An austere and intense religion imposed on their Puritan founders the discipline of respect, and so provided for them the thrill of awe; but this religion is dying out. The Americans have produced plenty of men strong, shrewd, upright, able, effective; very few who are highly distinguished. Alexander Hamilton is indeed a man of rare distinction; Washington, though he has not the high mental distinction of Pericles or Cæsar, has true distinction of style and character. But these men belong to the pre-American age. Lincoln's recent American biographers declare that Washington is but an Englishman, an English officer; the typical American, they say, is Abraham Lincoln. Now Lincoln is shrewd, sagacious, humorous, honest, courageous, firm; he is a man with qualities deserving the most sincere esteem and praise, but he has not distinction.

In truth everything is against distinction in America, and against the sense of elevation to be gained through admiring and respecting it. The glorification of "the average man," who is quite a religion with statesmen and publicists there, is against it. The addiction to "the funny man," who is a national misfortune there, is against it. Above all, the newspapers are against it.

It is often said that every nation has the government it deserves. What is much more certain is that every nation has the newspapers it deserves. The newspaper is the direct product of the want felt; the supply answers closely and inevitably to the demand. I suppose no one knows what the American newspapers are, who has not been obliged, for some length of time, to read either those newspapers or none at all. Powerful and valuable contributions occur scattered about in them. But on the whole, and taking the total impression and effect made by them, I should say that if one were searching for the best means to efface and kill in a whole nation the discipline of respect, the feeling for what is elevated, one could not do better than take the American newspapers. The absence of truth and soberness in them, the poverty in serious interest, the personality and sensation-mongering, are beyond belief. There are a few newspapers which are in whole, or in part, exceptions. The "New York Nation," a weekly paper, may be paralleled with the "Saturday Review" as it was in its old and good days; but the "New York Nation" is conducted by a foreigner, and has an extremely small sale. In general, the daily papers are such that when one returns home one is moved to admiration and thankfulness not only at the great London papers, like the "Times" or the "Standard," but quite

as much at the great provincial newspapers too — papers like the “Leeds Mercury” and the “Yorkshire Post” in the north of England, like the *Sootsman*” and the “Glasgow Herald” in Scotland.

The Americans used to say to me that what they valued was news, and that this their newspapers gave them. I at last made the reply: “Yes, news for the servants’ hall!” I remember that a New York newspaper, one of the first I saw after landing in the country, had a long account, with the prominence we should give to the illness of the German Emperor or the arrest of the Lord Mayor of Dublin, of a young woman who had married a man who was a bag of bones, as we say, and who used to exhibit himself as a skeleton; of her growing horror in living with this man, and finally of her death. All this in the most minute detail, and described with all the writer’s powers of rhetoric. This has always remained by me as a specimen of what the Americans call news.

You must have lived amongst their newspapers to know what they are. If I relate some of my own experiences, it is because these will give a clear enough notion of what the newspapers over there are, and one remembers more definitely what has happened to oneself. Soon after arriving in Boston, I opened a Boston newspaper and came upon a column headed: “Tickings.” By *tickings* we are to understand news conveyed through the tickings of the telegraph. The first “ticking” was: “Matthew Arnold is sixty-two years old” — an age, I must just say in passing, which I had not then reached. The second “ticking” was: “Wales says, Mary is a darling;” the meaning being, that the Prince of Wales expressed great admiration for Miss Mary Anderson. This was at Boston, the American Athens. [Surprisingly unfair.] I proceeded to Chicago. An evening paper was given me soon after I arrived; I opened it, and found under a large-type heading, “*We have seen him arrive,*” the following picture of myself: “He has harsh features, supercilious manners, parts his hair down the middle, wears a single eyeglass and ill-fitting clothes.” Notwithstanding this rather unfavorable introduction, I was most kindly and hospitably received at Chicago. It happened that I had a letter for Mr. Medill, an elderly gentleman of Scotch descent, the editor of the chief newspaper in those parts, the “Chicago Tribune.” I called on him, and we conversed amicably together. Some time afterwards, when I had gone back to England, a New York paper published a criticism of Chicago and its people, purporting to have been contributed by me to the “Pall Mall Gazette” over here. It was a poor hoax, but many people were taken in and were excusably angry, Mr. Medill of the “Chicago Tribune” amongst the number. A friend telegraphed to me to know if I had written the criticism. I, of course, instantly telegraphed back that I had not written a syllable of it. Then a Chicago paper is sent to me; and what I have the pleasure of reading, as the result of my contradiction, is this: “Arnold denies; Mr. Medill [my old friend] refuses to accept Arnold’s disclaimer; says Arnold is a cur.”

[Mr. Arnold fails to discriminate between the first-class and the third-

class American newspapers. The latter have been broadened downward for mercenary reasons far too extensively; and so would English third-class papers be if the reading constituency were as large in England in proportion to the population as in the United States. The best journals are not broadened upward as fast as they should be. But the best American journalism is in its monthlies, and these Mr. Arnold fails to notice.]

I once declared that in England the born lover of ideas and of light could not but feel that the sky over his head is of brass and iron. And so I say that, in America, he who craves for the *interesting* in civilization, he who requires from what surrounds him satisfaction for his sense of beauty, his sense for elevation, will feel the sky over his head to be of brass and iron. The human problem, then, is as yet solved in the United States most imperfectly; a great void exists in the civilization over there: a want of what is elevated and beautiful, of what is interesting.

The want is grave; it was probably, though he does not exactly bring it out, influencing Sir Lepel Griffin's feelings when he said that America is one of the last countries in which one would like to live. The want is such as to make any educated man feel that many countries, much less free and prosperous than the United States, are yet more truly civilized; have more which is interesting, have more to say to the soul; are countries, therefore, in which one would rather live.

The want is graver because it is so little recognized by the mass of Americans; nay, so loudly denied by them. If the community over there perceived the want and regretted it, sought for the right ways of remedying it, and resolved that remedied it should be; if they said, or even if a number of leading spirits amongst them said: "Yes, we see what is wanting to our civilization, we see that the average man is a danger, we see that our newspapers are a scandal, that bondage to the common and ignoble is our snare; but under the circumstances our civilization could not well have been expected to begin differently. What you see are *beginnings*, they are crude, they are too predominantly material, they omit much, leave much to be desired — but they could not have been otherwise, they have been inevitable, and we will rise above them;" if the Americans frankly said this, one would have not a word to bring against it. One would *then* insist on no shortcoming, one would accept their admission that the human problem is at present quite insufficiently solved by them, and would press the matter no further. One would congratulate them on having solved the political problem and the social problem so successfully, and only remark, as I have said already, that in seeing clear and thinking straight on *our* political and social questions, we have great need to follow the example they set us on theirs.

But now the Americans seem, in certain matters, to have agreed, as a people, to deceive themselves, to persuade themselves that they have what they have not, to cover the defects in their civilization by boasting, to fancy that they well and truly solve, not only the political and social problem, but the human problem too. One would say that they do really hope to find in

tall talk and inflated sentiment a substitute for that real sense of elevation which human nature, as I have said, instinctively craves — and a substitute which may do as well as the genuine article. The thrill of awe, which Goethe pronounces to be the best thing humanity has, they would fain create by proclaiming themselves at the top of their voices to be “the greatest nation upon earth,” by assuring one another, in the language of their national historian, that “American democracy proceeds in its ascent as uniformly and majestically as the laws of being, and is as certain as the decrees of eternity.” [The unfairness of this to Mr. Bancroft is too atrocious to need comment.]

Or, again, far from admitting that their newspapers are a scandal, they assure one another that their newspaper press is one of their most signal distinctions. Far from admitting that in literature they have as yet produced little that is important, they play at treating American literature as if it were a great independent power; they reform the spelling of the English language by the insight of their average man. For every English writer they have an American writer to match. And him good Americans read; the Western States are at this moment being nourished and formed, we hear, on the novels of a native author called Roe, instead of those of Scott and Dickens. Far from admitting that their average man is a danger, and that his predominance has brought about a plentiful lack of refinement, distinction, and beauty, they declare in the words of my friend Colonel Higginson, a prominent critic at Boston, that “Nature said, some years since: ‘Thus far the English is my best race, but we have had Englishmen enough; put in one drop more of nervous fluid and make the American.’ And with that drop a new range of promise opened on the human race, and a lighter, finer, more highly organized type of mankind was born.” Far from admitting that the American accent, as the pressure of their climate and of their average man has made it, is a thing to be striven against, they assure one another that it is the right accent, the standard English speech of the future. It reminds me of a thing in Smollett’s dinner-party of authors. Seated by “the philosopher who is writing a most orthodox refutation of Bolingbroke, but in the mean time has just been presented to the Grand Jury as a public nuisance for having blasphemed in an alehouse on the Lord’s day” — seated by this philosopher is “the Scotchman who is giving lectures on the pronunciation of the English language.”

The worst of it is, that all this tall talk and self-glorification meets with hardly any rebuke from sane criticism over there. I will mention, in regard to this, a thing which struck me a good deal. A Scotchman who has made a great fortune at Pittsburgh, a kind friend of mine, one of the most hospitable and generous of men, Mr. Andrew Carnegie, published a year or two ago a book called “Triumphant Democracy,” a most splendid picture of American progress. The book is full of valuable information, but religious people thought that it insisted too much on mere material progress, and did not enough set forth America’s deficiencies and dangers. And a friendly clergyman in Massachusetts, telling me how he regretted this, and how apt the Americans are to shut their eyes to their own dangers, put into my

hands a volume written by a leading minister among the Congregationalists, a very prominent man, which he said supplied a good antidote to my friend Mr. Carnegie's book. The volume is entitled "Our Country." I read it through. The author finds in evangelical Protestantism, as the orthodox Protestant sects present it, the grand remedy for the deficiencies and dangers of America. On this I offer no criticism; what struck me, and that on which I wish to lay stress, is the writer's entire failure to perceive that such self-glorification and self-deception as I have been mentioning is one of America's dangers, or even that it is self-deception at all. He himself shares in all the self-deception of the average man among his countrymen, he flatters it. In the very points where a serious critic would find the Americans most wanting he finds them superior; only they require to have a good dose of evangelical Protestantism still added. "Ours is the elect nation," preaches this reformer of American faults—"ours is the elect nation for the age to come. We are the chosen people." Already, says he, "we are taller and heavier than other men, longer-lived than other men, richer and more energetic than other men, above all, of 'finer nervous organization' than other men. Yes, this people, who endure to have the American newspaper for their daily reading, and to have their habitation in Briggsville, Jacksonville, and Marcellus—this people is of finer, more delicate nervous organization than other nations! It is Colonel Higginson's 'drop more of nervous fluid,' over again. This 'drop' plays a stupendous part in the American rhapsody of self-praise. Undoubtedly the Americans are highly nervous, both the men and the women. A great Paris physician says that he notes a distinct new form of nervous disease, produced in American women by worry about servants. But this nervousness, developed in the race out there by worry, overwork, want of exercise, injudicious diet, and a most trying climate—this morbid nervousness our friends ticket as the fine susceptibility of genius, and cite it as a proof of their distinction, of their superior capacity for civilization! [The American climate includes that of the Gulf States as well as that of the Great Lake region, and it has everywhere very different electrical conditions from those of England, and is producing men of a new fineness of texture.] 'The roots of civilization are the nerves,' says our Congregationalist instructor again; 'and, other things being equal, the finest nervous organization will produce the highest civilization. Now, the finest nervous organization is ours.'

The new West promises to beat in the game of brag even the stout champions I have been quoting. Those belong to the old Eastern States; and the other day there was sent to me a California newspaper which calls all the Easterners "the unhappy denizens of a forbidding clime," and adds: "The time will surely come when all roads will lead to California. Here will be the home of art, science, literature, and profound knowledge."

[Mr. Arnolds lacks the sense of humor or he would perceive that Americans understand much of this tall talk to be humorous. If he had traveled more extensively he would have found that the storm of self-laudation in Australia is even more violent than in America. Both storms, however, if

the truth must be told, are in their real origin only new editions of British brag.]

Common-sense criticism, I repeat, of all this hollow stuff there is in America next to none. There are plenty of cultivated, judicious, delightful individuals there. They are our hope and America's hope; it is through their means that improvement must come. They know perfectly well how false and hollow the boastful stuff talked is; but they let the storm of self-laudation rage, and say nothing. For political opponents and their doings there are in America hard words to be heard in abundance; for the real faults in American civilization, and for the foolish boasting which prolongs them, there is hardly a word of regret or blame, at least in public. Even in private, many of the most cultivated Americans shrink from the subject, are irritable and thin-skinned when it is canvassed. Public treatment of it, in a cool and sane spirit of criticism, there is none. In vain I might plead that I had set a good example of frankness, in confessing over here, that, so far from solving our problems successfully, we in England find ourselves with an upper class materialized, a middle class vulgarized, and a lower class brutalized. But it seems that nothing will embolden an American critic to say firmly and aloud to his countrymen and to his newspapers, that in America they do not solve the human problem successfully, and that with their present methods they never can. Consequently the masses of the American people do really come to believe all they hear about their finer nervous organization, and the rightness of the American accent, and the importance of American literature [which is quite able to take care of itself and needs no defense here]; that is to say, they see things not as they are, but as they would like them to be; they deceive themselves totally. And by such self-deception they shut against themselves the door to improvement, and do their best to make the reign of *das Gemeine* eternal. In what concerns the solving of the political and social problem they see clear and think straight; in what concerns the higher civilization they live in a fool's paradise. This it is which makes a famous French critic speak of "the hard unintelligence of the people of the United States" — *la dure intelligence des Américains du Nord* — of the very people who in general pass for being specially intelligent — and so, within certain limits, they are. But they have been so plied with nonsense and boasting that outside those limits, and where it is a question of things in which their civilization is weak, they seem, very many of them, as if in such things they had no power of perception whatever, no idea of a proper scale, no sense of the difference between good and bad. And at this rate they can never, after solving the political and social problem with success, go on to solve happily the human problem, too, and thus at last to make their civilization full and interesting.

To sum up, then. What really dissatisfies in American civilization is the want of the *interesting*, a want due chiefly to the want of those two great elements of the interesting, which are elevation and beauty. And the want of these elements is increased and prolonged by the Americans being assured

that they have them when they have them not. And it seems to me that what the Americans now most urgently require is not so much a vast additional development of orthodox Protestantism, but rather a steady exhibition of cool and sane criticism by their men of light and leading over there. And perhaps the very first step of such men should be to insist on having for America, and to create, if need be, better newspapers.

To us, too, the future of the United States is of incalculable importance. Already we feel their influence much, and we shall feel it more. We have a good deal to learn from them ; we shall find in them, also, many things to beware of, many points in which it is to be hoped our democracy may not be like theirs. As our country becomes more democratic, the malady here may no longer be that we have an upper class materialized, a middle class vulgarized, and a lower class brutalized. But the predominance of the common and ignoble, born of the predominance of the average man, is a malady too. That the common and ignoble is human nature's enemy, that, of true human nature, distinction and beauty are needs, that a civilization is insufficient where these needs are not satisfied, faulty where they are thwarted, is an instruction of which we, as well as the Americans, may greatly require to take fast hold, and not to let go. We may greatly require to keep, as if it were our life, the doctrine that we are failures after all, if we cannot eschew vain boasting and vain imaginations, eschew what flatters in us the common and ignoble, and approve things that are truly excellent.

I have mentioned evangelical Protestantism. There is a text which evangelical Protestantism — and for that matter Catholicism too — translates wrong and takes in a sense too narrow. The text is that well-known one : "Except a man be born again he cannot see the kingdom of God." Instead of *again*, we ought to translate *from above* ; and instead of taking the kingdom of God in the sense of a life in heaven above, we ought to take it, as its speaker meant it, in the sense of the reign of saints, a renovated and perfected human society on earth, the ideal society of the future. In the life of such a society, in the life *from above*, the life born of inspiration or *the spirit* — in that life elevation and beauty are not everything ; but they are much, and they are indispensable. Humanity cannot reach its ideal while it lacks them : "Except a man be born *from above*, he cannot have part in the society of the future."

EXPERT OPINION ON MATTHEW ARNOLD'S ARTICLE ON AMERICAN CIVILIZATION.

LORD HOUGHTON once told me that the earlier American guests in London society were often censured as being too English in appearance and manner, and as wanting in a distinctive flavor of Americanism. He instanced Ticknor and Sumner ; and we can all remember that there were at first similar criticisms on Lowell. It is, indeed, a form of comment to which all Americans are subject in England, if they have the ill-luck to have color in their cheeks and not to speak very much through their noses ; in that case they are apt to pass for Englishmen by no wish of their own, and to be suspected of a little double-dealing when they hasten to reveal their birthplace. It very often turns out that the demand for a distinctive Americanism really seeks only the external peculiarities that made Joaquin Miller and Buffalo Bill popular ; an Americanism that can at any moment be annihilated by a pair of scissors. It is something, no doubt, to be allowed even such an amount of nationality as this ; and Washington Irving attributed the English curiosity about him to the fact that he held a quill in his fingers instead of sticking it in his hair, as was expected.

As a matter of fact, it will be generally claimed by Americans, I fancy, that whatever else their much-discussed nation may have, it has at least developed a temperament for itself ; "an ill-favored thing, but mine own," as Touchstone says of Audrey. There is no vanity or self-assertion involved in this, any more than when a person of blonde complexion claims not to be a brunette, or a brunette meekly insists upon not being regarded as fair-haired. If the American is expected to be in all respects the duplicate of the Englishman, and is only charged with inexpressible inferiority in quality and size, let us know it ; but if two hundred and fifty years of transplantation under a new sky and in new conditions have made any difference in the type, let us know that also. In truth, the difference is already so marked that Mr. Arnold himself concedes it at every step in his last essay, and had before stated it in very much the same terms which an American would have employed. In a paper entitled "From Easter to August," in the "Nineteenth Century" for September, 1887, he says frankly : "Our countrymen [namely, the English], with a thousand good qualities, are really perhaps a good deal wanting in lucidity and flexibility ;" and again in the same essay : "The whole American nation may be called intelligent, that is, quick." This would seem to be conceding the very point at issue between himself and the American writer whom he is criticising.

The same difference of temperament, in the direction of a greater quick-

ness — what the wit of Edmund Quincy once designated as “specific levity” — on the part of Americans, is certainly very apparent to every one of us who visits England; and not infrequently makes itself perceptible, even without a surgical operation, to our English visitors. Professor Tyndall is reported to have said — and if he did not say it, some one else pointed it out for him — that, whereas in his London scientific lectures he always had to repeat his explanations three times; first telling his audience, in advance, what his experiments were to accomplish, then, during the process, explaining what was being accomplished, and then at last recapitulating what had actually been done; he found it best, in America, to omit one, if not two, of these expositions. In much the same way, the director of a company of English comedians complained to a friend of mine that American audiences laughed a great deal too soon for them, and took the joke long before it was properly elucidated. In the same way an American author, who had formerly been connected with the “St. Nicholas” magazine, was told by a London publisher that the plan of it was all wrong. “These pages of riddles at the end, for instance; no child would ever guess them.” And though the American assured him that they were guessed regularly every month in twenty thousand families, the Englishman still shook his head. Certainly the difference between the national temperament will be doubted by no American public speaker in England who has had one of his hearers call upon him the next morning to express satisfaction in the clever anecdote which it had taken his English auditor a night’s meditation to comprehend.

It is impossible to overrate the value, in developing an independent national feeling in America, of the prolonged series of rather unamiable criticisms that have proceeded from the English press and public men since the days of Mrs. Trollope to our own day. It has de-colonized us; and all the long agony of the Civil War, when all the privileged classes in England, after denouncing us through long years for tolerating slavery, turned and denounced us yet more bitterly for abolishing it at the cost of our own heart’s blood, only completed the emancipation. The way out of provincialism is to be frankly and even brutally criticised; we thus learn not merely to see our own faults, which is comparatively easy, but to put our own measure on the very authority that condemns us; *voir le monde, c’est juger les juges*. We thus learn to trust our own temperament; to create our own methods; or, at least, to select our own teachers. At this moment we go to France for our art and to Germany for our science as completely as if there were no such nation as England in the world. The time may come when a careful study of even the despised American newspapers may reveal them to have been in one respect nearer to a high civilization than any of their European compeers; since all the leading American journals criticise their own contributors with the utmost freedom, while there does not seem to be a journal in London or Paris that even attempts that courageous candor. To dwell merely on the faults and follies of a nascent nation is idle; vitality is always hopeful; and to complain that a nation’s very strength carries with it plenty of follies and excesses is, as Joubert says, to

ask for a breeze that shall have the attribute of not blowing ; *demandeur du vent qui n'ait point de mobilité.*

THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON, in the *Independent*, April 26.
Cambridge, Mass.

There are two kinds of civilization, the broad civilization and the high civilization. The latter is Mr. Arnold's and the former is ours. His is a kind of ritualistic civilization described by himself as embracing what is "interesting." He does not use this word in its deepest signification. We are reminded of his use of a similar term several years ago in an almost precisely similar vein. He was one of many authors who were asked whether or not they were accustomed to drink wine, and what their reasons for abstinence or indulgence were. He answered that he drank claret daily because it added to the "agreeableness" of life. Now it is this agreeableness appealing to the mind, the eye, the ear, the taste, that makes life interesting to Mr. Arnold. But these are not the essentials of the broad civilization. They do not provide for feeding and clothing the poor, nor do they prevent crime and vice, nor do they teach the noble virtues of civil liberty and democracy. These, however, are the things that have been interesting to those who have worked out the American civilization.

But the question that now arises is whether, having built up a broad civilization, we can afford to neglect the high civilization. Are not many of Mr. Arnold's essentials at least needful to us, and would not the broad civilization and the high civilization, taken together, make the perfect civilization? If so, we must look to distinction and beauty, called by Mr. Arnold "the great sources of the interesting." Beauty we have not, except in Nature, which even there is not easily accessible to the masses. There is no beauty in our cities — no sense of beauty, no appreciation of beauty. Too severe in view of recent developments of architecture, east and west, and in both public and private buildings. We are dull and uncivilized in this respect. But we have had more examples of distinction than Mr. Arnold allows us. He accords to Alexander Hamilton rare distinction, is somewhat reluctant to give Washington the full measure of the compliment, and rules Lincoln out altogether. We are less chary in bestowing our titles of distinction, but perhaps not less discriminating.

The essayist's severest indictment is against our newspapers. We are with him heart and soul on this point. Our newspapers are neither elevated nor elevating. They are flippant, trivial, scurrilous, undignified, and low [with at least a score of exceptions]. Compared with English newspapers they are as mud to snow, as tin to gold. To illustrate, we may cite a recent editorial in the London "Times" on the death of Chief Justice Waite. It contained a just and thoroughly sympathetic and appreciative sketch of his life, and then gave a history and description of the Supreme Court of the United States, admirably suited to the needs of the reader unacquainted with our institutions. Suppose, now, that Chief Justice Coleridge should die ; would our newspapers give any information respecting the courts and judicial pro-

cedure of Great Britain? By no means; they would dwell upon his family scandal, give the gossip of his trip in this country, and, like as not, end their editorials with the question: Will Elliott F. wear mourning?

But Mr. Arnold is wrong in supposing that all this is not distasteful, is not disgusting, to a large class of Americans. There is constant criticism among us of the character of our newspapers. He is wrong too in saying that we laud our producers of books, and that for every Englishman distinguished in letters we have an American ready as offset. We have, it is true, a certain veneration for Irving, Hawthorne, Bryant, Longfellow, Emerson, Whittier, and Lowell [much too meek]; but we all say that we have none to take their places; we lament our literary outlook. And as for Americans reading Roe in preference to Scott and Dickens, one might as well say that Englishmen have given up the "Nineteenth Century" for the Salvationist "War Cry." We have our faults; we admit them; we bewail them. But we believe that we have some of the sturdy virtues of national character that will make it possible for us some time in the future to approach the perfect civilization. — *The Independent*, April 19.

With all its faults our climate *does* give us more sunshine, I am told, in six months than you see in two years in England. Somehow this sunshine, if it makes us too complaisant with ourselves and too self-satisfied — if it nourishes a national self-conceit — benefits us in many ways. It gives unbounded cheerfulness and sanity. I suspect it helps us "to think clear and see straight," as Mr. Arnold — than whom there is no better authority — has told us in a previous article we do. It has helped us to solve the political problem in a way, since it has been acknowledged by Mr. Arnold, that would have also pleased Aristotle and Plato, I am sure, if they could have lived to see it done.

This sunshine in our sky has, I am convinced, done other things for us besides. When we go to England we do not expect to find there Niagara Falls, and the wonders of the Yosemite, or the wheat fields and prairies of Dakota — a spectacle the like of which I am sure can be seen nowhere else — or the equal of our great inland seas, called lakes, or of the Mississippi River. It is because we think clear and see straight that we rejoice in having them, and do not, when we return from England, blame the English people or the English Parliament for not endowing similar institutions in the British Islands.

Is it not a fact that a beautiful sky — as a narrow, foggy one does also — gets somehow into thought and criticism; and that, while one breeds tolerance, a supposition that a man may live happily for a time without taking his distinctive home treasures with him when he travels, the other encourages a petulant, trivial, pessimistic hypercriticism, which cannot think apart from certain parochialisms left behind, and uses the measuring-tape of a small island for a cosmopolitan reckoning? Charles Lamb could understand how one man might hate another instinctively — a stranger whom he had never met — so thoroughly that he would begin to fight him on his first appear-

ance. Something in this way Carlyle always felt toward America, in spite of Emerson's friendship, and wholly so does Ruskin feel. New York is so depravedly unpicturesque in Ruskin's eyes that he could see an earthquake swallow it without feeling a pang. He could come here and be royally welcomed at any time, but how can he until there is some way found to pack up a cathedral and a "ruins" to bring over along with his bath-tub?

If Mr. Arnold could only think that Mr. Emerson is a writer equal to Addison, or that Mr. Hawthorne and Mr. Lowell have not dabbled with ink wholly in vain, we should mention these writers, along with a few others, as being creditable to a young nation. But, while Mr. Arnold prefers Addison to Emerson, what can one say? [Hear, hear!] Nothing, perhaps, except *De gustibus*, etc. Perhaps — without wishing in the slightest degree to be invidious — we should inquire here what books "an upper class materialized, a middle class vulgarized, and a lower class brutalized" most eagerly devour. If we could find that one thing out, we might, perhaps, get some virtues we do not now possess. It has been our pride that, though we were the first and best patrons of Carlyle, Ruskin, and Matthew Arnold have nothing to say which is not quickly read here. Perhaps it should not be a matter of pride, but it is a matter of fact, that access to the best things that have been thought and said in the world is here had by more millions, and is made use of as it is not had and is not made use of anywhere else in the wide world. In this way we have cast seed forth for a great crop on behalf of literary culture and humanization — although a full harvest is not yet come. But it ought to come; and we shall not be wholly discouraged if some English observer, looking over our fences, complains that the April seeding is not ready to reap in May.

Burke said that you cannot draw an indictment against a whole people. But Burke did not know how nearly a literary critic can come to doing it. Among sixty millions of people there will be found numerous samples of any sort. The diversified instances will suffice to prove anything. What is wanted is to set one's perspective of these elements to suit his feelings, or to emphasize his discomforts while he is here. If it be Hepworth Dixon's perspective, we shall be mainly Mormons, Oneida Communists, or Shakers. The Trollope and the early Dickens perspectives are well known, and have worked equally well. Now, there is nothing which Mr. Arnold says which does not rest upon *some* verifiable foundations, like these, and nothing which is damaging to us which does not have its mitigations, or which is not in the line of a process which will some day lessen the gravamen of the complaint. A nation which won freedom of speech and worship from the first, and freedom of soil by cutting out, at such tremendous and unheard-of cost, a cancer which our critic's nation implanted here, is not in the worst way possible. It still has faults to cure; but it can count for their remedy on the same heroic intelligence and sane perspective through which it has fought its former battles. It cannot show the flower of an ideal civilization; but it shows the lusty stalk where some day such a flower has the most hope of being nourished and found.

Our newspapers are vulnerable enough, and we have ourselves often accused them. Yet they have the merits of their defects. They show levity, and have bad manners, but they are never stupid. Along with much that is not true news and that is offensive, they give columns of genuine news promptly and bountifully. Their enterprise in doing this is a miracle of modern times. They spare no expense, shirk no amount of toil, and are sure to enter upon a new evolution forward when a little louder demand comes. One of them printed entire, as news — and justly — Mr. Arnold's present criticism, and it can now be read "in the servants' hall." When Carlyle gave his Inaugural Address, as rector of the Edinburgh University, it was promptly reproduced here by some of our papers as one of the most important events of the day before. This, indeed, it was. Certainly the salt of some civilization has not been denied to our press when such things can be habitually done here. I have not heard whether any English paper gave Mr. Emerson's "Phi Beta Kappa" address at Yale College, many years ago, a similar distinction. I should be surprised to hear that it did; and doubt if one in ten able English editors would have got, in trying to give it, the geographical ascription of the college correctly.

Mr. Arnold's acute and various criticism is most readable and piquant. And it is not offensive in itself. It comes nearest to being grotesque and offensive, however, in employing Sir Lepel Griffin's cheap observations here — cheap in every sense — as a background for his own utterance. We must ask now, as we had to ask when he came, Who is Sir Lepel Griffin? Unreasonable as Sir Lepel was, nobody here was offended at him, or took him seriously even. For, portentous as the mythical griffin is, the Lepel variety was merely amusing. He spoke with no voice behind him, and with no intelligence or opportunity for information, necessary to give him respect. A very cultured Englishman, who knows his own country and this country thoroughly, told me, after Sir Lepel came, that this species of intelligence, which sometimes inflicts itself on the Anglo-Indian service, and gets itself mightily puffed up thereby, is a source of sore affliction to England. The homunculus mind returns, in official costume and rank, and finds everything wrong and unendurable in England itself. So it pierces with its puny mosquito forceps the old home it left and has been so long absent from — much to the said home's benefit, and much more would be the benefit if its absence were eternal — and makes the very air sour with wholesale and trivial complaint.

I remember what amusing spleen was manifested by this mental pygmy when he said that the only pretty girls in America were those to be found in Detroit. But the spleen lay in the reason given for it — which was because that city was so near to Canada that the girls from the British dominions, or their parents from there, come over to Detroit to live. There are no statistics shown — none could have been procurable in two weeks — to prove this; and the darkness of mind was apparent in being so obtuse as not to see that if the theory had validity there should be just as many pretty women in Buffalo as in Detroit, and a fair contingent of them wherever the British dominions skirted our boundary.

One, however, need not and cannot argue with Sir Lepel. As the French proverb says, "For the fool there is no cure." Least of all is it suitable to supply him with reasons, though they were plentiful as blackberries. But with Mr. Arnold we must somehow deal. Queer as his perspective often is, and loosely as he sometimes generalizes, we respect the deep and bright intelligence with which he always enlightens us. Whether he is cutting out a cancer or a pound of healthy flesh, there is some enjoyment for us in seeing how cleverly he cuts. As I have remarked, he sometimes gives himself a *bizarre* perspective, which no other man could have possibly invented, and he always carries the English island on his back — two quite serious defects. 'T is a pity to see so much ground cleared, a few obvious things so well said, illuminating phrases all along the track, and at the end a whimsical conclusion. With a culture which should make him broad and tolerant, he sees almost nothing of the mitigations of time, circumstance, and position. It is a leaving out of the picture of great essentials undisclosed even by the dim distance to put what one would not think of, so trivial is it, in the direct foreground.

If we have any spark of awe and reverence, it is for great ability and great power honestly used. The typical American has got somewhat healthily cleared of cant by this time, and is not a born snob. A duke or lord would greatly pique his curiosity, but even a king or queen would not awe him. The American President, while he lasts, is, for us, quite as good as a king or queen, and, if we wonder sometimes at his greatness, we do not forget that we are his creator.

Among castles and palaces, on a visit even, we may gather awe — unless the fact that our New York and Baltimore millionaires are renting them and their domains for a summer outing disillusionize us!

JOEL BENTON, in *Christian Union*, April 26.

Matthew Arnold has often been esteemed greater as a critic than as a poet. To this we demur. His criticism is always fine, always marked by distinction, generally true, but a little thin. It is a criticism of a poet who discriminates in his subject what most interests him, and leaves the rest without remark. His theology or anti-theology is a mere series of superficial observations made on the nature of man. — *The Spectator*, London, April 21.

THE NATIONAL PROHIBITION CONVENTION.

ONE thousand and thirty-two delegates, about one hundred of them women, gathered in the Tomlinson Hall, Indianapolis, Wednesday morning, May 30. Every State, except South Carolina and Louisiana, and all the Territories but four — Arizona, Nevada, Idaho, and Wyoming — were represented. It was a gathering of the home-folk, but included nearly every leading nationality.

Not a taint of tobacco smoke was in the corridors; not a breath betrayed the fumes of alcohol. Clear-eyed, kind-faced, well-dressed, these men and women were familiar with the inside of the school-house, the church, the home, but not with that of the saloon.

Promptly at 10 o'clock A. M. the manly form of Samuel Dickie, chairman of the national committee, was seen upon the gayly decorated platform, and he called the other members of the committee and the national officers of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union to the front, amid great applause. Then James Black of Pennsylvania, the party's first candidate for president, John Russell of Michigan, its founder, John P. St. John, its last candidate, and Neal Dow, the father of prohibition, stood in line on the platform, amid the hurrahs of the Convention. Then "America" was sung, and Rev. Sam Small of Georgia led in prayer. In a brief but happy speech, Professor Dickie congratulated the party on its steady growth, proposing that it should make a coffin of ballot-boxes, weave a shroud from ballots, and bury the saloon in the "Bloody Chasm." Rev. Mr. Delano of Connecticut was made temporary chairman. He said the Democratic party was an interrogation point, "What are you going to do about it?" The Republican was an exclamation point, "a tear on the end of its nose," "Alas! Oh!" but the Prohibition party was a period, "We'll put a stop to it."

Governor St. John was made permanent chairman, and Sam Small of Georgia, J. B. Cranfell of Texas, and Mrs. M. McClellan Brown of Ohio, secretaries.

The committee on resolutions, after eight hours of consultation, brought in the following platform:—

PLATFORM.

"The Prohibition party, in national convention assembled, acknowledging Almighty God as the source of all power in government, do hereby declare—

"1. That the manufacture, importation, exportation, transportation, and sale of alcoholic beverages should be made public crimes, and prohibited as such.

"2. That such prohibition must be secured through amendments of our national and state constitutions, enforced by adequate laws adequately supported by administrative authority; and to this end the organization of the Prohibition party is imperatively demanded in State and Nation.

"3. That any form of license, taxation, or regulation of the liquor traffic is contrary to good government; that any party which supports regulation, license, or tax enters into alliance with such traffic, and becomes the actual foe of the State's welfare; and that we arraign the Republican and Democratic parties for their persistent attitude in favor of the licensed iniquity, whereby they oppose the demand of the people for prohibition, and, through open complicity with the liquor crime, defeat the enforcement of law.

"4. For the immediate abolition of the internal revenue system, whereby our national government is deriving support from our greatest national vice.

"5. That, an adequate public revenue being necessary, it may properly be raised by import duties, and by an equitable assessment upon the property and legitimate business of the country, but import duties should be so reduced that no surplus shall be accumulated in the treasury, and that the burdens of taxation shall be removed from foods, clothing, and other comforts and necessities of life.

"6. That the right of suffrage rests on no mere accident of race, color, sex, or nationality, and that where, from any cause, it has been withheld from citizens who are of suitable age and mentally and morally qualified for the exercise of an intelligent ballot, it should be restored by the people through the legislatures of the several States, on such educational basis as they may deem wise.

"7. That civil-service appointments for all civil offices, chiefly clerical in their duties, should be based upon moral, intellectual, and physical qualifications, and not upon party service or party necessity.

"8. For the abolition of polygamy and the establishment of uniform laws governing marriage and divorce.

"9. For prohibiting all combinations of capital to control and to increase the cost of products for popular consumption.

"10. For the preservation and defense of the Sabbath as a civil institution without oppressing any who religiously observe the same on any other day than the first day of the week.

"11. That arbitration is the Christian, wise, and economic method of settling national differences, and that the same method should, by judicious legislation, be applied to the settlement of disputes between large bodies of employees and employers. That the abolition of the saloon would remove burdens, moral, physical, pecuniary, and social, which now oppress labor and rob it of its earnings, and would prove to be the wise and successful way of promoting labor reform, and that we invite labor and capital to unite with us for the accomplishment thereof. That monopoly in land is a wrong to the people, and that the public land should be reserved to actual settlers, and that men and women should receive equal wages for equal work.

"12. That our immigration laws should be so enforced as to prevent the introduction into our country of all convicts, inmates of other dependent institutions, and all others physically incapacitated for self-support, and that no person should have the ballot in any State who is not a citizen of the United States.

"Recognizing and declaring that prohibition of the liquor traffic has become the dominant issue in national politics, we invite to full party fellowship all those who, on this one dominant issue, are with us agreed, in the full belief that this party can and will remove sectional differences, promote national unity, and insure the best welfare of our entire land."

This platform was unanimously adopted, except that Professor John M. Olin of Wisconsin dissented from the woman suffrage plank. A remarkable debate of three hours now occurred, conducted with admirable spirit, and resulting in the adoption of the suffrage plank with but thirty-eight dissenting votes.

The scene that followed was memorable. Cheers, laughter, hurrahs, handshakings; hats, canes, parasols, and handkerchiefs in air; tears in the eyes of strong men and streaming down the

cheeks of the old ; "Thank God !" sounding from many a lip, as hands were clasped in loyalty and gratitude. The Southern delegates stood by almost to a man, and showed a noble and chivalric spirit, Sam Small leading in this wonderful demonstration of the new America.

"This is a holy place," said a calm, noble-looking man on the platform. "This is the storm centre of Christ's kingdom on the earth." These words express the almost universal feeling. There never was before upon this continent a scene so prophetic of a redeemed humanity.

In this platform the word Christian occurs perhaps for the first time in the history of American politics.

General Clinton B. Fisk of New York was nominated for the presidency, amid great enthusiasm, and Rev. Dr. John A. Brooks, the great temperance leader of Missouri, was nominated for vice-president. Colonel George W. Bain of Kentucky and Rev. Sam Small of Georgia were also nominated by several delegations for vice-president, but insisted upon withdrawing their names.

Thirty thousand dollars were subscribed for campaign purposes.

The convention was an immense success every way. Rev. Dr. John Bascom, ex-president of Wisconsin University, was a delegate ; also Father Mahoney, a Catholic priest of Minnesota, Professor Scoup of Georgia University, Bishop Turner of Georgia, also Rev. Mr. Hector of California, and Rev. Mr. Grandison of Georgia, — three wonderfully gifted colored men.

A resolution urging scientific temperance instruction in the public schools was adopted, also one insisting on the rights of the colored man. The latter was introduced by Mr. Grandison, a colored student in Clark University, Georgia, seconded by Rev. Sam Small, and was adopted unanimously.

Prof. Samuel Dickie was reëlected chairman and J. H. Hobbs of Chicago, secretary, of the national committee.

A committee of ten, with Chairman Dickie at their head, was chosen to bear the formal announcement of the Convention's action to General Fisk. This committee includes two ladies : Miss Willard of Illinois and Mrs. Hoffman of Missouri. This was another of the great Convention's new departures.

There was fine music by the Silver Lake Quartette, Herbert Quartette, Nebraska Quartette (ladies), and "Jinglers " (mellow-voiced colored men), who invariably brought down the house.

The gavel used by Ex-Governor St. John was presented by the Kansas delegation, and was made from a bit of the telegraph pole on which he was hung in effigy in Topeka, where for two terms he had been governor, applauded and beloved.

At eleven o'clock on the second night the great Convention closed with the Doxology and prayer.

There was a rare memorial exercise on Decoration Day, five hundred soldiers of the Blue and Gray being assembled. There was also an oratorical contest for the Demorest prize medal (prohibition speeches required), and an intercollegiate contest arranged by Mr. Mills, with original speeches on the same great theme. Thus every opportunity was utilized for awakening public sentiment.

At every session the hall, holding five thousand people, was crowded. The Convention outran the expectations of its friends and followers. It was wonderfully earnest, eloquent, devout. It marks a new epoch in Christian civilization.

FRANCES E. WILLARD.

Evanston, Ill., June 1, 1888.

MISS WILLARD'S SPEECH, DECORATION DAY, INDIANAPOLIS.

THE GREATEST PARTY.

HERE side by side sit the Blue and the Gray. No other than the Prohibition party ever dared to be so great as to ordain a scene like this. I speak the words of truth and — soberness.

What a circle we have here ! Sweep the compasses of thought through its circumference. Prohibition, first of all, the fixed point whence we calculate all others. The Blue and the Gray, the workingmen, the women. Inclosed and shielded by this circle is the home — that goes without saying ; and beyond its shining curve is the saloon, out-matched, out-witted, and out-voted, which, in a republic, is best of all. For the fiat of the greatest party has gone forth, and we are here simply to set our seals to it ; no saloon in politics or law, no sectionalism in law or politics, no sex in citizenship, but liberty, equality, fraternity in politics and law, now and forevermore.

This is our platform in a nutshell, and it is a platform of four ideas at least.

When, in all history, were such matchless issues espoused by such magnanimous men ?

There are two other parties ; big but not great ; multitudinous, not masterful. Their tissue is adipose, not muscular. The issues of the one are made literally out of whole cloth, of all-wool tariff, warranted to wash in yet one more campaign, and the ensanguined shirt warranted never to be washed at all. Those of the other are spoils and Bourbonism. They will soon rally their respective clans to their stereotyped, old-fashioned conventions in Chicago and St. Louis, prepared to fight, bleed, and die for their country and its offices once more. Not a woman will be in their delegations. A woman might displace some man. Not a word about the home. No decisive utterance as to the greatest of our national perils.

Probably women would not attend these conventions, even were their presence sought. They certainly could not hold their own at the bar of the saloon, while in the greatest party they are only required to hold their own at the bar of public opinion.

Meanwhile, as if to set before these brethren a loftier example, the greatest party welcomes here the home folks to equal opportunities and honors, and rallies here a remnant of the noble veterans who have learned that it is good to forgive, best to forget, attesting by this splendid and

fraternal object-lesson, that one party spells "nation" with the tallest kind of a capital "N" — one that indeed includes "the *people* of these United States" — and that the Blue and the Gray are to us emblems of nothing less than the blue sky that bends its tender arch above us all, and the gray ocean that enfolds one country and one flag.

" Angels look downward from the skies
Upon no holier ground,
Than where defeated valor lies
By generous foemen crowned."

How Grant would have rejoiced to look upon a scene like this — he whose most memorable words were, "Let us have peace!" by whose sick bed sat General Buckner of the Confederate army, and to whose recent birthday celebration rallied Fitz Hugh Lee and other Southern braves!

The leaders of the party that was great when great Lincoln was its chief are pleased in these days of its fatal degeneracy to call us "the Saint Johnites." He is our patron saint — Heaven bless him! — who laid himself upon the altar of our sacred cause, and in the flame of partisan wrath that followed the defeat of 1884 proved to be a whole burnt-offering, yet I present him to you here to-night, one of the most gallant Union soldiers, "without the smell of fire upon his garments."

That party dare not gather Blue and Gray at its convention lest they should spoil its ammunition and tip one chief plank of its platform into the last ditch. What would it do if thus ruthlessly deprived of that time-worn utterance about a "free ballot and a fair count," which in its long years of supremacy it has proved itself impotent to secure, while the greatest party, by dividing the white vote into two hostile camps on the prohibition issue, is opening a straight path for the black man to the polls?

The women who uniformed their sons in Southern gray, and said, like the Spartan mother of old, "Come ye as conquerors or come ye no more," are here to-night with those other women who belted Northern swords upon their boys in blue, with words as pitiless and brave. The women who embroidered stars and stripes upon the blessed flag that symbolized their love and faith, to-day have only gentle words for those who decked their "bonny flag of stars and bars" with tenderness as true and faith as fervent. The greatest party seats these women side by side to-night, and we all wear our snowy badge of peace above the hearts that hate no more, while we clasp hands in a compact never to be broken, and solemnly declare, before high heaven, our equal hatred of the rum power and our equal loyalty to God and home and native land.

What hath God wrought? Surely a winsome thing is the human heart. It went against the grain for us to hate each other, did it not, dear Southern friends and allies? Never in history was there a war involving so little personal animosity. The French by nature hate the English, and speak about "perfidious Albion," and we know that "lands intersected by a narrow frith abhor each other," but our great unsevered continent was meant

for an unsevered people, and "man breaks not the medal when God cuts the die." One Anglo-Saxon race, having one heritage of a queenly language and a heroic history of hardships mutually borne — it was hard for us to hate each other. The soldiers learned this first, brave and chivalric fellows, and they helped to teach us stay-at-homes the gracious lesson of fraternity. How often was the rude wreath of leaves placed on the grave of a Confederate by the Union soldier who had killed and yet who had wept over him ! The fury of the non-combatant was almost the only fury that survived Grant's brotherly words to Lee at Appomattox.

Devoted to the stars and stripes, the sentiment of patriotism having been, from childhood, like a fire in the bones with me, I have wept over the flag for love of which great Stonewall Jackson and gallant Albert Sidney Johnston died. Nor do I envy the Northern patriot who can read without a tugging of the heart that wondrous poem by Father Ryan, the Southern Catholic priest, about "The Sword of Lee," and I can hardly trust myself to repeat his requiem of the Southern flag.

" Fold that banner, for 't is weary ;
Round its staff 't is floating dreary,
Furl it, fold it ; it is best ;
For there 's not a man to wave it,
And there 's not a sword to save it,
And there 's not one left to lave it
In the blood that heroes gave it,
And its foes now scorn and brave it ;
Furl it, hide it, let it rest.

" Furl that banner, furl it sadly ;
Once ten thousands hailed it gladly,
And ten thousands wildly, madly
Swore it should forever wave,
Swore that foeman's sword should never
Hearts like theirs entwined dis sever,
Till that flag should float forever
O'er their freedom or their grave.

" Furl that banner, softly, slowly ;
Treat it gently, it is holy,
For it droops above the dead.
Touch it not, unfold it never,
Let it drop there, furled forever,
For its people's hopes are dead."

Not that I loved that flag. No, indeed. I loved the slave too well not to desire its downfall ; but then, so many brave hearts bled for it, so many gentle women wept, that I could be sincerely sorry for their grief, and yet be loyal to an emancipated race and my own glorious North. When the troops were mustered out in 1865, we little dreamed that less than ten years later the home guards of the land would be mustered into the war of the crusade. God bless the crusade State, the veteran of our army !

As the sequel of that mighty movement, God's pentecost of power upon the nations, behold the women who, only a year ago, went to the polls to persuade men to cast their ballot for prohibition in Oregon and Texas, in Michigan and Tennessee. If the voters of the greatest party are true to us as we have been and will be true to them, ten years hence we will help those who were beaten in four States that stood for constitutional prohibition in 1885, with our guns that are ballots, as we are now helping with our bullets that are ideas.

I never expected to speak with pride about the solid South as such, but surely I may do this now that it is becoming solid for the "dry ticket," and you who dwell there may be glad that the Northern heart is fired once more, this time with the same war-cry as that which fires the Southern, and it is "protection for our homes." That is the spell to conjure by. That is the rallying call of North and South, Protestant and Catholic, of white and black, of men and women equally. Bourbon Democrat and Radical Republican will seek in vain to stifle this swift-swelling chorus, that "Chorus of the Union," for which great Lincoln vainly prayed in his first inaugural. Do you not recall his marvelous concluding sentence (I quote from memory): "The mystic chords of memory, stretching from many a sacred hearth and patriot's grave, all over this broad land, shall once more swell the chorus of the Union when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angel of our nature." That angel is the temperance reform, and the fulfillment of that prophecy we have lived to see.

The greatest party stands for nationalism as against sectionalism; it stands for the noblest aims and aspirations of the wage-worker as against monopolies that dare to profane that holy word, "trust"; it stands for the future in politics as against the past, the home vote with an educational test as against the saloon vote with a beer-breath as its credentials; and, best of all, it stands for the everlasting and absolute prohibition of sin as against any alliance between sin and the government. For while the greatest party will never hesitate to be the champion of these causes good and great, so closely linked with its own central purposes, neither must it fail to put prohibition by law and prohibition by politics so far in the lead that no candid man can for a moment question the august supremacy of these over-mastering issues. We are firmly persuaded that the separation of the people into two distinct armies, one voting for men who will outlaw the poison curse, and the other for men who will legalize it, must come, and that such separation cannot come too soon. We are not here to speak harsh words of armies rallied under other ensigns, but simply to declare that in this great emergency we cannot depend upon them. Party machinery and the ambition of party leaders to-day stand between the people and their opportunity. We would clear the track for prohibition. We are bound to do it. For that were we born, and for that came we into this world.

When I think of Lexington and Paul Revere; when I think of Bunker Hill and the dark redoubt where General Warren died; when I think of Washington, that greatest of Southerners, upon his knees in prayer at

Valley Forge; when I think of Stonewall Jackson praying before he fought; of Robert Lee's and Sidney Johnston's stainless shields; when I remember Sheridan's ride (alas! that the hero of Winchester hears the stealthy steps of the Pale Horse whose unrelenting Rider comes to bear him away from a grateful and admiring people into the Silent Land), and Sherman's march to the sea with the boys in blue behind him, and Grant fighting the battle out and on to the glorious triumph of our Northern arms, then my heart prophesies with all a patriot's gratitude, America will win as against the awful tyranny of King Alcohol and King Gambrinus, and proud am I to have a part in it, for, thank God, I — I, too, am an American.

Bound together by one mutual faith in Mary T. Lathrop of Michigan and Sallie F. Chapin of South Carolina; cemented by the martyr blood of Iowa's George B. Haddock and Mississippi's Roderick Dhu Gambrell; made one by the pride we feel for these grand old pioneers, John Russell, the father of our party; James Black, its earliest presidential candidate; Gideon T. Stewart and H. W. Thompson; St. John and Daniel, the heroes of a latter day and a more dreadful crisis; Green Clay Smith and Samuel Dickie, Hopkins and Brooks, Clinton B. Fisk and George W. Bain, and glorious old Neal Dow, the father of prohibition for the world, surely temperance people of the North and South may well say each to the other, "Where thou goest I will go; where thou lodgest I will lodge; thy people shall be my people, and thy God my God. The Lord do so to me and more, also, if aught but death part thee and me."

Here upon Indiana's genial soil, midway between the sections that shall ere long be sections no more, but part of the greatest party's family circle, gracious and great, let us unitedly say to the fire-eaters of the South on the one side and the chasm-diggers of the North on the other: —

" Oh, meaner folks of narrower souls,
Heirs of ignoble thought,
Stir not the camp-fire's blackened coals,
Blood-drenched by those who fought,
Lest out of heaven a fire shall yet
Bear God's own vengeance forth
On those who once again would set
Discord 'twixt South and North."

In the spring of 1863 two great armies were encamped on either side of the Rappahannock River, one dressed in blue and one in gray. As twilight fell, the bands of music on the Union side began to play the martial strains, "The Star Spangled Banner" and "Rally 'Round the Flag," and that musical challenge was taken up by those on the other side, who responded with the "Bonnie Blue Flag" and "Away Down South in Dixie." After a while it was borne in upon the soul of a single soldier in one of those bands of music to begin a sweeter and more tender air, and slowly as he played it they joined with all the instruments on the Union side until finally a great and mighty chorus swelled up and down our army, "Home, Sweet Home." When they had finished there was no challenge over yonder, and every Con-

federate band had taken up that lovely air, so attuned to all that is holiest and dearest, and one great chorus of the two great hosts went up to God; and when they had finished came from the boys in gray a challenge, "Three cheers for home," and as these cheers went resounding through the skies from both sides of the river, "Something upon the soldier's cheek washed off the stain of powder."

Fellow soldiers in the fight for a clear brain, I am proud to belong to an army which makes kindred of those who once stood in arms against each other. Let us cherish North Carolina's motto from Isaiah's words: "Fear not, I am with thee; I will bring thy seed from the east and gather them from the west; I will say to the north *give up*, and to the south *keep not back*, being my sons from afar, and my daughters from the ends of the earth." I am glad of these good times, and I think we women are in them, equal members of the greatest party, as we have been since the day of its birth.

It shall shine more and more
Till its glory like noontide shall be.
It shall shine more and more
Till the home from the dram-shop is free.
It shall shine more and more
Till the nation Christ's glory shall see.

BOSTON HYMN.

VOLCANO CRESTS.

SUNG AT TREMONT TEMPLE,
AT THE 199TH BOSTON MONDAY LECTURE, MARCH 5, 1888.

1. WHEN the eagle and the sparrow
Both shall build their only nests
On the hot, uncertain edges
Of unspent volcano crests,
2. What shall purge a poisoned nation,
What assuage its giddy heat?
Who shall calm avenging earthquakes
Boiling under bloody feet?
3. When the land is young no longer,
But grown old in chronic sins,
When the strife of class with classes
Both for bread and breath begins;
4. When the poor shall swarm with riot,
And the magic checks of trade
Stretch between the hungry worker
And the work his hands have made;
5. When the social vultures thicken,
And the strong the weak devour;
When the corpses of the people
Strew the stairways up to power;
6. When loud Faction sends its foxes
Blazing through the standing corn,
From the firebrands of the Furies,
Who shall save a world forlorn?

7. Through the ages crieth Wisdom,
And to-day she crieth long:
Make the Sound of God's own pulses
Every nation's marching-song.

8. Who beholds the hasting Judgment,
Who now feels what angels see,
Who in God as King has gladness,
Only he may dare be free.

JOSEPH COOK.

July 4, 1863.

Day after the Battle of Gettysburg.

BOSTON MONDAY LECTURES.

THIRTEENTH YEAR. SEASON OF 1888.

PRELUDE V.

AMERICAN ELECTORAL REFORM.

THE usual great audience was present at Tremont Temple, at Mr. Cook's 199th Boston Monday Lecture. The Boston Hymn, entitled "Volcano Crests," was sung. The Rev. Dr. Plumb presided and the Rev. Dr. Bates offered prayer. The measures of Electoral Reform suggested were often heartily indorsed by the audience.

A DECAPITATED SUFFRAGE.

Americans are governed by what I venture to call a decapitated suffrage. Absenteeism at the polls is voluntary self-disfranchisement. This is a notorious and growing vice of both municipal and rural politics. We are controlled more and more, not by universal suffrage, but by a clipped and snippet suffrage — an absurdly fractional vote. The actual ballot cast in ordinary elections represents chiefly the lower and least responsible part of the population. It is a threatening sign of the times in all countries governed by a broad ballot that from twenty to fifty per cent. of those who have the right to vote do not exercise it. In Boston, for instance, at a recent election, out of some 89,000 voters only 45,000 voted for mayor. The number of absentees was nearly fifty per cent. In New Haven only about 10,000 votes were cast in a recent election of very considerable local interest. There is an assembly district in New York city, called the Brown Stone District, containing over 9,000 voters, and only 4,000 were lately reported as registered. As woman does not vote, we are governed by half the mature part of our republican household.

It will be remembered that in fifty of our largest cities fifty-four per cent. of the population is of foreign birth or parentage.

It is mere arithmetic to affirm that our largest cities, at least in many of their wards, are more under foreign than under American management. No strictly American city could be governed as New York and Chicago and St. Louis and Baltimore and many other large towns now are. Let me make, however, a careful discrimination between different classes of the foreign-born voters. I am not here to oppose the German vote as a mass, for there are multitudes of Germans who wish to see our Sunday laws respected. I am not here to oppose the Irish vote as a mass; there are multitudes of Irishmen and of Irish ecclesiastics who are firm friends of temperance. Bishop Ireland, for instance, and the great council of the Roman Catholics at Baltimore of a recent date have taken advanced positions in support of the temperance movement. Let us beware how we talk against the German vote, or the Irish vote, or the French vote, or the Norwegian vote, or the Swedish vote, or the Italian vote, as a whole. We are all descendants of foreigners. Such of us as have been here by our representatives in ancestral lines for seven generations certainly have a right to call ourselves Americans, and I rank myself as an American according to that definition. [Laughter and applause.] But I am willing to salute as a brother, not merely in the wide circle of humanity, but in that of American citizenship, any man, no matter where born, who has attained to a mature age, and who obeys the laws, keeps the peace, informs himself about his duties as an American citizen, and has no allegiance superior to that which he owes to this republic. [Applause.] If in what I am about to say I seem to criticise our foreign vote, you will understand that I am not bringing a sweeping accusation against all who are of foreign parentage, because immigration, which has no doubt many poisonous elements in it, has after all been the health of the land. Why have we conquered the continent? Chiefly because we have been reinforced from another continent. We have built our railways, we have opened our canals, we have lifted to their positions our lines of telegraphic intercommunication; we have fought a war, we have put down the system of human bondage, largely by the help of recent immigrants, and it does not become an American to criticise an immigrant who is here as an American. But

if the immigrant is here as the client of some power to which he owes an allegiance superior to that which belongs to the republic, or if through his ignorance he becomes a mere tool of the criminal and dangerous classes, we have a right in the name of the law of self-preservation to protest against a really alien vote, whether it be cast by those of recent foreign origin, or by Americans without a conscience, the worst sort of aliens. A man born in New England who has lost his conscience is, on the whole, the most dangerous citizen we have. Brigham Young is a specimen of an indigenous devil. [Laughter.] Probably it would be wise to exclude from our shores all who cannot show certificates from some American consul that they are neither paupers nor criminals.

We are, unhappily, so familiar with this great mischief of political apathy among the most respectable classes of voters that I need to dwell upon it no longer, and I will come at once, therefore, to what I venture to recommend as remedies. Long ago, Montesquieu said: "Upon the manner of regulating the suffrage depends the destruction or salvation of states."

COMPULSORY VOTING.

One of the measures of electoral reform most urgently demanded by the perils of the times is nothing less than compulsory suffrage.

This topic, in the year 1886, was before the Massachusetts legislature, and the vote in favor of compulsory suffrage stood 43 to 48; the bill lacked only five votes of passage. A law requiring compulsory suffrage has been proposed in Maryland. Such a law is in successful operation in many of the cantons of Switzerland. Mr. Cremer, lately in this country as a leader of the British peace delegation, said to me in my study, that no law in Europe concerning the suffrage appeared to have such general approval as that regulation of several of the cantons of Switzerland fining a voter who does not exercise his right to go to the polls, unless he can give the excuse of absence or illness.

There has lately been proposed in the "North American Review" a law to secure compulsory suffrage. The bill suggested is substantially the same with one now before the legislature of

Maryland. The latter bill provides that the judges of elections shall examine the register list, and that authenticated catalogues of those who do not vote shall be presented to the proper authorities, and then that any one who cannot show under oath that he had a good excuse — for instance, absence or illness — shall be fined five dollars, and that the results of these fines shall go to the support of popular education. This is the full text of a similar measure prepared by a leading lawyer of Baltimore: —

AN ACT TO MAKE VOTING COMPULSORY.

SECTION I. Be it enacted, by the General Assembly of the State of Maryland, that it shall be compulsory upon every qualified voter, of the State of Maryland, to cast a ballot at each and every general election, hereafter held in Baltimore or any of the several counties of this State, according to law.

SECTION II. And, be it enacted, that it shall be the duty of the judges of election, at each and every general election hereafter held in this State, according to law, at the closing of the polls of said election, to examine the book containing the names of the said qualified voters, of their respective polling places, and to make a red mark under the name of each voter who has neglected to cast his ballot at said election; and to have copied a true and correct list of names and addresses of all voters who have failed to cast their ballots, as aforesaid; such copy to be signed by each judge and attested by the clerks, at each polling place, and to be transmitted by the returning judge, within the next succeeding ten days of said election, to the clerk of the Criminal Court of Baltimore city, or clerk of the Circuit Court of the county in which said election was held.

SECTION III. And, be it enacted, that it shall be the duty of the clerks of said courts, to immediately issue summons under the seal of the court, to be served by the sheriff upon said delinquent voter, commanding him to appear in person before the court at its next sitting thereafter, to show cause why the fine, hereinafter prescribed, shall not be imposed upon him for neglecting to cast his ballot at said election.

SECTION IV. And, be it enacted, that it shall be the duty of the presiding judge of said court to hear the cause or excuse of said voter for his failure to cast his ballot at said election, and if he be unable to give such an excuse under oath as prescribed by section 5 of this act, then said judge shall give judgment against said voter for the fine of

\$5.00 (five dollars) and costs, to be collected as other fines and forfeitures are collected in this State.

SECTION V. And, be it enacted, that every voter who violates section 1 (one) of this act shall be subject to the fine herein imposed, unless he can show to the satisfaction of the judge before whom his case is heard, that he was unable, by reason of sickness or absence from the city or county, wherein he is a qualified voter, at the time of the holding of said election, to cast his ballot at said election.

SECTION VI. And, be it enacted, that if any qualified voter be adjudged guilty of violating section 1 of this act, his property, to the amount of one hundred dollars shall be exempt from liability for said fine, and judgment.

SECTION VII. And, that it be enacted, that all fines collected under, or by virtue of this act, shall go to the Public School Fund of Baltimore city or of the county wherein said fine is imposed and collected.

SECTION VIII. And, be it further enacted, that this act shall take effect from the date of its passage.

You say this is a novel scheme? Not so very novel. It is as old as the age of Pericles. You go to Athens to-day and stand in front of the stone platform on which Demosthenes delivered his orations, and wonder at the loneliness of the spot; but in the age of Demosthenes, it used to be said sometimes that strangers entering the city through gates at distance from the bema wondered at the loneliness of the streets, and on asking the cause, were told that Demosthenes was speaking in the assembly of the people. It often required six thousand votes in the assembly at the bema to make a law. In order that the Athenian citizens might not lag behind the exigencies of public occasions, the streets were swept by couriers carrying a vermillion colored cord. If the red chalk on this cord touched the toga of any loitering voter, he was fined. In that way the audience was swept up to the bema and to the ballot-boxes. Of course the Athenian republic stood on the basis of slavery; there was nothing like our suffrage there, but those who had the suffrage were compelled to use it or pay a fine.

Old as it is, I shall seem to be an innovator in recommending this measure, but I do so with the utmost seriousness, and with a full conviction that I am speaking the sentiments of many

students of electoral reform. Let me give in detail a few reasons for compulsory voting.

1. It would prevent bondage to a fraction of the voting population.

2. It would defeat the worst candidates.

3. It would check the lawlessness of the whiskey rings and of the corrupt elements in our politics by defeating the worst candidates.

4. It would promote purity of elections, as well as independent voting.

5. It would be a shield for the rights of the freedmen by preventing intimidation at the polls.

6. It would make woman's ballot more safe, and so advance what I, for one, confess I am glad to see promoted, female municipal suffrage. [Applause.]

There are now fifteen States in this republic in which woman votes on the school question. It is true, however, that absenteeism is a vice of female as well as of male voters. Women as well as men need to be swept up to the polls with a vermillion colored cord. [Applause and laughter.] For one, I do not want the suffrage broadened until compulsory suffrage becomes binding; after we have this reform I think we can easily broaden the suffrage so far as to give municipal suffrage to woman, and very probably farther.

7. Compulsory suffrage would assist in counteracting the perils of immigration.

8. It accords with the spirit and theory of American institutions.

9. It would add weight to law, and so assist in its execution. A law passed under compulsory suffrage would be the voice of the entire community; at least of the male portion of it.

10. It would almost necessitate compulsory education.

READING TEST FOR VOTERS.

A second measure of electoral reform is the reading test—not the property test—as a condition of the suffrage. No doubt many conservative Americans would favor a property qualification. Ex-President Woolsey, in a book of his on Po-

litical Economy, says: "If our principle is correct that none who do not own property should vote for representatives who lay taxes on property, the mass of city proletarians ought to be excluded from the polls where tax-levying councilmen or officers are elected." No taxation without representation, our fathers said, and some of the most sober judges of our present political situation begin to say, that if there be no taxation there should be no representation. With the utmost reverence for these authorities, it must be said that there are few who regard a property test as a practicable measure. It does not appear to be in accord with the spirit of American institutions. For one, I do not wish to take the ballot from any man who has it now; but, so help me heaven, I should like to see the advice of General Grant carried out, and a reading test adopted to take effect after a certain date. I should like to see the States and the nation pass regulations requiring that all who come into this republic by birth or by immigration after 1900 or 1925, who have the facilities we are offering in the common schools, and do not learn to read and write, shall never vote until they do learn. [Loud applause.] If we can carry that portion of electoral reform, we can carry compulsory suffrage.

When Napoleon III. came to the throne in France, he raised the suffrage from one and a half millions to eight millions. He dismissed the legislative bodies and broadened the suffrage downward, and made the slums the basis of his power. If you decapitate suffrage by your absenteeism from your polls, what are you doing but broadening it downward after the method of despots, and giving over this republic to the most vicious elements in it? The excuses for absenteeism given by our respectable citizens will not bear close examination.

AUSTRALIAN SYSTEM OF SECRET BALLOTING.

A third measure of electoral reform which I beg leave to commend is the Australian system of secret balloting. In Australia every voter passes through a private room, sometimes not larger than an average closet, before he deposits his ballot; so that the men who may have tried to bribe him can never be sure that the vote put into his hand is really cast into the box.

This arrangement discourages bribery. What happens in New York city? Here is an article in the "North American Review" detailing the experiences of a worthy citizen who went out to examine the elections. Very early in the morning, before workingmen are called to their eight o'clock duties, he saw long files of them standing at the polls, and holding their ballots out in their right hands. They kept their hands in that position. [Illustrating.] The object was to let the politicians who stood on the edge of the crowd see that the ballots that had been put into the hands of these voters were really dropped into the boxes. These men went up to the boxes, dropped their ballots, and then filed into the door of a whiskey saloon, and this same observer saw one of the notorious heelers of the municipality put a five-dollar bill into the hand of each workingman. That is actual politics. What is politics in theory? The poor voter, on election day, our Whittier overhears uttering this soliloquy: —

"The proudest now is but my peer,
The highest not more high;
To-day, of all the weary year,
A king of men am I.

"While there's a right to need my vote,
A wrong to sweep away,
Up! clouted knee and ragged coat!
A man's a man to-day!"

But what if a man is not a man, and takes a bribe? I revere the poet Whittier beyond words; his poor voter's boast expresses the high theory on which our fathers began their work for this republic; but whoever is inside politics smiles at that ideal now as a theory merely, at least in many quarters of our great cities. Enter almost any of the corrupt wards in the slums of our cities, and endeavor to secure honest voting, hold out tickets representing respectable candidates, and you are likely to be attacked, and may possibly bring on a riot. An observer in New York city lately tried to do this in one of the worst wards, and his life was threatened instantly by thugs; one of the speeches made to him by a leader of the thugs was this, "You are a dude with a clean collar and come here to prevent honest

men from getting a good living." We have opinions on these subjects that we do not often breathe aloud. I am not proud of our city politics. [Laughter.]

DR. DORCHESTER ON MUNICIPAL MISRULE.

Let me quote a few facts from a grave paper, written by a distinguished scholar who honors us with his attendance this morning, Dr. Dorchester, well known as our first authority on all statistics touching our religious life as a nation, and a specialist in whatever relates to the perils of great cities. Here is a document which ought to be in every citizen's hand, representing the results of the conferences—of a political party? No,—of one of the gravest meetings of preachers that ever assembled on this continent. Some think there has been no more important ecclesiastical gathering since the Council of Nice than the meeting of the Evangelical Alliance of the United States at Washington in December last. Dr. Dorchester, a cool man, not given to exaggeration, said to the Washington Conference:—

"Some time ago we became familiar with the phrase 'ring-rule'; but we have passed far down beyond that, and now hear much of 'gang-rule' and 'thug-rule.' In some cities a large part of the primary meetings are held in low saloons, which good citizens will not enter; and hence the administration of city affairs is determined by the lowest and most corrupt elements of the population. The aldermen and councilmen thus nominated and elected, with the police appointed by them, become a corrupt ring, dominated by political and personal considerations, the base-line of which is subserviency, and all questions of character and intelligence are eliminated. The police of some cities, while comprising many persons entitled to much praise, often include others of brutal instincts, incapable of using properly the formidable weapons and authority which the law places in their hands. Political service or the recommendations of saloon-keepers too often determine the appointment of police. It is the old story of the wolves selecting the dogs to guard the sheepfold.

"We read every day instances of violence and gang-rule, but only a small per cent. is supposed to get into the papers. In some river wards, the citizens are terrorized by bands of young ruffians, organized for robbery, drunkenness, and debauchery, and murder is not an un-

frequent incident. The law-abiding inhabitants are sometimes helpless, and so overawed as to be afraid to testify against the gang in a court of justice. Police protection is intermittent and culpably inefficient, and crimes against person and property are perpetrated with impunity.

"Worse than all, the fountain-head of justice is sometimes submissive to 'the gang,' and roughs arrested are discharged because they 'stand well' with 'the boss,' usually a saloon-keeper. The overmuch politics with which this country is cursed, and the constantly recurring elections, place the administration of law at the mercy of the ruffianly elements, and ward politics becomes a trade, in which robbery and lawlessness are connived at. Gang-rule prevails wherever ward politicians bid the police stand aside, and force the police justice to utter decisions in the interest of disorder.

"Even the registration lists in these cities, under the manipulation of the gangs, are falsified. Last spring it was said that 'not less than 20,000 citizens of St. Louis failed to register' for an important city election, among whom were a large number of persons of 'the best moral standard and intelligence, whose business activity contributes largely to the prosperity of the city.' On the other hand, the vilest and most vicious elements, we are told, 'had their names on the lists and appeared in full force at the polls. The ward politicians gathered them out of all the vile resorts of the city, and used them for their own purposes, regardless of the public welfare.'

"The St. Louis papers moralized over the degeneracy of the city politics, and put the responsibility upon 'the good men who do not vote.' But many of the best citizens replied that 'for years the registration lists have been the chief instrument used by the worst elements for their fraudulent purposes;' that 'the registry of voters has not afforded the slightest protection against fraudulent voting; that there has not been an honest election in this city for years;' that hotel registers have been transferred to the voting lists, and men have been found to vote upon the names; that the ballot-boxes are often in the hands of men whose Satanic mathematics will produce any kind of election result desired; and that such things are carried on with the connivance of the party in power — and why, therefore, should good men trouble themselves in the vain effort of making an honest ballot overbalance fraudulent returns?

"With such a set of 'thugs' installed as election judges, how farcical must be the elections? Primary meetings are packed, nominations controlled, elections dictated, and ballots counted to suit. Similar facts are given concerning Cincinnati, Chicago, Albany, and the North End of Boston."

You think even Dr. Dorchester may have spoken without the book in this matter? Is there any one here who has lived several seasons inside of politics? That man undoubtedly will think this language very moderate. Mr. Theodore Roosevelt says in a recent address delivered, not before a political party, but before the Congregational Club of New York city: —

“The average grade of our city politicians is a serious menace to good government. Four fifths of the representatives at Albany, of New York and Brooklyn, can be depended upon to vote on the wrong side of every question.” [Voice in the audience: “That is so.”]

Here is the testimony of an unimpeachable authority in one of our proudest States, not New York, not Massachusetts, not Illinois, not California, not Louisiana, — and I will go no farther in fending off your suspicions. He is speaking of the judges of elections in one of the best known American cities, and he says: —

“Of the judges appointed to supervise a recent municipal election, one has been indicted and convicted of crime; another has been indicted, convicted, sent to jail, and pardoned; one has been indicted for assault with intent to kill, the sheriff becoming his bail, the case was *not prossed*; another has been indicted nine times in four years; another eight times in two years; another has served in jail six months; and another has been indicted for assault with intent to kill.”

No one knows how humiliating these facts are until America is studied from abroad. Of course there is noble sentiment existing among American voters, otherwise these evils would not look to us as ghastly as they do. We see them in the light of Christian civilization. But a chief peril of our times is the apathy of Christians, and respectable citizens generally, to their political duties. We dawdle on through life saying, “After us will come the deluge,” and little by little the net which the criminal classes are weaving is being made so strong that, perhaps, by and by only the sword can cut it. It is time to speak out, and to speak loudly, on the topic of electoral reform. I am not sure but that the Australian method of secret balloting would cure half the bribery. I feel confident that compulsory suffrage would greatly reduce the perils of our municipal government. I do not think any merely political remedy, how-

ever, will bring the millennium. Educational and religious measures must supplement the political.

WOMAN'S VOTE ON TEMPERANCE QUESTIONS.

A fourth measure of Electoral Reform that I venture to commend is to give woman a vote on the temperance question everywhere. [Loud applause.]

On municipal suffrage for women on temperance questions you had a tie vote in your Massachusetts senate not long since, and the very fact that the vote was a tie shows a great advance in public sentiment.

There is Kansas, through which I passed soon after women voted all over the State in the cities. I took much pains to to examine the newspapers, and conversed with mechanics and preachers and lawyers and merchants, as to the history of that famous ballot by woman. I was told everywhere that woman had voted right, that there was no special disrespect shown to her ; that, on the contrary, the hereditary courtesy of the American gentleman appeared ; that women were brought by their husbands and their sons and their near relatives to the polls, and that they voted with as little disorder as they would have attended a church service. Over and over the women met for prayer meetings, and came from those devotional exercises to the polls, while their opponents assembled in the gin hells and came from those quarters to the same ballot-boxes. Were Paradiso and Inferno ever more distinctly symbolized in political action ? Were they ever more distinctly contrasted in American politics ? May the better man win ; may the better woman, also. [Applause and laughter.]

Washington Territory has given woman's ballot back to its population, after several attacks upon the novel measure. I have never asked this audience to support the extremest positions on this subject, but I must ask you to study what is occurring. It is our duty to keep our eyes open to the fact that in Ontario women vote in municipal elections ; that all over the British Islands, without exception, unmarried women vote in cities under the same conditions as to taxes that men pass under. I ask you to notice that the state librarian of Kansas, examining

the files of the newspapers from that Commonwealth, testified to my friend Miss Willard, in a document which she has published, that woman's vote all over that State was cast quietly, decorously, and on what the best people thought the right side, and many a city was reformed by it. In fifteen States women are now voting on school questions. But there is one thing that touches the household more closely than the education of the children, and that is the question whether after the child has been educated he shall be poisoned by the emissaries of the saloon. Home protection! You want that, you say. Well, granting to woman a vote on the school question, why ought we not in consistency, courtesy, and mere justice to give her a chance to express her mind on the question whether there shall be opened over against her parlor, on the other side of the street, a gin hell to corrupt her children? [Applause.]

DISFRANCHISEMENT OF RUMSELLERS.

In perfecting our measures of electoral reform, I should be willing to imitate the Province of Ontario in Canada, and make every liquor-seller ineligible to any office. [Applause.] President Woolsey has recommended the disfranchisement of all criminals of a certain grade, with opportunity on their part to recover their rights by good behavior for a term of years.

With these five measures of electoral reform carried out in good faith, I should not despair of purifying even municipal politics, or of making the liquor traffic an outlaw by both state and national enactments.

The best single volume that America has produced on the temperance movement I now deliberately hold up before this Boston audience. It is the famous work just issued by Senator Blair of New Hampshire, and already in wide and effective circulation. Nobody has prompted me to mention this volume, but I must say that if any young man can buy but one book on temperance, he should purchase Senator Blair's. It is a broad book. It discusses all phases of the temperance question. It has a kind word for Anti-Saloon Republicans. [Laughter.] It gives just praise to the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. It advocates first, midst, and last, National Constitutional Prohi-

bition. It is a cool and judicial, but never a dry, discussion of the very freshest facts in the whole field of the temperance reform. It is illuminated by some fifty excellent portraits of temperance specialists. In his high place in Congress, Senator Blair champions the most advanced and radical ideas of the temperance reform, and so makes the whole nation and the next century his debtors. The Supreme Court Decision, with which this book closes, is the day star of a better age. Charles Sumner, as you remember, was greatly interested in the topic of woman's ballot, prepared for extensive study of it, and called it the question of the future. My conviction is, that, were he now alive, he would be standing shoulder to shoulder with Senator Blair in the advocacy of the foremost current reforms.

Our safety depends not so much on the restriction or extension of the suffrage as on the sanity and alertness of it. In the District of Columbia the people have no votes, and yet the city of Washington is not a political paradise. Even with the help of all the other electoral reforms which are now being forced upon our attention, we shall by no means succeed in purifying politics, unless we join man's hand to woman's, and make the protection of the home our watchword. Woman's ballot alone, however, will not bring the millennium. I am not so optimistic as to think that much mischief will not come from a certain portion of our female population voting under priestly orders. But woman's ballot is likely to be purer than man's, and as a whole far more deadly to all enterprises supported by the criminal classes. Nothing is feared quite so much by the whiskey rings as woman's ballot, secret voting, the reading test, and compulsory suffrage. Nothing on the whole is approved more by them than high license under decapitated suffrage. [Applause.]

" Not lightly fall
Beyond recall
The written scrolls a breath can float ;
The crowning fact
The kingliest act
Of Freedom is the freeman's vote ! "

WHITTIER.

LECTURE V.

FULFILLED PREDICTIONS AS EVIDENCE OF INSPIRATION.

ESSENTIALS AND UNESSENTIALS IN PROPHECY.

WHEN Columbus first saw the river Orinoco, he exclaimed: "This stream cannot come from an island. It must pour from the interior of a vast continent. It is too large to be accounted for by any insular proportions of a water-bed." The Sermon on the Mount is a stream bursting out of the Old Testament. It is too vast a stream to come from an island. The preaching of John the Baptist is a ripple on a river proceeding from the Jewish continent. The New Testament follows the Old. Its central waters are an Orinoco. Even with all the affluents it received in and after Christ, its vast middle current can be accounted for by no insular proportions of a water-bed. The Messianic hope and ideal can be explained only by Messianic prediction.

Was there a hope among the Jews that a Messiah was to appear? One might as well ask whether Cæsar was assassinated. Even Tacitus and Suetonius tell us, speaking of the opening years of the first century: "Throughout the whole East it was expected that about that time a King should arise out of Judea, who should rule over all the world." (Tacitus, "Hist." lib. v. cap. 13; Suetonius, "Life of Vespasian," cap. 4.) A great Messianic hope filled the East and rose to burning intensity at that time. It was based on the Messianic prophecies of the Old Testament Scriptures.

A rigorous inattention to unessentials, and a vigorous grasp of essentials, I commend to every one who studies the topic of prophecy in its present vexed condition. Prediction flows through Scripture like the stream of the Mississippi through its course. Criticism may narrow the breadth of it by build-

ing out a buttress, or by casting in some impediment, but the stream goes on. The whole body of water proceeds on its course in spite of slight changes in the positions of its banks at this point or that. The narrowing itself may in time cease to exist; the stream may wear it all away. In the sluggish water at the side of the current you may find some eddy working backward. The current is far from swift in places along the shores. Confining your attention to this eddy or to that stagnant portion, you may say that there is no current in the lagoon. The eddy runs up stream. You may think you do not know which way the Mississippi flows. You may even fall into the mood of those who, influenced by what is called the higher criticism of our time, cannot see the Mississippi of prediction rolling through the Old Testament and fulfilled in the New. [Applause.]

Three times in a single discourse, with singular reiteration, the value of fulfilled predictive prophecy as evidence of inspiration is emphasized authoritatively by the words of Him who spake as never man spake.

"I tell you before it come, that when it is come to pass, ye may believe that I am He." (John xiii. 19.) This is said of the prediction of the treachery of Judas.

"Now I have told you before it come to pass, that when it is come to pass ye might believe." (John xv. 29.) This is said concerning the gift of the Holy Spirit at the day of Pentecost.

"These things have I told you that when the time shall come ye may remember that I told you of them." (John xvi. 4.) This is said of the future persecutions of the disciples.

"Had ye believed Moses," Christ said on another occasion, "ye would have believed me, for he wrote of me." (John v. 46.)

"Beginning at Moses and all the prophets, he expounded unto them in all the Scriptures the things concerning himself."

It is a fashion in certain quarters to minimize the value of fulfilled prophecy as evidence of a Divine mission, but our Lord very evidently had not learned that fashion. Nor had the apostles, for one of them says: "No prophecy ever came by the will of man, but men spake from God, being moved by the Holy Ghost." (2 Pet. i. 19.)

ARCHES AND KEY-STONES IN FULFILLED PROPHECY.

The felicity of fulfilled prophecy as a proof of the Divine origin of Christianity is that it is peculiarly adapted to convince a skeptical age of the reality of the supernatural. This adaptation arises from the fact that the evidence needed to show that prophecy is fulfilled in our time is modern, and therefore accessible and open to the fullest investigation in accordance with the demands of the scientific spirit. If the miracles which attended the foundation of Christianity are remote, and if evidence for or against the credibility of the New Testament accounts of miracles seems inaccessible, this is not the case with prophecy fulfilled in our day; moreover, the objection that no evidence whatever can establish the reality of a miracle does not apply to fulfilled prediction. It requires only good, ordinary historic evidence to prove that the course of events has been of a certain character in outline and detail. It requires only good, ordinary historic evidence to show that certain predictions were made at a definite time as to this course of events in outline and detail. The former evidence is one side of an arch; the latter is the other side. It is when these two arches are juxtaposed and made to lean against each other and found to match that the wholly irresistible evidence of the supernatural springs up. This is a key-stone held in place by both sides of the arch.

There is in the religious history of the world, as I contend, a series of arches of fulfilled prophecy. As the stately arches of the Roman aqueducts crossed the Campagna bringing water from the hills to the city, so the immeasurably sublime arches of fulfilled prophecy cross the plain of time from the beginning of the career of the human race to the present hour, bringing the water of life to the latest generations.

Let me name, and I can hardly do more, the opposite sides and the key-stones of a few of these arches.

When the chaplain of Frederic the Great was asked for a short proof of the Divine origin of the Bible, he replied: "The Jews, your Majesty!" He might have said also: "Nineveh, your Majesty;" or "Babylon, your Majesty," or "Egypt, your

Majesty ;" or, with still greater force, "Christ, your Majesty," or, "Christianity, your Majesty."

MESSIANIC PREDICTIONS.

1. It cannot be denied that Christ is the chief religious teacher known to history ; that He was born at Bethlehem ; that He preached repentance and the remission of sins ; that He founded a spiritual order carrying religion to the highest perfection ever known among men, both as a faith and as a life ; that Christianity has superseded Judaism ; and that its kingdom is spreading over the whole earth. This is one side of the arch. No serious person disputes these facts.

2. It cannot be denied that all this was definitely foretold ages before it began to come to pass. This is the second side of the arch.

"The Lord thy God will raise up unto thee a Prophet like unto me." (Deut. xviii. 15.)

"Unto us a CHILD is born, unto us a SON is given, and the government shall be upon his shoulder ; and his name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, the Mighty God, the Everlasting Father, the Prince of Peace. Of the increase of his government and peace there shall be no end. (Is. ix. 6, 7.) I will give thee for a light to the Gentiles, that thou mayest be my SALVATION unto the end of the earth. The Lord hath anointed me to preach good tidings ; to bind up the broken-hearted ; to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the acceptable year of the Lord." (Is. xlix. 6.)

"I saw one like the SON of MAN ; and there was given HIM dominion, and glory, and a kingdom, that all people, nations, and languages should serve Him." (Dan. vii. 13.)

"But thou, Bethlehem Ephratah, out of thee shall HE come forth unto me to be RULER in Israel ; whose goings forth have been from of old, from everlasting." (Micah v. 2.)

"From the going forth of the commandment to restore and build Jerusalem unto MESSIAH THE PRINCE, shall be seven weeks, and threescore and two weeks. And after threescore and two weeks shall Messiah be cut off." (Dan. ix. 25.)

3. There is no denying, therefore, that these predictions were inspired by Him who alone can foresee from afar the course of history. This is the key-stone of the arch.

4. It follows, also, that He who sees the end from the beginning considered this series of events of such central importance in human affairs as to need to be revealed in advance of its occurrence. Other things He kept hidden ; these He made known.

5. It follows, also, that as prophecy of Christ's triumph has been fulfilled to the letter in time past, so we may expect it to be in time to come.

A Divine King was to come, and He has come.

A Divine Kingdom was to be established, and it has been.

It was to have world-wide power and has attained it.

The conception of a coming Divine Kingdom of Redemption fills the Old Testament Scriptures.

The history of the establishment of a Divine Kingdom of Redemption fills the New Testament Scriptures.

The conception and the history match in both outline and detail.

Messianic predictions are made by many prophets through a series of centuries, but the unity of the impression made is preserved in the midst of variety.

Whoever reads what the Old Testament Scriptures predict as to the Divine King who is to come, and obtains a clear view of the outline of the portraiture of prediction, and then turns to the New Testament Scriptures, and obtains a clear view of the portraiture of our Lord as a historic reality, will find the two matching as face to face in water. This is a stupendous fact in the history of the Scriptures, and one of which no amount of critical ingenuity can deprive us.

Purposely omitting a multitude of details, and fastening attention only on great essentials, I maintain that each side of this arch stands firmly, and am anxious that every stone of each should be tested. I maintain, also, that the sides match each other ; and that when they are placed face to face they uphold in an unassailable position the key-stone of faith in the supernatural, or the reality of inspiration in fulfilled prophecy. As I contemplate this colossal arch, the proportions of which are better seen in our time than in any preceding century, I confess that I stand in awe before it as the work of God, and not of man.

"If I were to attempt describing how completely the Reality answers to the portraiture of the Prophets, I would have to pass in review the entire history of the Man of Sorrows, the Sacrifice of the Great High Priest, the teaching of the Prophet of the New Covenant, the spiritual glory of the King in his beauty. . . . Three great points made the fulfillment full in Christ—the *finality* of the New Testament; the *universality* of the New Testament dispensation, and its *spirituality*." (See Edersheim, "Prophecy and History in Relation to the Messiah," pp. 367-369.)

"The insight of the Hebrew prophet is so profound that it transcends the native energies of human perception; the comprehension is so vast that the conception trained to its highest capacity could not grasp it; the foresight is so far-reaching that no human imagination could spring to its goal. . . . The prophets were linked in a chain; their predictions are combined in a system—an organic whole which no individual prophet could possibly comprehend. . . . The organic system of prophecy is a product of the mind and will of God. . . . In Jesus of Nazareth the key of the Messianic prophecy of the Old Testament has been found. All its phases find their realization in his unique personality, his unique work, and in his unique kingdom. The Messiah of prophecy appears in the Messiah of history." (See Prof. C. A. Briggs, "Messianic Prophecy," pp. 42, 498, a new work which Mr. Gladstone lately quoted as an authority.)

PREDICTIONS CONCERNING THE JEWISH PEOPLE.

1. There is no denying that the Jews have been dispersed among all nations, and yet preserved as a separate people, and this for eighteen hundred years. They have been persecuted everywhere, but not destroyed; they have been a people of wandering foot and failing heart, without country, or city, or temple, and yet they are not assimilated to other people in their dispersion. This is one side of an arch.

2. There is no denying that all this was definitely predicted ages before it came to pass. This is the other side of an arch.

"Thou shalt become an astonishment, a proverb, and a byword among all nations, whither the Lord shall lead thee." (Deut. xxviii. See, also, Leviticus, xxvi.)

3. There is no denying, therefore, that this prediction was inspired by Him who alone can foresee from afar the course of history. This is the key-stone of the arch.

4. It follows, also, that He considered this series of events of such central importance in human affairs as to need to be revealed in advance of its occurrence.

5. It follows, also, that of prophecies from the same source as these, and yet unfulfilled, we may confidently expect the full accomplishment.

Let the critics carry up or down the date of certain documents in the Old Testament Scriptures, as they please, who doubts that this prediction of the dispersion of the Jews among all nations exists in documents ages older than the destruction of Jerusalem and the dispersion of the chosen people? Nobody doubts it. The predictions are of the most definite character, and have been most definitely and astoundingly and protractedly fulfilled. Why not face facts?

NINEVEH.

1. There is no denying that Nineveh was destroyed by flood and fire and the sword; that its site was made a desolation; that it was hidden for ages; that only of late was it discovered by the shovels of excavators; and that it has not risen from its ruins after thousands of years of varied changes in the affairs of men.

2. There is no denying that all this was definitely foretold many generations before it came to pass. (Nahum i.-iii.)

3. There is no denying, therefore, that this prediction was inspired by Him who alone can foresee from afar the course of human history.

Nineveh was an alluvial province covered with houses. Its foundation reached back almost to the time of the flood. It was made wealthy by occupying a central position on the commercial route between the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean. It gathered into its bosom the riches and the vices of East and West. It was a city of astounding power, luxury, and fame. But of Nineveh, while at the height of its magnificence, and when it foreboded no evil, the prophet Nahum predicted that it should be destroyed by flood and fire and the sword, and that its very site should be made a desolation. The gates of the rivers were to be opened and they were. Diodorus Siculus tells

us that a flood on the Tigris swept away a considerable portion of the walls of the city. The palace was to be molten and it was. The same historian tells us that when besiegers had entered through the walls which the flood had broken open, the king, in despair, set fire to the palace and perished in the flames. An utter end was to be made of the place of the city; there was to be no healing of its bruise. Nineveh was to be hidden, and so it was for twenty centuries. To Greek antiquity the place of Nineveh was a tradition. Herodotus did not know where it stood. The Arabs did not know. It was reserved to our own day to uncover Nineveh and to find in it proof of all that prophecy foretold.

BABYLON.

1. There is no denying that Babylon has been destroyed. The foxes have looked out of its windows, or did so until its palaces became undistinguishable heaps of rubbish. Its desolation has not been brought to an end. It was captured by the drying up of its river and the entrance of an army along the bed of the stream.

2. There is no denying that all this was definitely foretold generations before it came to pass. (Is. xlv., xlv.; Jer. li.)

8. There is no denying, therefore, that this prediction must have been inspired by Him who alone can foresee from afar the course of history.

EGYPT.

1. It cannot be denied that Egypt is a base kingdom, and for hundreds of years has produced from her own population no prince to rule over her.

2. It cannot be denied that all this was definitely foretold many generations before it began to come to pass.

"Egypt shall be the basest of the kingdoms; neither shall it exalt itself any more above the nations." (Ez. xxix. 15.)

"The sceptre of Egypt shall depart away." (Zech. x. 12.)

8. It cannot be denied, therefore, that this prophecy was inspired by Him who alone can foresee from afar the course of history.

It is highly important to notice the differences between these prophecies. The Jews are to be dispersed; Egypt is to drop into baseness, Babylon into destruction. Dispersion, baseness, destruction are very different things. They are definite things; They contrast with each other. They are not vague predictions, and yet contrasted as they are, detailed as they are, history has fulfilled them to the letter.

THE COURSE OF UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

1. There is no denying that the descendants of Ham have been servants of those of Shem and Japhet; nor that Christianity arose among the descendants of Shem; nor that Japhet has been enlarged and now rules the larger part of the earth.

2. There is no denying that these events were definitely foretold in the very morning of recorded time. (Gen. ix. 26, 27.)

3. It follows, therefore, that the prediction was inspired by Him who alone can foresee from afar the course of history.

WHAT HATH GOD WROUGHT?

There was a day when men said, according to the New Testament record, "John did no miracle, but all that he said of this man," that is, of Christ, "was true." How cool is this history, "John did no miracle." There is no superstition here about the supernatural,—and yet the many who resorted to John said, All things that John spake of this man were true, and many believed on him there. Josephus gives us a full account of John the Baptist. Nobody of even moderately adequate information doubts that John the Baptist preceded our Saviour, preached of his advent, claimed to be divinely sent to prepare the way for our Lord, and pointed Him out in accordance with the Divine sign, of which he had received previous notice: "On whomsoever thou shalt see the Holy Ghost descending as a dove and abiding upon Him, the same is He."

There was a day when John, who had thus testified to the Messiahship of our Lord, was thrown into prison on the east side of the Dead Sea, and from that doleful dungeon, where it would seem that from lack of intelligence he became anxious to

know what the truth was about Christ, he sent two of his disciples to our Lord. What was their question? "Art Thou he that should come, or look we for another?" What was the answer? In the same hour that He received the inquiry, He cured many of their infirmities and plagues and of evil spirits, and unto many that were blind He gave sight. Then Jesus answering said unto them, "Go your way, and tell John what things ye have seen and heard; how that the blind see, the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, the deaf hear, the dead are raised, and to the poor the gospel is preached."

What if John the Baptist, the last and greatest of the prophets, were to appear on earth again? What if our Lord were here? What if the old question were to be repeated, "Lord, art Thou he that should come, or look we for another?" For ourselves we should answer, We look for no other. Skeptics look for no other. Rationalism does not expect to overtop Christianity. But what would our Lord himself need to say now except what He said of old? Go and tell John of the things ye have seen and heard for 1800 years; the spiritually blind and deaf and lame have been healed; the spiritually dead have been raised; to the poor the gospel has been preached; and the kingdom predicted to our first parents in the Garden of Eden, the kingdom foretold to Abraham, the kingdom set up at Sinai, the kingdom which underlay the theocracy of the chosen people, the kingdom the triumph of which the prophets predicted, the kingdom of which the Messiah is both Saviour and Ruler, the kingdom which has for its supreme symbol the Cross, — that has conquered, that is encircling the earth, that is now supported by the church militant and the church triumphant, that has been sealed of God through century after century. Art Thou he who should come? He has come. Look we for another? For no other. Go and tell John, go and tell Boston, and Cambridge, and New York, and Chicago, and London, the things that history has seen and heard. [Loud applause.]

BOOK NOTICES.

MANUAL OF CHRISTIAN EVIDENCES. By GEORGE PARK FISHER, D. D., LL. D., Professor of Ecclesiastical History in Yale University. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1888. 12mo. Pp. 120.

This is a brief but powerful outline from the hand of a master. No short statement of the Christian Evidences now exists in the English language equal to this in fullness and freshness of learning, balance of judgment, conclusiveness of reasoning, beauty of style, and devoutness of tone.

We enrich our pages and justify our judgment by one or two extracts on points of central interest. Professor Fisher compresses into this most suggestive paragraph the argument that the sinlessness of Christ forbids his possible classification with men : —

"Jesus, as we become acquainted with Him in the Gospel narratives, which are to this extent self-verifying, was literally a sinless person. We have here a character of immaculate purity. This, to be sure, is a point which cannot be *demonstrated*, since no one can discern the motives of action; but it can be established beyond reasonable doubt. In all that is recorded of Him, there is no evidence of moral fault. There is nothing that He did or said which can justly be made a ground of reproach. It is incredible that the Evangelists, even on the supposition of a plan on their own part to make Him out to be better than He was, could have selected their materials — putting in this and leaving out that — in such a way as to accomplish the purpose. The task would have been too great for their powers. It would imply not only a perfect ideal in their minds, but, also, an impossible skill in realizing it in a narrative form. Moreover, while Jesus was obviously holy beyond all example, and had the clearest, most penetrating discernment of moral evil, and while He condemned even the least wrong in the inmost thoughts and intents of the soul, there is not a trace of self-reproach on his part. Had He anywhere, even in his prayers to God, implied that He was guilty of fault, some record of his self-accusation would have been left. It would have found its way into the traditions concerning Him. When his cause was prostrate, and nothing but an ignominious death awaited Him, in the hours of anguish some expression implying penitence would have escaped Him. Not only is there no trace of such a feeling on his part, but it will scarcely be denied that He made on his followers, who were intimately associated with Him, the impression that He was absolutely free from moral fault.

"Those who are convinced that Jesus was without sin may find in the fact a cogent argument for the supernatural origin of Christianity. In the first place, there is no reason to think that any other faultless and perfect character has ever existed among men. Jesus is thus an exception to a universal fact respecting the race. To account for this exception, to explain this one instance of spotless purity, it is reasonable to assume an extraordinary relation to God on his part — to assume something that is equivalent to a miracle. In the second place, his sinlessness gives credibility to his testimony respecting himself. That He claimed to be the

Son of God, the Messiah, is beyond all dispute. On this charge He was crucified. It will not be questioned that the position which He claimed, and persisted in claiming, was of an exceptional and exalted kind. It will not be questioned that He considered himself the spiritual guide and deliverer of mankind."

The argument from the four undisputed Epistles of St. Paul is thus outlined : —

"There are four Epistles which no competent scholar doubts that the Apostle Paul wrote. The most noted schools of modern skeptics have with one accord accepted them as genuine. They are the two Epistles to the Corinthians, and the Epistles to the Romans and Galatians. In his first Epistle to the Corinthians, Paul refers to the proofs of the resurrection of Jesus. In this important passage we are told what he had learned from the other Apostles on this subject. In the Epistle to the Galatians he speaks of his intercourse with them on different occasions. Three years after his conversion, he had spent a fortnight with Peter at Jerusalem. (Gal. i. 18.) At that time he had met James, the Lord's brother. Later (A. D. 52), he met Peter, James, and John, and conferred with them on the Gospel. (Gal. ii. 1-10.) He had enjoyed ample opportunities to ascertain what the Apostles had to say about the resurrection of Jesus; that he would avail himself of these opportunities we might be certain beforehand; but that he did so, what he tells us on the subject proves. Writing to the Corinthians, he sets down distinctly what he had previously declared to them respecting the Saviour's reappearance from the dead. On the third day after his burial, Jesus appeared to Peter. Afterwards He appeared to the twelve; then to above five hundred brethren assembled together; then to James; then to all the Apostles. Last of all, He had manifested himself alive to Paul himself at the time of his conversion; for to this event he undoubtedly refers. Even without the records of the Evangelists, it is safe to conclude, from these statements in the Epistle to the Corinthians, that the Apostles, from the third day after the death of Jesus, testified, substantially as related by Paul, to his resurrection. We have, therefore, the testimony of the Apostles to this cardinal fact in the Gospel history, and that testimony is entitled to credit.

"The idea of hallucination is shut out by one remarkable peculiarity of the alleged manifestations of the risen Jesus. They took place, as Paul's testimony shows, at intervals, and in a definite number. They began at a certain time — on the third day; and they ended after a brief period. Had the followers of Jesus been in that state of mind out of which the illusions of hallucination might arise, and if this had been the source of what they thought to be actual reappearances of Jesus, these manifestations would have been much more numerous. They would not have begun and ended at these definite points. They would not have suddenly ceased. They would have continued and multiplied as time went on, and as the courage and enthusiasm of the flock increased. This would surely have been the case, according to the ordinary law of the working of this sort of mental delusion.

"The conclusion is justified that the testimony of the Apostles, to which they adhered at the cost of every earthly comfort and of life itself — for there is no doubt that they steadfastly endured these penalties — ought to be believed."

A COLLEGE OF COLLEGES, led by D. L. Moody, etc. Edited by T. J. SHANKS. Chicago and New York : Fleming H. Revell. 1887.

This collection of lectures and addresses by Professor Drummond, Pro-

fessor Townsend, the Rev. Dr. Pierson, the Rev. Dr. Jacob Chamberlain, and other instructors at Mr. Moody's famous Summer School for College Students at Northfield, Massachusetts, has in it so much that is original, practical, and sagacious that it deserves to be noticed as a part of the current literature of reform. Representatives of nearly one hundred colleges were present. The history of the origin of this summer school has great interest. It arose largely as a result of the activities of the College Young Men's Christian Associations, under the leadership of the International Christian Association Secretaries, Mr. Wishard and Mr. Ober of New York. There have been few events in the religious life of the colleges of late of more importance to the world than this awakening, which has brought no fewer than two thousand college students to pledge themselves to become missionaries of Christianity in any land to which Providence may call them. This volume sketches this movement from its commencement in 1886, at the first summer school at Northfield : —

"In 1886 the first manifestations appeared of a movement which has surprised and gratified the Christian world. In the spring of that year Mr. D. L. Moody, while engaged in evangelistic work in Georgia, gave a new evidence of the interest he has constantly displayed in the work of the Young Men's Christian Association by proposing a convention of Association Secretaries during the summer in the buildings of his Boys' School at Mount Harmon, Massachusetts. Mr. Wishard, with whom he was in consultation, thought the secretaries were sufficiently provided with means of conference, and suggested rather an assembly of college students. Mr. Moody heartily adopted the scheme. Preparations were entered upon immediately. Invitations were issued to two hundred and twenty-seven college associations, and the college secretaries visited numerous Eastern colleges to secure a large representation. From the 7th to the end of July the 'College Students' School for Bible Study' continued. About two hundred and forty students were in attendance. Mr. Moody conducted the exercises. During the forenoon of each day an hour was devoted to a full and thorough consideration of the various methods of College Association work, and two hours to the study of the Bible. The afternoon was given up to athletic sports. Questions were freely asked and answered at the morning sessions. During their hours of leisure many of the young men took delight in strolling away to secluded retreats, where, either alone or in groups, they would spend the time in communion with God and in prayer for a larger measure of the Holy Spirit. Most signally were their supplications answered. The 'power from on high' fell in strange abundance. A peculiar tenderness of feeling and hallowed joy prevailed during the closing days. The most prominent outward expression of this experience was a spontaneous convergence of attention upon foreign missions. Informal missionary meetings were held. One meeting was addressed by three sons of missionaries in China, India, and Persia, and by seven young men of diverse nationalities — an Armenian, a Japanese, a Siamese, a Norwegian, a Dane, a German, and an American Indian. Students who had as yet formed no purpose in life, and others who were obliged to sacrifice definite plans, offered themselves freely to lives of toil and suffering in lands girdling the earth. The number of those who announced their perfect readiness to become foreign missionaries whenever fitted and required, was almost exactly one hundred.

" 'Tell others the story!' is the instant prompting felt by one who has undergone a special work of grace. Comparatively few out of the whole number of members of the College Young Men's Christian Associations were privileged to attend the Summer School at Mount Hermon. It was felt by those who had been preferred that something ought to be done to convey to their less fortunate brethren the fullest possible radiation of the blessing received. To this end a deputation of four students was selected to represent the Mount Hermon gathering, and to visit, so far as might be, all the colleges of this country and Canada, addressing the students therein. Of these four, however, only one was able to undertake the mission — Mr. Robert P. Wilder, son of a missionary, and a student at Princeton College. He was joined by Mr. John N. Forman, also a Princeton student and son of a missionary, who had not been at Mount Hermon, but who carried a missionary fervor in his veins. The expenses of their tour were defrayed by one gentleman.

"From college to college they have gone, presenting the claims of the shadowed world, and the duty of the rising generation in relation thereto, with a force, a pungency, and an eloquence which have indicated the presence with them of the Spirit of God. Some of the best and brightest of the young men of the land have responded to the appeal, in such numbers that it has been difficult to say at any hour what was the total figure. In the spring of 1887, President McCoah of Princeton College wrote an open letter, setting before the Christians of America their duty in view of the fact that 1,500 young men and women had volunteered to enter the ranks of the missionary service. Dr. McCoah asks: 'Has any such offering of living young men and women been presented in our age? in our country? in any age or in any country since the day of Pentecost?' At the present writing (July, 1887), no fewer than 2,100 college students — 1,600 young men and 500 young women — stand pledged to become heralds of the Cross in any clime beneath the sun."

HAZELL'S ANNUAL CYCLOPÆDIA, 1888. — On every topic of current Political, Social, and General Interest, edited by E. D. PRICE, F. G. S., assisted by a large number of contributors, including some of the most eminent specialists of the day. London: Hazell, Watson & Viney, Ltd., 52 Longacre; Hodder & Stoughton, 27 Paternoster Row. Pp. 700.

A wide, alert, discriminating but impartial outlook characterizes this compact and trustworthy annual Cyclopaedia. It is now in its third year, and has already become almost indispensable to the student of current reforms. After abundant use of it we commend it most earnestly to all who wish to understand the history of their own times. Were we to have but two reference books on contemporaneous events, we should choose this and Martin's Statesman's Year Book as undoubtedly the best two.

"The original idea of providing a *Companion to the Newspaper and Cyclopaedia of Current Topics* has been steadily kept in view. The purpose of this work is to supply information on topics of current public interest, these being each year brought up to date, or excised if they have become obsolete during that period. Such topics only are treated as are at the front at the present moment. All subjects which would naturally suggest themselves as belonging to the hour will be found dealt with, especial prominence being given to those which bear upon the political, social, and educational welfare of the state." — *Preface*.

QUESTIONS TO SPECIALISTS.

REPLIES BY THE REV. WILBUR F. CRAFTS, OF NEW YORK CITY, AUTHOR OF
"THE SABBATH FOR MAN."

29. *What improvements in Sabbath observance have you noted and what encouragements during three years past?*

There has certainly been a great improvement in the attention paid to this subject. Three years ago I went to book-stores in Boston, New York, and Chicago seeking for recent books on the evangelical side of the Sabbath question—in vain. Since then a dozen books defending the perpetual and universal obligation of the fourth commandment. Sabbath associations were then mostly hibernating. Some of them have since awaked, and the strongest of all have been added—the Sabbath Observance Department of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (Mrs. J. C. Batchman, Painesville, Ohio, Superintendent), and the Illinois Sabbath Association (Hon. E. P. Lord, Elgin, Ill., Secretary). The petitions against Sunday mails and Sunday parades and interstate Sunday trains, which these two agencies are gathering, are full of promise, and they should receive the immediate coöperation of all friends of the Sabbath. The success of the united churches of Connecticut in reducing Sunday railroad work should rouse the churches in other States to unite in the faith and patience that inherit the promises. The awaking American spirit and the folly of our foreign foes in making a political attack upon the American Sabbath are both to be counted among the encouragements.

30. *What, in your judgment, should now receive chief emphasis in the advocacy of Sabbath observance?*

The duty of the church and the nation to set before the people consistent examples of Sabbath keeping. The church must first be clarified in its *convictions*—set firmly on Sinaitic foundations—and then rectified in its *practice* as to Sunday newspapers, Sunday trains, etc. Next to this in importance is the stopping of Sunday mails and parades, to put the nation's example on the right side. Both of these lines of work demand a national Sabbath committee, representing the moral and religious societies of the country. Those who favor such a committee may aid in securing it by sending an indorsement of this proposal to "Pearl of Days," Bible House, New York.

I wish to call very special attention to Senator Blair's bill, a copy of which is here inserted. In my lecture tour I am obtaining petitions for it every night.

A BILL To secure to the people the enjoyment of the first day of the week, commonly known as the Lord's day, as a day of rest, and to promote its observance as a day of religious worship.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, that no person, or corporation, or the agent, servant, or employee of any person or corporation shall perform or authorize to be performed any secular work, labor, or business to the disturbance of others, works of necessity, mercy, and humanity excepted; nor shall any person engage in any play, game, or amusement, or recreation to the disturbance of others on the first day of the week, commonly known as the Lord's day, or during any part thereof, in any territory, district, vessel, or place subject to the exclusive jurisdiction of the United States; nor shall it be lawful for any person or corporation to receive pay for labor or service performed or rendered in violation of this section.

SEC. 2. That no mails or mail-matter shall hereafter be transported in time of peace over any land postal-route, nor shall any mail-matter be collected, assorted, handled, or delivered during any part of the first day of the week: *Provided*, That whenever any letter shall relate to a work of necessity or mercy, or shall concern the health, life, or decease of any person, and the fact shall be plainly stated upon the face of the envelope containing the same, the Postmaster General shall provide for the transportation of such letter or letters in packages separate from other mail-matter, and shall make regulations for the delivery thereof, the same having been received at its place of destination before the said first day of the week, during such limited portion of the day, as shall best suit the public convenience and least interfere with the due observance of the day as one of worship and rest: *And provided further*, That when there shall have been an interruption in the due and regular transmission of the mails, it shall be lawful to so far examine the same when delivered as to ascertain if there be such matter therein for lawful delivery on the first day of the week.

SEC. 3. That the prosecution of commerce between the States and with the Indian tribes, the same not being work of necessity, mercy, or humanity, by the transportation of persons or property by land or water in such way as to interfere with or disturb the people in the enjoyment of the first day of the week, or any portion thereof, as a day of rest from labor, the same not being labor of necessity, mercy, or humanity, or its observance as a day of religious worship, is hereby prohibited, and any person or corporation, or the agent, servant, or employee of any person or corporation who shall willfully violate this section shall be punished by a fine of not less than ten nor more than one thousand dollars, and no service performed in the prosecution of such prohibited commerce shall be lawful, nor shall any compensation be recoverable or be paid for the same.

SEC. 4. That all military and naval drills, musters, and parades, not in time of active service or immediate preparation therefor, of soldiers, sailors, marines, or cadets of the United States on the first day of the week, except assemblies for the due and orderly observance of religious worship, are

hereby prohibited, nor shall any unnecessary labor be performed or permitted in the military or naval service of the United States on the Lord's day.

SEC. 5. That it shall be unlawful to pay or to receive payment or wages in any manner for service rendered or for labor performed or for the transportation of persons or of property in violation of the provisions of this act, nor shall any action lie for the recovery thereof, and when so paid, whether in advance or otherwise, the same may be recovered back by whoever shall first sue for the same.

SEC. 6. That labor or service performed and rendered on the first day of the week in consequence of accident, disaster, or unavoidable delays in making the regular connections upon postal-routes and routes of travel and transportation, the preservation of perishable and exposed property and the regular and necessary transportation and delivery of articles of food in condition for healthy use, and such transportation for short distances from one State, District, or Territory into another State, District, or Territory as by local laws shall be declared to be necessary for the public good shall not be deemed violations of this act, but the same shall be construed so far as possible to secure to the whole people rest from toil during the first day of the week, their mental and moral culture, and the religious observance of the Sabbath day.

REPLIES BY THE REV. ROBERT C. GLASS, SUCCESSOR OF THE REV. GEORGE C. HADDOCK, SIOUX CITY, IOWA.

31. *Is it likely that there will be a final failure of justice in the Haddock case? If so, for what causes?*

There is a possibility of reopening the case if additional evidence should come to light to warrant it, but the chances are against it. Of course Fred. Munchrath, one of the conspirators, is under sentence of four years in the penitentiary, and the Supreme Court will most likely affirm the decision of the lower court. Arensdorf goes free, however, and the balance of the murderous gang will most likely go unpunished. Arensdorf having been acquitted cannot be tried again, whatever evidence against him might come out in the future. Wholesale perjury in behalf of the defense prevents much hope of convicting the others against whom the evidence is not as strong as against Arensdorf.

32. *Who is responsible for the operation of these causes?*

The almost complete miscarriage of justice so far is owing to the strong sympathy of many of our prominent business men with the murderers, the corruption of some of our public officials, and a lavish use of money by the rum power for corrupt purposes.

33. *What should be done to prevent similar failure of justice in the future?*

It is hard to say. Our jury system needs reforming for one thing. Public sentiment needs toning up also. A great many so-called respectable people are inclined to wink at crime committed by the rum power in support of their traffic.

34. *Does the best opinion at Sioux City point to Arensdorf as probably the murderer? If not, to whom does it point?*

There is scarcely a doubt in the minds of Sioux City people as to the guilt of Arensdorf.

35. *What about the newspaper rumor that a corpse was found in Arensdorf's ice-house? Has there been a double murder; or was the latter case a suicide? What is the proof supporting your opinion on this matter?*

The corpse found in the ice-house of Arensdorf's brewery was not Peters, and was most likely a case of suicide. It was so declared to be by the coroner's jury. The case is not free from all mystery, however. I have been informed on pretty good authority that the dead man was found to be shot through the heart, *inside of his vest*, and the vest was buttoned up. Perhaps he buttoned up his vest after he shot himself! It is stated that the revolver found by the side of the dead man was Arensdorf's.

36. *What facts about the Haddock case and the saloons in Sioux City do you think are the most important ones to be impressed upon the public conscience?*

The people should wake up to the fact that the saloon in America is a red-handed murderer, which hesitates at no crime that seems necessary to further the interest of the traffic. It is to-day feeling for the throat of the people in this country. It seeks absolute dictation in American politics. Its triumph is the greatest peril of this government. Shall the saloon or the people win the victory?

THE ASSASSINATION OF HADDOCK.

Extract from a Sermon delivered in Mr. Haddock's former pulpit by the Rev. R. C. Glass, his successor.

The announcement that the Rev. R. C. Glass, of the First M. E. Church, would speak from his pulpit last Sabbath morning on the subject, "Sioux City's Disgrace — a Review of the Recent Mistrial," had the effect of calling out a packed house of the best people of our city, who listened with rapt attention and evident approval to the earnest words of the speaker. — *Sioux City Daily Journal*, December 20, 1887.

The rum rebellion which was inaugurated in Sioux City against the law of our State, and which dominated the city authorities, ruled the mass of our business men, until good men almost feared to say or do anything against it. Finally the Rev. Mr. Haddock stepped to the front, and by legal methods sought to maintain the authority of the law against such flagrant violation. This was the sum of his offending, for which he was cruelly murdered on the streets of our city by a conspiracy of the rum power in our midst, the head and front of which, as the mass of our community believes, was John Arensdorf.

The whole country was shocked by the atrocity of the crime. They recognized the fact that it was not simply an assault made upon the Rev. Mr. Haddock, but a blow aimed at the authority of the State and the majesty

of the law. The assassin's bullet was aimed at the safety of every home in Iowa. It was an attempt to throttle the law. It was this fact that made the crime so serious, and its punishment so necessary. But, notwithstanding this, we all know how tardy was the foot of justice in pursuing the guilty.

At length, however, a number of the conspirators were arrested, and John Arensdorf in due time was brought to the bar of the court to answer for the terrible crime. But we also know how at that first trial, through perjury and corruption of every sort, it nearly ended in a farce. One man, however, had the hardihood and moral honesty to stand up against brow-beating and bribery, and render a verdict against acquittal.

Again this crime is brought to the bar of the State. Through official corruption and villainy, as the public believes, a jury was picked and packed which betokened the trial a farce from the beginning, and the counsel for the State seriously considered the propriety of dismissing the case at the outset. But the trial went forward, and we all know what wholesale perjury was committed upon the witness-stand to save the defendant. We all remember how every sense of decency was outraged by the infamous slanders charged against the state and other officials, and the wholesale vilifying of the church and all good men, as if they had joined in a wicked conspiracy to swear away the life of an innocent man. The history of jurisprudence will be searched in vain to find any such infamous outrage tolerated in a court of justice. The case drags through four weary weeks, and is then given to the jury, and, as we are told, they are ready in three minutes to toss back their verdict to the court, "Not guilty," and the farce is ended. Then the high carnival begins. The late defendant, with his counsel and jury, repair to his home to partake of the sumptuous feast. They fill high the bowl, and toasts are drunk to the church, the preachers, and to the "Remover of Haddock!" Were ever justice and decency and good sense so outraged before? And then the whole crowd go to the gallery and call in the photographer's art to stamp in one group not only their faces, but their infamy. But I am rather glad they did this, for now we may reasonably expect to find the whole group in the "rogues' gallery" of the "Police Gazette," where they properly belong. It cannot be expected among sensible men that we are to have any respect for such a verdict from such a jury.

But, as if not satisfied yet, and as if desiring to crown the whole affair with infamy, a little company of persons gather in the Hotel Garretson, presuming to style themselves the business men of Sioux City, and one of their number, whose name is a stench in the nostrils of all decent people, and believed to be the arch-criminal of them all, seeks to do honor to the "defenders of our ancient liberties" by presenting two of the defendant's attorneys with gold-headed canes in the name of Sioux City's business men! No doubt they deserved to be caned, but in a different manner. No wonder the business men hastened to resent the insult.

Such a trial and such a verdict, under the circumstances, have no weight

with the public. The larger jury which listened to the testimony and the law in this case, uninfluenced by corruption or bribes, has pronounced John Arensdorf "guilty," and he goes forth branded with the mark of Cain, and an outraged public will hiss in his ears, "Murderer!"

One thing that will no doubt result from this mistrial will be a correcting of some of the evils of our present jury system in this State, so that it will be impossible for any one man to determine the character of the jury that shall try a case. Another good that will undoubtedly grow out of the overruling of this crime will be the stirring up of the people as never before to a united effort to crush out this monstrous rum fiend. If the murder of George C. Haddock sent the cause of this great reform bounding forward, the acquittal of this assassin should give it still greater impetus. Large bodies are said to move slowly, but when they do move they move tremendously. Such a body is public sentiment. It takes a long time to arouse it on any subject, but when once aroused it bears down all before it. Public sentiment is moving on the question of temperance reform, and it is moving tremendously, and it will never stop until the rum power is crushed out. The late decision of the Supreme Court at Washington has come like an earthquake shock to liquor men, destroying the foundation of all their remaining hopes of successful resistance to the law.

Let the recent events be a tocsin-call to all the hosts to gird themselves for the conflict as never before. We have no reason to be discouraged, for all the stars in their courses are fighting against this modern Sisera.

"Right forever on the scaffold, wrong forever on the throne;
But that scaffold sways the future, and behind the dim unknown
Standeth God within the shadow, keeping watch above his own."

REPLIES BY THE REV. DR. FRANK RUSSELL, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF
THE EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE OF THE UNITED STATES

37. *What results have been reached by the efforts of the Evangelical Alliance to secure coöperation in practical work among the churches?*

The work is already bringing gratifying and abundant fruit. Churches covering more than a million and a half population are now united as never before in a household visitation, which, unlike a canvass, has in it the element of permanence. Visitors from all the churches coöperating in a community are interblended as to denominational lines, and each becoming acquainted with a little field of scarcely more than ten dwellings. It is estimated that there are now more than twenty-five thousand church-members engaged in this activity. The city of Brooklyn is organized into fifteen branch alliances, with an average to each of over fifty thousand population. Baltimore is also under similar organization, and has published a large pamphlet, made up from the statistical returns of the work—a kind of religious directory of the city. Buffalo, Rochester, Oswego, Poughkeepsie, Kingston, Newburg, and many other places are well organized, while more than a hundred towns, West and South, are moving in the same

line. The notes of warning, and the words of encouragement sent forth from the Washington Conference last December are echoing in all the land. The call is out for a New York State Conference of branch alliances to be held next winter, for a discussion of the work and its problems. A great number of people have commenced attendance on church and Sunday-school; statistics on many important questions are gathered, prejudices are melting away, scarcely any households repel, but nearly all gladly welcome the acquaintance of the visitors, Bibles and tracts are distributed, good associations are formed, and many pastors testify to the general increase of zeal and efficiency on the part of the church-members thus engaged.

38. *What is the Evangelical Alliance doing in the department of legislation?*

It is watching the appearance of iniquitous bills. It is no secret that certain of our most sacred institutions are in much peril. Threats are freely made against the day of rest, against wholesome laws for the suppression of vice, and against our common-school system. Bills adroitly named and framed, but pregnant with mischief, frequently appear before our assemblies. The Evangelical Alliance has arranged to receive the text of such bills on their first appearance, and to secure petitions against them from every community in time to make operative the united sentiment of all denominations of Christians as the bills are considered. The so-called "Freedom of Worship Bill," before the assembly of New York a year ago last winter, was killed only by vigorous and united action. To every pastor in the State was sent a protest and a petition, which were soon returned with a great list aggregating many thousands of names from the constituencies of the law-makers. Newspapers were aroused to the discussion of the features of the bill, the correct mention and meaning of which secured its condemnation.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

SLAVERY is abolished in Brazil. Human bondage now exists nowhere legally on the Western Continent. The great empire of the Amazon in 1850 had a population of nearly three million slaves. The natives subjugated by the Portuguese colonies were the first bondmen. As they were exterminated, they were replaced by imported Africans. The slave-trade between Africa and America was largely carried on by Portuguese ships. It is singular that the abolition movement in Brazil did not begin until about 1860. After the American civil war had abolished slavery in the United States, the movement for its abolition in Brazil first began to have force enough to govern politics. In 1871 a law was passed giving freedom to the slaves of the state and to the offspring thereafter born of slave mothers. These children were to remain in service as apprentices until twenty-one years of age. Emancipation societies started up all over the empire. In 1885 all slaves over sixty years of age were made free. Emancipation by classes was provided for, with compensation to owners for their losses. In 1886 the slave population was but little over one million. In the valuation, the females of all classes were estimated as worth twenty-five per cent. less than the males. The highest value for males of the best class was about \$400. Most of the slaves were located in Rio de Janeiro, Minas-Geraes, and San Paulo.

When the Emperor of Brazil went abroad for his health last winter, the Princess Regent used her power to dismiss a ministry hostile to abolition, and to appoint one favorable to it. The laws which had been upon the statute book would have terminated slavery in Brazil in 1892. Measures were hastened and immediate abolition at once decreed. It is estimated that about six hundred thousand slaves were set free by the final act. Slavery has been abolished in Brazil by the system of compensated emancipation. The evil spirit has departed over a golden bridge. The empire is to be congratulated that it has achieved without bloodshed a reform which cost the American Republic a civil war. Free labor on the Amazon and on the Gulf will now prepare a new era of prosperity for the richest soil of the American continent.

The regeneration of Africa will be greatly hastened by the breaking of the last American fetters of the negro. Vast changes now in progress on the opposite sides of the Atlantic mysteriously match each other. A Divine Hand opens to civilization the valley of the Congo, and at the same time abolishes slavery on the banks of the Mississippi and the Amazon. These combined events are fitted to produce in the student of current history the profoundest awe, for they are evidently parts of a Providential plan of which

the end is not yet. It is high time that the nations now exercising a protectorate over the Congo Free State should unite to suppress the slave trade throughout Africa.

A DISTINGUISHED Council of Congregational Churches of Boston and vicinity has distinctly refused to criticise the American Board for declining to send abroad as a missionary a representative of the so-called New Theology. It would not have been surprising if a New York or a Chicago council of Congregationalists had done this. But it is significant that a Dorchester Council has done it, for many claims have been made that the Congregational Churches of Boston and the adjoining cities are not in agreement with the policy of the American Board in refusing to send out as missionaries those who hold the hypothesis of probation after death.

Mr. Daniel Temple Torrey was ordained as acting pastor of Harvard Church, Dorchester, Mass., on the evening of June 4. It will be remembered that Mr. Torrey was one of the young men whose application for appointment as a foreign missionary was last year denied by the American Board. The ordaining Council was composed of the delegates and pastors from the churches of Suffolk South Conference, and from ten other churches of Boston and vicinity. There were five other persons also invited. The Council was large and influential, and included Professor Smyth, Rev. Dr. Merriam, and other leaders of the New Departure.

Most of the time was spent in discussing this abstract question : "Is it due Congregational order to ordain candidates to the ministry who are not under call to come definite work and expecting to engage in it?" The discussion was carried forward in a tone accordant with the dignity of the Council.

After this abstract question had been disposed of, and after the reading of a full statement by Mr. Torrey pertaining to his religious experience and belief ; and after his replies to questions, from which it appeared that he yet holds the views on account of which the American Board refused to send him abroad as a missionary, this ultimatum was reached : —

"*Resolved*, That this Council proceed to ordain Mr. D. T. Torrey to the Christian ministry as acting pastor of the Harvard Congregational Church, Dorchester, Mass., without reference to his personal qualifications for missionary work, for or against."

This was the resolution under which Mr. Torrey was ordained.

It has been affirmed, however, by the secular press that the Council, by this ordination, put itself in unqualified antagonism to the American Board, which twice, by its prudential committee, refused to accept Mr. Torrey as missionary. It has been averred, also, that this Council was called for the purpose of rebuking the American Board. Three things, perhaps, have led the secular press into this error. First, These words of the Letter Missive calling the Council : "It has been from the first Mr. Torrey's hope and intention to enter into the foreign missionary work." Second, The first

part of Mr. Torrey's statement, in which he urges his ordination, and distinctly declares it to be his hope to enter upon foreign mission work. Third, It was stated by his father that perhaps he might be sent out as a missionary by private parties. While there are these three things on the one side, on the other side there is the resolution of the Council under which Mr. Torrey was ordained. That is the sole and only authoritative interpretation of the Council's act. That declares what the ordination was not. It was not a censure or an adverse review of the action of the American Board in deciding against Mr. Torrey as a missionary. Both the public and private discussions of the resolution establish this. The closing words of the resolution, namely: "Without reference to his personal qualifications for missionary work, for or against," were debated and stricken out, and then were redebated and put in again. Before the final vote to retain these words in the resolution was taken, the speaker who ended the debate distinctly said that the object of these closing words of the resolution was to preclude anybody from drawing the inference that this ordination reflected in any way upon the action of the American Board in the case of Mr. Torrey. With these words ringing in their ears, the members of the Council voted that these qualifying words should remain as part of the resolution. These qualifying words were the words that secured unity in the Council. The ordination of Mr. Torrey was not a censure administered to the American Board. The proof of this is the resolution under which he was ordained.

A member of this Council who voted not to ordain Mr. Torrey writes as follows in a recent number of the "Congregationalist":—

"It is clearly evident that frank and candid as Mr. Torrey was (and his excellent spirit was always recognized by the American Board), his answers were very adroit and misleading, as was natural, many will think, to one following Andover examples. He may think himself an agnostic in respect to future probation, for he uses the word 'know' in a peculiar sense. He said, 'I know nothing about the future in one sense of the word.' The Board appointed without hesitation Miss P. [p. 43, Annual Report], who said, 'I do not know what will be God's dealing with those who have never known Christ.'

"A member of the Council said, 'I understand the candidate does not retract or withdraw his published views about future probation,' to which Mr. Torrey responded, 'That is so.' In those published views [Andover Report, p. 40], he said, '*Every one's destiny is determined* by his acceptance or rejection of the offer of salvation through Christ.' As he thinks millions do not have that offer in this life, he affirms here that *their destiny is determined* by their acceptance or rejection of Christ in the future life. Again [p. 22], he says, 'I do not think this life is decisive for all;' [p. 28], 'I hold the hypothesis of future probation for those who have not the gospel.' . . . 'Because this hypothesis is not without support in Scripture.' When Mr. Torrey 'does not retract these statements,' but yet says, 'I *know* nothing about the future in one sense of the word,' it suggests Prof. Egbert C. Smyth's vehement reiteration that future probation, as he holds it, is not a dogma, but a mere theory, while he keeps on asserting it in the most positive and dogmatic forms, *e. g.*, 'We have been endeavoring to show that *no one can be lost* without a knowledge of Christ.' 'We are positive that the principle is

of universal application, that no man will be finally judged till he knows God in the sacrifice of Jesus Christ, and that no man will be hopelessly condemned except for the willful and final rejection of Christ. — *Andover Review*, August, 1885.

"If Mr. Torrey's published declarations on probation, quoted above, had been read to the Council, in connection with his statement that he did not withdraw them, it is probable that some who voted for him as an agnostic would have voted against him.
A. H. P."

WE are very glad to be able to announce a new session of the College Students' Summer School and Encampment for Bible Study, at Northfield, Mass., June 30 to July 15, 1888. Mr. L. D. Wishard and Mr. C. K. Ober of New York have issued the following circular :—

"Mr. Moody again invites the members of the College Young Men's Christian Associations to spend the first two weeks of July with him at his home at Northfield, in Bible study and conference on methods of Christian work. The great success of the two meetings already held, the larger number of students in attendance last year, and the evident intention of some of our leading colleges to send yet larger delegations this year, seem to indicate a very encouraging and numerous gathering. Morning and evening sessions will be held, and the afternoon left entirely free for recreation. That the afternoons may not be encroached upon by special meetings, as was unintentionally done to some extent last year, all such meetings will probably be confined to the early morning hour, and the discussions of the College Association work will be held at the evening sessions. Mr. Moody has invited prominent Bible teachers from this country and abroad to assist him in the meetings. Special attention will be given to athletics and to systematic recreation. Mr. A. A. Stagg, captain and pitcher of the Yale University Nine, together with representatives from Harvard and Princeton, will constitute the athletic committee, in charge of all arrangements for outdoor sports. Delegates should come fully equipped for bathing, tennis, base ball, foot ball, hill climbing, and all other outdoor exercise. They should also bring their own reference Bibles and a good supply of note-books.

"Rooms can be furnished for about 400 delegates and table board for 1,000. The cost for room and board will be \$1.00 per day; for meals only, 60 cents per day. Many of the students last year brought tents and camped on the Seminary grounds, which are well adapted to that purpose. It is hoped that fully 600 students will make similar arrangements for this year, and that by this means 1,000 delegates may avail themselves of the benefit of this meeting. An effort will be made to secure tents for those who are unable to bring them, but as yet no definite information can be given. That every College Association may secure the largest possible delegation, each should begin at once a canvass for men, and for the money to send those who cannot afford to pay their own expenses. All correspondence should be directed to C. K. Ober, 52 East 28d Street, New York, N. Y."

It is Mr. James Spurgeon, and not Rev. Charles H. Spurgeon, who has returned to the London Baptist Union. The latter writes as follows in the June number of the "*Sword and Trowel*" :—

"I am not careful to criticise the action of a body from which I am now finally divided. My course has been made clear by what has been done. I was afraid from the beginning that the reform of the Baptist Union was hopeless, and therefore I resigned. I am far more sure of it now, and should never under any prob-

able circumstances dream of returning. Those who think it right to remain in such a fellowship will do so, but there are a few others who will judge differently, and will act upon their convictions. At any rate, whether any others do so or not, I have felt the power of the text, 'Come out from among them, and be ye separate,' and have quitted both Union and Association once for all. The next step may not be quite so clear; but this is forced upon me, not only by my convictions, but also by the experience of the utter uselessness of attempting to deal with the evil except by personally coming out from it."

In reply to a recent resolution of sympathy from a body of Welsh preachers, Mr. Spurgeon writes:—

"Mourning over a great evil in some of the churches, I sacrificed peace, friendship, and repute to be clear of it. My protest was resented and judged to be needless. The discussions which have followed have, I grieve to say, more than justified my charges. A compact which was made without my concurrence also bears on its forefront proofs that grave errors exist in every quarter wherein they were denied. It has cost me many wounds and much dishonor to have been the accuser of brethren, and it is still more painful to find their great errors are not regarded as serious by the mass of professors. My only course is to follow separated paths, not, however, separating myself from any of my denomination who hold the faith once delivered to the saints."

EXTRAORDINARY success continues to attend the work of the Egypt Exploration Fund of England and the United States. The society was organized in 1883. Each season yields its treasures of knowledge for all interested in Biblical and secular history; the sciences, arts, and industries of the past as relates to the present; the early sources of Greek architecture and art; and in having accurate and full maps for students and tourists. Only last April there were made at the site of Bubastis invaluable discoveries relative to Joseph's Pharaoh, to the XVIIIth Dynasty of kings (the Hebrew period of prosperity), and to Egyptian-Greek architecture. Churches, scholars, educators, patrons of art, friends to knowledge, may well aid so important a cause as the Fund presents earnestly to their attention. Without endowment,—its officials and explorers working for love,—the society tenders all donors of but five dollars its annual illustrated quarto, and the annual report, with lists of donors, lectures, etc., and it asks of all to give as they can for the cause. Patrons at twenty-five dollars are in demand, among the last to respond being Hamilton Fish, H. O. Houghton, R. B. Min- turn, John C. Ropes, Anson Phelps Stokes, Martin Brimmer, Seth Low, Robert C. Winthrop, Morris K. Jesup, and the Chautauqua University. The American vice-president and honorary treasurer, who furnishes circulars on request, is the Rev. Dr. William C. Winslow, 525 Beacon Street, Boston.

THE Methodist Bishops, in their remarkably able and timely address at the General Conference in New York, declare that "the liquor traffic can never be legalized without sin," and that "license high or low is vicious in principle and powerless as a remedy." The Presbyterian General Conference at Philadelphia voted that "all measures of license or tax of the liquor traffic are wrong in principle and a failure in practice." It also decided that church-membership is to be refused to rum-sellers.

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